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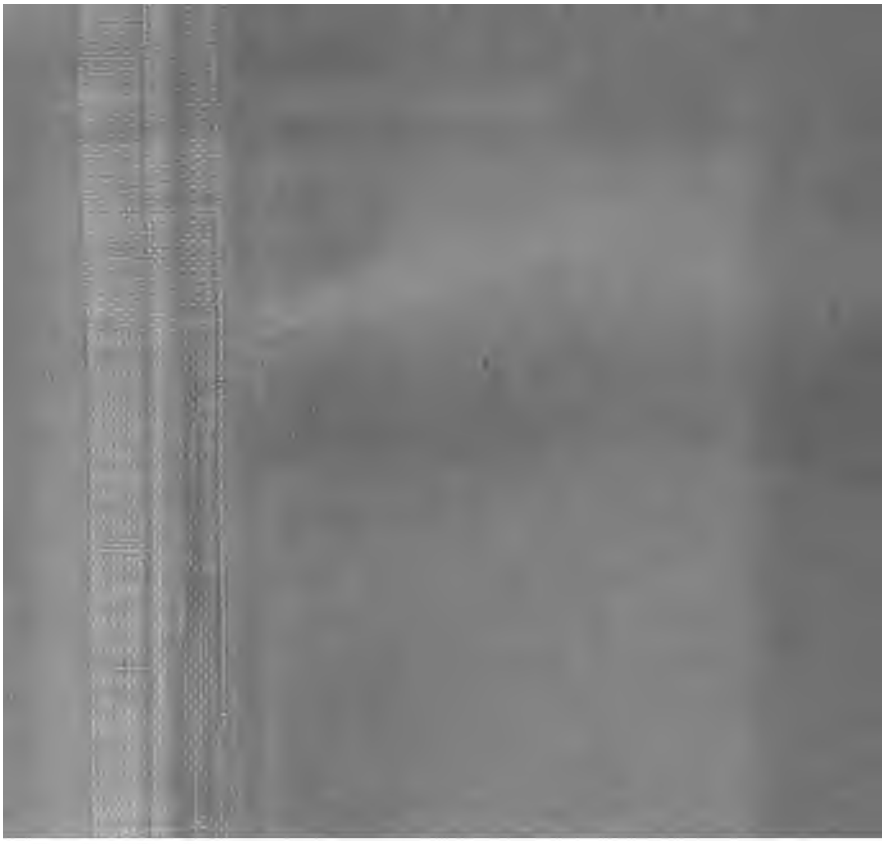

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THE

CHURCH REVIEW.

VOL. III. APRIL, 1850. No. 1.

EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES.

ART. 1.—*Ancient Egypt. A Series of Chapters on Early Egyptian History, Archæology, and other subjects connected with Hieroglyphical Literature.* By GEORGE R. GLIDDON, &c. &c., formerly United States' Consul for Cairo in Egypt. New edition, revised and corrected. Baltimore, 15th March, 1845.

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The Monuments of Egypt: or Egypt a Witness for the Bible. By FRANCIS L. HAWKS, D. D., LL. D.

HARDLY fifty years have elapsed since the attention of the learned and the curious has been revived respecting the monuments of Egypt. The irruption of the French into that country at the close of the last century,—the consequent transfer to its shores of the mighty conflict between two of the greatest nations of Europe,—the victory of Aboukir and its results,—brought to the British Museum the triple inscription of the Rosetta Stone. This small, and apparently

slender clue, has conducted into the mighty labyrinth of hieroglyphic lore, and resulted in many a successful issue. Commercial enterprise and cupidity united itself with the love of letters and the spirit of adventure. A better rivalry than that of warfare has animated the sovereigns of the earth. The Museums of London, Paris, Turin, Florence, and Berlin, have added immensely to the spoils which Imperial Rome had transferred from the Nile to the Tyber. A spirit of inquiry has been awakened throughout the civilized world, and has reached at length that distant Continent of the West, of the very existence of which the Pharaohs of Egypt never dreamed, when they bore the proud title of "Lords of both Worlds."

The curious investigators of recondite antiquity have varied, as might naturally be expected, in the results of their inquiries, according to the various temperaments of their minds, their associations, sympathies, and modes of early thinking. Some have been imaginative; others severely logical. Some have formed theories which they have endeavored to sustain by facts; others have been cautious to establish facts before they attempted to erect any theories whatsoever. Some have been firm believers in the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures; others have regarded them only as documents of the Jewish nation, venerable for their antiquity, but open to criticism; admissible as witnesses, but not infallible; others again have rejected them entirely, as fabulous legends and anile fables. These are the three schools, which we may denominate the Christian, the Neologistic, and the Infidel, under which may justly be ranged all who have studied or written upon Egyptian Antiquities. In each of these there are shades of opinion blending like the colors of the rainbow, melting insensibly into each other, and so ranging from the highest and most devout faith, down to the lowest depths of infidelity. Obscurity and mystery are parts of the sublime, and attract and charm the fanciful. The speculative can expatiate more freely in the remote and illimitable regions of conjecture. The infidel is confiding, and even absurdly credulous, in the vain hope and wish to destroy the veracity of God's Holy Word.

Of the two writers whose publications are named at the head of this article, the qualifications are very various. Mr. Gliddon, from his long residence in Egypt, his acquaintance with the vulgar Arabic, now the language of the country, and his familiarity with the Lingua Franca, and the languages of Modern Europe, was well qualified as an intelligent eye-wit-

ness; and the official position of his father as English Consul at Alexandria, and his own as American Consul at Cairo, brought him into converse, and perhaps familiarity, with the learned Antiquarians, English, French, Italian, and German, who have visited the Thebaid. Eastern Consuls take care of learned men; and though themselves engaged in commercial pursuits, acquire much information while they bestow their hospitalities. But their knowledge insensibly takes the tone of those with whom they converse; and hence we account for that singular combination of jarring opinions which marked Mr. Gliddon's lectures. At one time he seemed to be a Christian; at another, a Neologist; at another, an Infidel. In his Christian phase he admitted principles derived from Holy-writ, utterly at variance with Neologism or Infidelity. Another whirl of his planetary movement brought him to the moon-struck madness of German Theories, or to the dark gropings of infidel France. We mean no disrespect to Mr. Gliddon. It was his province, as the pioneer, to render popular in America, a subject entirely unknown to the great masses of people—a subject with which they have no associations and no sympathies, excepting what they derive from religious feelings, and their veneration for the Bible. He succeeded, to a remarkable degree. so long as he seemed to uphold the truths of the Bible. His first chapter, professing to love truth above all human authority, gave very general satisfaction. It is clear in its historical narrative, happy in its illustrations, judicious in the choice of its examples, and so arranged as to excite curiosity and stimulate expectation. In his second, on the art of writing, he goes somewhat beyond his depth, and occasionally a lurking opinion is introduced, concerning which profounder scholars cautiously hesitate. Still, in the second, and even in the third chapter, Mr. Gliddon is a Christian. He talks reverently of Divine Revelation and Inspiration. He is not led astray by the false and pernicious theory that man was created in a rude and savage state. Such a theory is in direct opposition to the Scriptures, which represent the first man as coming perfect from the hands of his Creator, "made in the image and after the likeness of God." To a being so formed, in all the maturity of mind and body, and blessed with the perpetual vision of the Almighty, life was a continual series of revelations. The very description of the Garden of Eden and the various employments of its inhabitants, affords proof of high civilization. There was gold. There was bdellium, (probably the pearl,) and the onyx-stone, implying the knowledge of

metals and minerals, and of the art of the lapidary. The beasts of the field and the fowls of the air were brought to Adam to be named by him, implying the knowledge of language and of zoölogy. The seed-bearing herb, and fruit-trees of every kind, one alone excepted, were his food; and he was placed in the garden to dress and keep it. Agriculture, therefore, and the culinary arts, were to him familiar,—acquired not by experience, but by divine communications. What reason is there to suppose that the art of writing was unknown, or that alphabetical characters were not a part of primeval revelation? The civilized, was the natural state, so long as man continued in communion with God. The savage state was the awful consequence of deserting God. From the beginning, therefore, society was refined—the arts flourished—the usages of what we now call civilized life, prevailed. The whole period before the deluge was sufficient for great progress to be made in discoveries and inventions which could not have perished by that tremendous catastrophe. Even among the descendants of Cain, there were men who dwelt in cities, and men who dwelt in tents and pursued the occupations of pastoral life. There were artificers in brass and iron, and the sounds of stringed and wind instruments accompanied the voice of song. How much more civilized then were they who never strayed from the fountain-head of pure intelligence, and *went not out from the presence of Jehovah!* The construction of the ark affords evidence of the advanced state of Naval Architecture; and the entrance into it of the various species of birds, beasts, and reptiles, implies a very extended knowledge of natural history. The idea, then, that the *savage*, was the primeval state of man, is wholly untenable. Arts may be lost, and men may sink into barbarism; but it has been the result of their own voluntary wickedness. As they did not like to retain God in their knowledge, God gave them over to a reprobate mind. It was a judicial infliction on the human race for their own apostacy. The possession of the art of alphabetical writing by the Egyptians, which recent discoveries have shown to be older than the time of Abraham, only proves by approximation the truth of the position, that civilization existed from the beginning, and is of divine origin. And the admission of this fact, on the authority of the Bible, at once puts to flight the false assumption that thousands of years were necessary to arrive at the refinement and elegance which we see displayed in the earliest monuments now extant of the Egyptian dynasties.

The last three chapters exhibit most the unsettled charac-

ter of Mr. Gliddon's mind. The fourth, in particular, is a mystification of chronology, fitted only to perplex the ignorant. He quotes, indeed, the opinions of Christian writers, but never explains the ground on which those opinions were founded. This he ought to have done; for it would have enabled his hearers and his readers to perceive that in the beautiful language of Cicero, *Opinionum commenta delet dies, naturæ judicia confirmat.* Chronology, like all other sciences, is progressive. Its difficulties have been known and admitted for thousands of years; but every new discovery has shown that the fault lay in departing from the meaning, and often from the precise and accurate language of the Bible. The recovery in 1818 of the first part of the Chronicon of Eusebius, and the immortal discoveries of Champollion le jeune, (how different from his brother, Champollion Figeac!) have enabled the learned to make great advances, even since the time of Dr. Hale's Analysis. But this subject we shall resume somewhat later.

After a silence of several years, Mr. Gliddon has again appeared before the American people, exhibiting a Panorama of the Nile, and explaining it in Oral Lectures. The Hand-Book to this Panorama, of the various titles of which we have given the least pompous and pretending, assigns the various reasons for this suspension, and among others, (p. 22,) *the necessity of teaching himself* "before pretending to possess the capability of enlightening others." He made or revived acquaintance with the English, German, and French Archæologists; and in terms of lofty panegyric he praises all alike, whether Christians, Neologists, or Infidels. All are his dear and intimate friends; and he quotes "KHOUNG-TSEU, the 'pure sage' of China," by which name we suppose he means Confucius, as 'the most saintly, the most wise, and the most virtuous of human Legislators." In the four Appendices on Geology, Geography, Philology, and Chronology, with notes, (p. 26—56,) he exhibits a most curious medley of undigested opinions, derived probably from conversations with all this variety of learned friends. In the first upon Geology, he gives (p. 30) a sectional diagram, in the description of which he talks of deposits "by icebergs, oceanic drifts, or similar causes produced by geological cataclysms, at an epoch intervening between the limestone and the alluvial soil, posterior to the former and anterior to the latter; thus corroborating NEWBOLD'S assertion, that *Egypt has twice formed the bed of the Ocean, and has been twice elevated above the Water.*'" The capitals and italics are his own. But this is not all. At p. 29 he says:

"At either or both of these geological periods, *a vast ocean*, bounded probably by the Pyrenees, Alps, Balkan, Caucasus, Taurus, Himalaya Chain of India, the mountains of America, and the Atlas and Highlands of Ethiopia and Central Africa, *for incalculable centuries covered this hemisphere of our globe.*" Here the italics are ours. He then speaks of "the ultimate subsidence of this Ocean—before the existing state of things; previously to the Advent of the River Nile; and still further removed from the hour when the Asiatic Nomad migrated into Egypt, *via* the isthmus of Suez." Again: "The number of years that the *Nile* has deposited alluvium might be ascertained with as much certainty as the age of a tree can be calculated by its *rings*. The very rough estimates heretofore made by geologists yield a *minimum* of 7,000 years for the depositions of the present alluvium by the River Nile. The *maximum* remains utterly indefinite." Hence he draws three deductions: "1st. Previously to the Advent of the 'Sacred River,' no deposition of *alluvium* having taken place upon the limestone, Egypt was uninhabitable by man. 2d. Humanity must have entered the Valley of the Nile, under conditions such as exist at this day, *after* a sufficiency of alluvium had been deposited for the production of vegetable aliment, but at a time when the depth of this alluvium was at least twenty (fifty or *more*, for aught we can assert to the contrary) feet below the level of the highest portion of the Nile's bed at this hour; but how much soil had been previously deposited—that is, what its *thickness* was over the limestone, when humanity first entered Egypt—it is yet impossible to define. 3d. Many centuries (in number utterly unknown) must be allowed for the multiplication of the human race *in Egypt*, from a handful of rovers to a mighty nation; and for the acquirement, by self-tuition, of arts and sciences, adequate to the conception and execution of a Pyramid: thus yielding us a *blank* amount of chronological interval," &c. The italics again are his, not ours.

Whatever Mr. Gliddon may have gained by his intercourse with the learned in Europe, he certainly has not improved his Christianity. Without dwelling on the profanity of so applying a term appropriated to our blessed Saviour, his "*Advent* of the River Nile" is sheer nonsense; and the affectation of "*Humanity*" entering "the Valley of the Nile," a ridiculous abstraction. But these are puerilities and bad taste, compared with the shocking endeavor to cast discredit on the inspired account of the Creation. To put such stuff into a Hand-Book for the American public, is to sow infidelity broad-cast

through the land. Incalculable centuries for the ocean—incalculable centuries for its subsidence, and the "Advent" of the Nile—incalculable centuries for its alluvium—an indefinite period for the arrival of humanity via the Isthmus of Suez—"unknown centuries for the Asiatic Nomad to be transmuted by time and circumstance into a farmer, and then into a monument-building citizen"—and then "the pyramids and tombs of the third Memphite dynasty, placed by Lepsius' discoveries in the thirty-fifth century B. C."!!! Reader, we do not exaggerate; for such is the language of Mr. Gliddon in 1849!

Our limits will not allow us to say any thing as to "Geography" and "Philology," on which Mr. Gliddon's remarks are singularly superficial and flippant, made up entirely, and as we hope distorted, from the views and opinions of the learned scholars with whom he has associated. We pass on then to "Chronology," in regard to which principally his views of Geology have been formed.

He confesses, in the first place, (p. 48,) that in April, 1843, he published prematurely; that he adopted "the Septuagint Computation" only because it was the longest; that he considered himself "free to choose from among three hundred systems of Chronology;" and that "if one thousand more years could be shown admissible by Scripture, there is nothing in Egypt that would not be found to agree with the extension." What does all this mean? Any reverence for the Bible? On the contrary, it speaks only this language: *If I* (Mr. Gliddon) *can make the Bible suit my theory, very well; but if I cannot, I will take any number of years more that will suit it.* He talks (p. 49) of "*stratified masses of time,*" and (p. 50) of "Egyptian Epochas anterior to the eighteenth dynasty, not *arithmetically*, but according to the *gross masses of time*, into which they could be approximately subdivided." All this means nothing more than that all dates previous to the eighteenth dynasty are uncertain. It covers up ignorance in stratified masses of hard words. Mr. Gliddon applauds himself for this happy contrivance, by which he avoided "the disadvantage of being obliged to undo one day the layers of a chronological edifice built the day preceding." These layers, or stratified masses of time, are four: The ANTE-MONUMENTAL period; the PYRAMIDAL period; the period of the HYKSHOS; and the positive HISTORICAL period. We will pass over the restoration of Manetho by Lepsius, which, in plain English, means no more than a conjectural alteration of Manetho, as exhibited in the Catalogues of Afri-

canus and Eusebius, and consider only the historical period. "The new synchronisms," says Mr. Gliddon, (p. 52,) "between Hebrew and Egyptian events, put forward by LEPSIUS, may assist the Hierological student in authenticating monumental history through the established dates of Scripture. It will be remarked, that while HALES extends, LEPSIUS reduces the antiquity assigned to each Israelitish era by Archbishop USHER." These Biblical Synchronisms are thus stated:

Epoch of	*Pharaonic Cotemporaries.*	USHER.	HALES.	LEPSIUS.
ABRAHAM,	AMUNOPH III. *Memnon*,	B. C. 1920,	2077,	about 1500.
JOSEPH,	SETHEI I. Sethos,	" 1706,	1863,	" 1400.
MOSES,	RAMSES II. Jewish oppression,	"		1394—1328.
Exodus (B.C. 1314?)	MENEPTHA,	" 1491,	1648,	1328—1309.

Mr. Gliddon has not quoted either Abp. Usher or Dr. Hales very correctly. Joseph was governor of Egypt, according to the one, B. C. 1717; according to the other, B. C. 1872. But let that pass. We have already said that the reasons of their computations should have been stated; and so we say of Lepsius. We have a great respect for him as a learned and intelligent traveler; but we confess that this exhibition of him by Mr. Gliddon as a Chronologist, does not convey a very high idea of his ability in that department. We wait, however, to be informed by himself, why he has placed Sethos the head of the nineteenth dynasty, before Rameses II, of the eighteenth; and upon what principle he has proceeded in placing the Exodus so late. Mr. Gliddon, if we remember right, placed that event in the reign of Sesostris or Rameses III, and we recollect the air of triumph with which he maintained that Pharaoh could not have been drowned in the Red Sea, because it was known from the Monuments that he reigned long after the Exodus. We are glad to see that *on the authority of Lepsius* he can now admit that the Pharaoh of the Exodus was Meneptha, though we place the death of that monarch not in 1328 or 1309 B. C., but in 1504.

We have bestowed too much time upon Mr. Gliddon, and shall now take our leave of him. Dr. Hawks has extracted from his first publication all that was truly valuable; and if he has not noticed the Hand-Book, it is probably because he did not think it worthy of his attention.

We rejoice that the rare combinations of patient research which shuns no labor, of acute perspicacity which sees at a glance, and seizes upon important facts, of judicial accuracy in weighing evidence, the result of early legal practice, and above all, of firm and sober-minded faith, should have been

brought to bear upon the monuments of Egypt, as witnesses for the Bible. Dr. Hawks modestly calls himself merely a compiler; but he is more. He is a judge summing up the evidence in a charge to the jury; and that jury is the enlightened, well-educated Christian men of his country, who are accustomed to judge of matters of fact, when properly laid before them. He has with great adroitness thrown aside the untenable theories,—the spider webs in which Mr. Gliddon became entangled. He has even detected some things which escaped the eagle eye of Champollion le jeune, and the patient researches of Rosellini; and if in some respects he has fallen short of conclusions to which his own discoveries might have led him, it is because he has not yet sufficiently turned his mind to a subject which he has evidently shunned, the adjustment of Biblical with Egyptian Chronology. Of this we hope to convince our readers, as far as we can do it within the limited space of the present article.

His first chapters are occupied with what may be called the trial of the witnesses—a succinct history of the discoveries in the last half century, a rapid survey of ancient authors, a clear account of the several localities on the Nile, and the ruins of each, ending with remarks on the proper application of their testimony. The last chapters are confined to the verification of Scripture history. As it is a work which must be read in order to be properly appreciated, we content ourselves with these general remarks, and shall add only such further observations as have occurred in a rapid survey of a work designed to be popular, and therefore avoiding as much as possible the details of learned research.

The first remark we have to make is with regard to Manetho and the Old Chronicle. Dr. Hawks speaks (p. 22) of the latter as one of the abbreviators of the former. This we apprehend is a mistake. The Chronographia of George the Syncellus is a compilation from various authors, with his comments upon them. What he calls "the Old Chronicle" was evidently written before Manetho's work. It could not have been later than B. C. 340, nor earlier than B. C. 360. Manetho flourished in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, about 263 years before the Christian era. His work is unfortunately lost. That it had perished when Syncellus wrote, is evident from his quoting Africanus and Eusebius, writers of the third and fourth centuries of the Christian era. He assigns as a reason for quoting both, that "the extracts from Manetho, in the Ecclesiastical historians, are discordant," and that he has selected those two which, from the characters of their authors, are

most worthy of credit. But if these are most worthy of confidence, how bad and discordant must the rest have been! It is impossible that two authors, copying from the same work, should have copied faithfully and differed so much. Throughout the whole series they differ as to the number of kings in each dynasty, as to the length of their reigns, and as to the sum total of years when compared with the sum of the several reigns. They transpose from one dynasty to another, and are often confused and inconsistent. Such evidence in a court of justice would be ruled out, and therefore before the discoveries concerning the hieroglyphics, these extracts had been viewed with much doubt and mistrust. Syncellus himself intimates more than once that Eusebius took his list from Africanus; for he accuses him of departing from his author, though he borrows his very words. Since 1818, we have the first part of the Chronicon of Eusebius, which contains the first fifteen dynasties. These he must have thought fabulous, because he begins his second part on the Chronological Canon with the sixteenth. The discovery of the Armenian Version proves that the Greek text preserved by Syncellus, was by him faithfully given. The discovery of the Hieroglyphics has shown that there is some truth even in the first fifteen dynasties; and the eagerness of French infidels, and the bravado of German neologists, have attached more credit to these confused and contradictory extracts, than they deserve. It is certainly very bad logic to argue that the dates of the first fifteen dynasties are to be received because the later dynasties are found to be tolerably accurate. The destruction by the Shepherds, and the sweeping devastations by Cambyses, had probably left in Manetho's time very little more than existed when Africanus wrote, in the third century of the Christian era. We have no doubt that he had in his hands the original work of Manetho. If he had literally copied it, without any omissions, alterations, or additions, we should then have been able to compare the list and the inscriptions on the remaining monuments with some precision and consequent satisfaction. But he did not so. His list of the thirty-one dynasties, formed from Manetho's work, exhibits continual proof that he did not confine himself to it. No Egyptian writer would have spoken as he does of the gods of Egypt. It is the commentary of a Christian. That the dates were not copied exactly, we know by a comparison of the eighteenth dynasty with the extract from Manetho preserved by Josephus in his Treatise against Apion. For all that we actually have of Manetho

we are indebted to Josephus; and even he has brought some doubt upon it, by his attempt to make it support an untenable theory.

We have already intimated that Dr. Hawks, though he professes not to meddle with Chronology, has made a step in the science, and it has been with a view to this intimation that we have endeavored to place the actual amount of Manetho's testimony, as it has come down to us, in its true light. The passage to which we refer occurs under his eighth proposition with regard to Abraham, and is as follows:

"As to the word Hyk, we presume there can be no doubt that it does mean king; though it may also mean something else: there are words in our own, and every language, with a double meaning. But leaving this out of view, the main features of Manetho's narrative are worthy of belief, because, if we mistake not, they find some confirmation from the monuments, if the *inscriptions* be not, as is often the case, overlooked. The tomb of one of the officers of Amosis, (who, according to Manetho, expelled the shepherds,) has been found at Thebes. An inscription on it implies that the war against the shepherds was severe, and that many hard battles were fought before they were expelled.

"The shepherd kings, Manetho tells us, reigned at Memphis, and he gives the names of the first six. Two of these names, Aphophis and Assis, have been discovered in the burial-place of ancient Memphis. The tomb of Assis, is said by its discoverer, M. l'Hote, to be executed in *cavo-relievo*, with surpassing skill.

"Rosellini gives a plate of the conquests by Sethos, taken from the walls of Karnac, which helps us much toward a discovery of who these shepherd kings were. The name of one of the string of captives, translated from the hieroglyphics, is the Coptic word *shôs*, which means shepherd, and is what Josephus, in his version of Manetho, writes in Greek, Σως, [*sôs.*] If we can ascertain the *locality* of this representation of a conquered people, thus delineated in the triumphs of Sethos, it will aid us in settling who were the shepherd invaders. Turning to the first picture of the war of Sethos with the *shôs*, on Rosellini's plate, we find the representation of a sanguinary defeat of the *shôs*, in the immediate vicinity of a fort on a high hill, covered with trees, and with a lake on one side of it. On this fort is inscribed in hieroglyphics, '*the fort* (stronghold) *of the land of Canaan.*' The shepherds, then, who invaded Egypt, were, as Josephus has said, Canaanites, and not Arabs, as Manetho writes."

Now, strange as it may seem, neither Champollion le jeune, nor Rosellini, nor Sir Gardner Wilkinson, nor any other of the acute observers of the Egyptian monuments, as far as we know, has ever dreamed that the "Shosh" of the monuments were the far-famed Shepherds, or that they were Canaanites. The mystification of Manetho's Narrative by Josephus, and the confused and contradictory computations of Africanus and Eusebius, threw them completely off the track. Rosellini vaguely conjectures that the "Shosh" were some unknown Asiatic nation. If, then, Dr. Hawks, having hit upon the right trail in the monumental history of Sethos, the head of the nineteenth dynasty, had only followed it upward to the eighteenth, he would have detected the very year in which the victories over the "Shosh" are for the first time men-

tioned; and this, with the help of Manetho, would have adjusted the whole Chronology of the Shepherds. Of this we proceed to give our readers the proof.

At Karnac are represented the victories of Menephtah I, represented by Rosellini in a series of sixteen large plates, (M. R. 46 to 61,) and described by him in his Monumenti Storici, Tom. iii, Par. 1, pp. 319—445. The title of Menephtah I, by which he is constantly designated, was SUN, ESTABLISHER OF JUSTICE. On the 48th plate, fig. 2, he is represented in his chariot, riding swiftly, and transfixing with arrows multitudes of frightened and flying enemies, who are seeking shelter in a fortress. Twelve columns of inscriptions, some mutilated and others of yet uncertain meaning, convey nevertheless the historic fact, that "*in the first year of the King Sun, establisher of justice, he planted by force the double-dwelling of the happy life - - - - - - the smitten of the land of the Shos - - - - - - in the citadel of Faimui toward the hostile country of Kanana,*" (Canaan.) Our limits will not permit us to transcribe all these interesting fragments; but we shall add one more from the Triumph, represented in plates 50 to 52. Three rows of captive "Shosh" are bound with cords, at the ends of which are the emblematic plants of Egypt, the lotus and the papyrus. The inscription over the king's horses purports that "*in the first year of the strong one of the living ones, king, Lord of the two worlds, Sun, establisher of Justice, the Vivifier, come at the command of his majesty the smiters of the land of the* SHOS, *and bend their mighty ones before the habitation of the Egyptians - - - - - subjugation of - - - - - was placed above the foreign lands of the country of Shomui: they had correction - - - - he having subdued them for the second time, they pertinaciously opposed the judgments of the tribunal according to the heart of his majesty.*" Then follow the titles and cartouches of the king. This is represented as being on the eastern side of the Nile. On the western, advance the principal orders, the priests, the magistrates, and other grandees of the nation, kneeling or standing, and raising their open arms in token of joy and triumph. Suitable inscriptions denote the greatness of the blessing conferred by the King. In plate 52, the prisoners are presented by the King to Amun-Rhê, with offerings of elegant vases, one of which has a bull among the emblematic plants of Egypt. Over the prisoners of the lower line is written, "*Captivity, which his majesty drags from the impure land of the Shos, the enemies of his majesty, in the first year of the strong one of the living ones.*" It reminds one of the

phrase "leading captivity captive," which so often occurs in the Bible, to denote the victory of the vanquished over their conquerors.

Let us now revert to the only real extract from Manetho concerning the Shos. It must be borne in mind that the Greeks could not represent the sound of SH, and therefore call the Shepherds ΣΩΣ. The syllable ΥΚ, or Hyk, denoting KING, would never be engraven by the Theban monarchs as the epithet of a race whom they held in such abomination. "We had a king," says Manetho, "whose name was Timæus. In his time, I know not how, God was adverse to us, and unexpectedly from the eastern regions, a race of men obscure but intrepid, attacked our country, and easily, and without opposition, subdued it. Having subjugated its princes, they burned the cities and overthrew the temples of the gods. Towards the inhabitants they showed the greatest enmity, slaying some, and reducing others, with their wives and children, to slavery. Finally, they made one of their number king, whose name was Salatis. He established himself in Memphis, imposing a tribute both upon the upper and lower country, and stationing garrisons in the most suitable places. He especially fortified the parts toward the east, foreseeing that the Assyrians, who were then becoming powerful, would be eager to invade the same kingdom. Finding in the Saitic Nome, a proper city lying to the east of the Bubastite Channel, called from some ancient theological reason Avaris, he rebuilt and strongly fortified it, causing a multitude of heavy armed troops to inhabit it as a guard, to the number of 24 myriads of men, (240,000.) Thither he came in the summer season to give them their pay and rations, and exercise them carefully in the use of arms, to strike terror into foreigners. He ended his life after having reigned 19 years; and after him another, who was named Beon, reigned 44 years. After him another, Apachnas, 36 years and 7 months. Then, also, Apophis, one and sixty, and Janias 50 and one month. And after all these, Assis, 49 years and two months. These six were their first rulers, always waging war, and ever more and more desirous to extirpate Egypt. Their whole nation was called HYKSOS, that is, shepherd kings. For, according to the sacred language, HYK signifies a king; and SŌS, according to the common dialect, is a shepherd and shepherds; and so the compound HYKSOS is formed. Some say that they were Arabs." Josephus then observes, that in another copy, by the expression HYK the shepherds are shown to have been not kings, but captives; for in the Egyptian language ΥΚ and ΑΚ

aspirated clearly mean captives. All this we apprehend was to bend the words of the author to his theory, that these shepherds were the Israelites; an idea totally at variance with the whole narrative. He then proceeds to quote from Manetho as follows: "They say that these aforenamed kings of the so called shepherds and their posterity held possession of Egypt *five hundred and eleven years;* but after these things they say that an insurrection against the shepherds was made by the kings of the Thebaid and the other Egypt, and that a great and lasting war raged between them. They say that under a king who was named Alisphragmuthosis, the shepherds were vanquished by him, driven from all the other Egypt, and shut up in a place which had a circumference of ten thousand Arouræ. The name of this place was Avaris. All this," says Manetho, "the shepherds enclosed with a great and strong wall, that they might keep secure all their possessions and their booty. But Thummosis, the son of Alisphragmuthosis, undertook to subdue them by siege; and surrounded the walls with 48 myriads, (480,000.) At length, despairing of the siege, he made a treaty with them, that they should all leave Egypt, and go wherever they pleased in safety. According to the terms of this compact, they, with all their families and possessions, to the number of not less than 24 myriads, (240,000,) journeyed from Egypt through the desert into Syria. Fearing the power of the Assyrians, who then possessed Asia, they built a city in what is now called Judea, sufficient to contain so many myriads of men, and called its name Jerusalem." (Joseph. contr. Apion, Lib. i, 14.)

Many particulars of this narrative seem exaggerated, if not fabulous; still let us take it as it is, and compare it with the Bible, and with the knowledge we can now obtain from the Monuments.

The Bible claims our first attention; and if we adhere to it closely, we shall find its dates simple and accurate. The greatest difficulty is in the period of the contemporary kings of Israel and Judah, the Gordian knot, as it has been called, of Chronology. This period is better arranged by Dr. Hales than by Archbishop Usher; but he has made a slight mistake in two of his dates, which reduces his calculation two years. We therefore place the contemporaneous reigns of Rehoboam and Jeroboam as beginning in the year B. C. 988. He makes the duration of Solomon's Temple 441 years. Its real duration was from the second month *Ziph*, in the fourth year of Solomon, to the tenth of the fifth month *Ab*, B. C. 586, when it was burned, exactly 439 years 2 months and 13 days

after its foundation, in the solar computation of time. Its foundation was laid about the first of May, B. C. 1025. As that was by 1 Kings vii the 480th year after the Exodus, it is clear that the Israelites left Egypt early in the year B. C. 1504. It was exactly 430 years after the call of Abraham, and 505 years from his birth. That event must therefore be placed in B. C. 2009.

The Biblical dates being thus arranged, the adjustment of the Egyptian is the next step to be taken; and for this purpose we must ascend the stream of time, beginning where Manetho ended, with the thirty-first dynasty. No doubt can possibly exist that the five dynasties, from the last Persian subdued by Alexander the Great, up to the conquest by Cambyses, the head of the 27th dynasty, embraced a period of 194 years, from the Autumn of B. C. 331 to the Autumn of B. C. 525.

The discovery of Champollion enables us to adjust the next five dynasties, from the 26th to the 22d inclusive. Placing the first year of Sheshonk, the Shishak of the Scriptures, as coeval with the last year of Solomon, (and it could not have been later,) we have another period of 464 years. For the next three dynasties we have to depend upon the discordant computations of Africanus and Eusebius. But assuming with Champollion and Rosellini 130 years for the twenty-first, 178 years for the twentieth, and 190 years for the nineteenth, we arrive at B. C. 1491, as the first year of the nineteenth dynasty. The head of this dynasty was the far-famed Sethos, or Rhameses IV, whose victories over the Shosh excited the attention of Dr. Hawks, in the passage we have quoted, p. 114, and thus led him to the very borders of discovery concerning the true date of the Shepherds' expulsion from lower Egypt. According to Manetho, as quoted by Josephus, this king Sethos, "also named Rhameses," was carried by his father, when he was five years old, into Ethiopia. This was occasioned by an irruption of the Shepherds from Jerusalem, who again had possession of Egypt *thirteen years*. At the end of that time the father and son returned, conquered the Shepherds, and "pursued them even to the bounds of Syria." (Jos. cont. Apion. I, 15.) These thirteen years being added to B. C. 1491, *bring back the Egyptian history to the year B. C.* 1504, *the Biblical date of the Exodus*. Manetho confounds the father of Sethos with Amenoph, whom he reckons as the last of the eighteenth dynasty. But the monuments have disclosed another king, who must have been the father of Sethos, whose name has been somewhat variously written, but whom we shall call *Rhamerrè* or *Rhamerri*. Whether he was slain in

battle with the Shepherds we know not; but it is certain that Sethos or Rhameses IV became, at the age of eighteen, the head of a new dynasty; and this might be the reason why the father of Sethos, who never in fact reigned, was omitted in Manetho's list of kings. Eusebius seems to have known something of this king, whom he calls "Ammeris an Ethiopian;" but he has strangely intruded him after the twenty-fifth, or Ethiopian dynasty, assigning to him a period of twelve, instead of thirteen years. We infer, then, that the Amenoph mentioned by Manetho as the last king of the eighteenth dynasty, was the Pharaoh of the Exodus. We cannot now give all our reasons for this inference; but taking the sum total of Manetho's reigns as adjusted by the evidence of the Monuments, it appears that the eighteenth dynasty, the most illustrious in the annals of Egypt, continued to reign 333 years. This sum added to the date of the Exodus, gives the year B. C. 1837, as the first of that dynasty. Beyond this there is no certainty. Nothing remains of Manetho. The computations of Africanus and Eusebius, professedly derived from Manetho, are too much at variance to have any authority. We are obliged to have recourse to the Old Chronicle, which gives 103 years to the seventeenth, and 190 years to the sixteenth dynasty. These sums added to B. C. 1837, bring us back to B. C. 2130, as the first year of the sixteenth dynasty.

Let us now return to the Shepherd kings. The first expulsion of the Shosh from Egypt, was, as we have seen from the Monuments, in the first year of Menephtah I. He was the fifth in the ascending series from Menephtah III, the Pharaoh of the Exodus. Following the computations of Champollion and Rossellini, their united reigns were 115 years 9 months, or in round numbers, 116, which, added to the date of the Exodus, brings us to the year B. C. 1620, as the year when the Shepherds were expelled. This was the 511th year of their sovereignty in Egypt. Adding therefore 510 years to B. C. 1620, we find the first year of their sovereignty to be B. C. 2130, *the very year in which the sixteenth dynasty began at Thebes.* This remarkable coincidence affords strong presumption that the fifteenth dynasty was destroyed by the irruption of the Shepherds. Abraham was born in the reign of their fourth king Apophis, and went down into Egypt in the reign of his successor Janias, B. C. 1934. "It would be a valuable piece of information," says Dr. Hawks, (p. 109,) adopting the language of Kitto, "to know what king or dynasty reigned in Egypt at the time of Abram's visit." Behold the problem

solved by following out his own discovery that the "Shosh" of the Monuments were the Shepherds.

There is another instance of his acumen which it is proper to mention here in connection with the victories of Sethos over the Shosh. "In one of the tombs at Beni Hassan, there is a representation," a part of which Dr. Hawks has copied, (p. 158.) "The first figure," he observes, (p. 159,) "in the line of captives is a man clad in a rich tunic; he holds a gazelle, and is followed by an attendant leading another. He holds also in his hand the horn of some animal, and is making a low obeisance to the king. His name and title are written in hieroglyphics before him; the upper group, according to Osborn, reads *hik*—king, chief [of] the land! The group below is letter for letter the transcription of the Hebrew word יבסי which is rendered in the English Bible *Jebusites.*" Now if Manetho's account be true, *the Shepherds were Jebusites.* He states that on their first expulsion they built a city in the country now called Judea, and gave it the name of Jerusalem. And so afterwards in the Egyptian version of the Exodus, he says that the leprous and impure persons under Moses "sent an embassy to the Shepherds, to the city which is called Jerusalem." These accordingly returned and held Egypt for thirteen years, after which they were driven back into Syria by Sethos. It is evident from this account that Sethos made war upon the Jebusites. He was the Egyptus of the Greek historians, whose brother Danaus founded the kingdom of Argos. Leaving this brother as his viceroy, he carried his arms as far as Phœnice and Cyprus, and against the Assyrians and Medes. Recalled to Egypt by his brother's treachery, he spent the remainder of a long reign, (55 years,) in cultivating the arts of peace. (Joseph. Contr. Apion. I, 26, 27.) He outlived both Moses and Joshua, and died at the age of 73, in the year B. C. 1437. There is every probability that he was the "great hornet" spoken of by Moses and Joshua, and that while the Israelites were wandering in the wilderness, he overran the land of Canaan, weakening the power of its nations, and thus fighting the Lord's battles. It deserves to be examined with what reign the representation in the tomb at Beni Hassan is connected. If it should turn out to be that of Rhameses IV, it would go far to prove that the "Shosh" were in fact "the Jebusites;" and thus the story of Manetho would substantially be verified. It is certain that after Abraham's return from Egypt, Melchizedek, a priest of the Most-high God, and probably a descendant of Shem, was king of Salem; and even in the year B. C. 1884, the probable date

of Abraham's sacrifice on Mount Moriah, we infer that Salem was still possessed by Melchizedek. This was in the reign of Assis, the last of the Shepherd kings named by Manetho, who died in the year B. C. 1871, and whose *tomb* has "*been discovered in the burial-place of ancient Memphis,* the capital of the Shepherd kings. From this date thirty-four years only intervene to the eighteenth Theban dynasty. Abraham died three years later. In the year B. C. 1742, Amenophtep II, the Misphragmuthosis or Alisphragmuthosis of Manetho began to reign; and in that self-same year Joseph was sold into Egypt. The historian states that this was the first king who diminished the power of the Shepherds. His son Thummosis, the Thoutmes or Thothmes of the Monuments, successfully carried on the war until he was checked by the wise policy of Joseph, who in the fifteenth year of Amenophtep II, became the prime-minister of Lower Egypt. After a long and glorious administration, Joseph died, B. C. 1688, and twenty-eight years later the Shepherds were expelled by Menephtah I, the king who knew not Joseph. If it be asked why Dr. Hales has assigned to the Exodus the very same year which we assign to the death of Joseph, we answer, that he unwarrantably departed from the precise language of the Bible because he was embarrassed by the difficult chronology of the Judges. He lengthened the Scripture period from the building of Solomon's Temple to the Exodus. By adhering to the Bible as a sure and certain guide, we are preserved from the Serbonian bog of Human presumption and infidelity.

We take our leave of this agreeable volume, with the expression of our hope that Christian scholars among us will continue to employ themselves in the same watchfulness over the enemies of our holy faith, and in the same noble defence of the Old Testament, which we find here so happily begun. We conclude, therefore, with the concluding paragraph of Dr. Hawks, to which we give our entire assent:

"The truth of the Bible is not dependent, in any degree, on our being able to produce evidence for its support from the monuments of Egypt. If that country had not a monument within it, it would not affect the genuineness and authenticity of the Old Testament. That it has such monuments, and that in modern times God in his providence has permitted us to see, that in many particulars they do illustrate and confirm our sacred writings, is cause for thankfulness; but such confirmation, it must be remembered, when found, is purely incidental, and cannot, therefore, be expected to present to us a continued story of events, which would constitute in fact but another complete history of what is already written in the Bible.

"It has been too much the fashion of a certain class of men, infidel in principle, but claiming (and in some instances justly) to be scientific, dexterously to insinuate, rather than positively to assert, that Egypt was making to them wondrous

revelations at the expense of the truth of Scripture. The characters and claims of these men have, perhaps, with a class, given weight to their insinuations, when there was neither the ability nor the means to test their boasted science, or sift their artful insinuations. It was for this class principally that the present writer assumed the pen. Purposely avoiding all perplexing questions of mere science, it occurred to him that it might be useful to plain Christians of honest hearts and common sense, if from the labors of men as good and as learned as the self-styled scientific, there should be gathered into one body and plainly presented, evidence from Egypt, intelligible to ordinary faculties, tending to show that the Bible found there *some* support at least; and that unhesitatingly to reject it, on the ground of any supposed discoveries yet made there, indicated a disease of the *heart* quite as much as a fault of the *head*."

Art. II.—THE PURITAN COMMONWEALTH.

"We had now fair, sunshine weather; and so pleasant a sweet air as did much refresh us, and there came a smell off the shore like the smell of a garden."* Heaven seemed to smile upon the Puritan-Pilgrims. The Old World, with its mighty associations, was shut from their eyes forever; but as if to make amends for the loss, Nature in the New World assumed her brightest colors, and the flowers of the forest, arrayed in superhuman glory, shed their richest perfume, to welcome the advent of Puritanism. But the transfer of the charter was only the forerunner of civil and religious usurpations. In England, a small bit of parchment, decorated with the great seal, and guarded by the Courts of Westminster Hall, could only mean a grant of privilege. In another continent, removed beyond the long arm of the law, it was construed into a surrender of right. The Governor, Directors, and Company resolved themselves into the Governor, Council, and Commonwealth.

In a former number of this Review,† we gave a brief account of the Massachusetts Bay Company, showing the curious nature of an organization which was designed for the double purpose of commerce and religion. We now propose to follow the usurpers of that franchise into the wilderness, and recalling the events which two centuries have failed to conceal, to watch each step of the progress which began with a feeble band of emigrants, and ended with a powerful Commonwealth. We propose to ascertain whether the genuine principles of Puritanism, were those of civil liberty;—whether the common people were gainers by exchanging the sceptre of their sovereign for the sway of an oligarchy; and whether the institutions which were reared as if by magic on these sterile shores, were the free gifts of the Elders and Magistrates, or the defensive creations of the people.

The charter provided for the direction of the Company's affairs, a Governor, Deputy Governor, and eighteen Assistants, to be elected annually by all the Freemen, or members of the franchise, out of their own number. Any seven of these Assistants, with the Governor or his Deputy, were to be the Executive of the Company, and for the despatch of business

* Winthrop's Journal. † January, 1850.

they were to meet at least once in every month. This board of directors thus chosen, was authorized to carry into operation the laws and regulations established by the General Court. Certain powers were also entrusted to the Assistants, suitable for the proper management of a distant plantation; but the charter did not contemplate that they should exercise those supreme political rights which belonged only to the King and Parliament.

Implying the residence of the corporation in England, the charter further provided for "four great, general and solemn assemblies" to be held by the Governor, Assistants, and Freemen on every last Wednesday in Hilary, Easter, Trinity, and Michas Terms respectively. These Great and General Courts were to have full power to admit new members to the franchise, to elect and commission all suitable officers, and to make by-laws and ordinances for the Company and its plantation, not contrary to the laws and statutes of England. The Court of Election was to be the general meeting on the last Wednesday in Easter Term. To the Governor was committed no extraordinary authority. He was to be simply the presiding officer of the board of Assistants; and the direct powers conferred upon him by charter consisted only of administering the oaths of office to the Deputy Governor and the Assistants, and of calling a meeting of the Freemen upon any special emergency. Such was the simple machinery of a corporation whose avowed objects were missionary and mercantile enterprise; and so strictly were its rights and privileges construed at the outset, that when Endecott was sent over to commence a plantation, he was left out of the board of Assistants because he was to reside "out of the land."

But when the corporate body was transferred, confusion of affairs became inevitable; because the charter implied the residence of the franchise in England, and made no provision for those contingencies arising from the establishment of a Commonwealth in a foreign land. For it is observable that an antagonistic spirit between the Magistrates and the Freemen was continually in operation during the existence of the first charter. The former had set the example in the struggle for power, by converting themselves from the directors of a Company into the rulers of a Commonwealth. First perverting their legal powers, they then claimed to derive the authority they exercised from the charter and not the Freemen. As men of some rank and fortune, they were unwilling to lose in the new country, the dignity and consideration they had enjoyed in the old. And in this natural ambition they were

supported by the Elders, so long as they continued true to the interests of Puritanism. The leading political idea of the Puritan Commonwealth, was boldly proclaimed by the oligarchy themselves. "Democracy," wrote John Cotton with pious horror, "I do not conceive that ever God did ordain as a fit government either for Church or Commonwealth; as for monarchy and aristocracy, they are both of them clearly approved and directed in the Scripture."* "The best part of a Commonwealth," said John Winthrop, "is always the least, and of that best part the wiser is still less."† Such were the principles which actuated the rulers of Massachusetts, and the results were fruitful in troubles. The Freemen were determined in their opposition to such assumptions; and these mutually repelling forces were only kept in union by the powerful magnetism of religion. The Elders and the Magistrates preserved their ascendency in the government by the use of the ingeniously contrived COVENANT. The Elders were sustained by the Magistrates, for who would undergo disfranchisement and indignity by raising his voice against the Church? The Magistrates were supported by the Elders, for who would subject himself to spiritual denunciation, and perhaps endanger his eternal welfare, by endeavoring to overthrow the power of the State?

For the first few years after the transfer of the charter, the Magistrates were in possession of almost supreme authority. The Commonwealth of Massachusetts was ushered into existence as a pure oligarchy.‡ Taking advantage of the feebleness and enthusiasm of the Freemen, nearly all of whom had accompanied the charter, the Assistants obtained an unanimous vote authorizing them to choose the Governor and the Deputy Governor out of their own number, and leaving to the Freemen only the election of the Assistants, "*when they were to be chosen*," (Oct. 1630.) But this arrangement left open the question *when* the Assistants were to be chosen; and notwithstanding the charter provided that eighteen of these officers should be annually elected by the Company, those of them only who had come over from England, scarce twelve in number, continued quietly in office for nearly two years.§ Thus a precedent was at the outset obtained for violating the provisions of the charter; and though the Freemen soon recovered in the ensuing struggle their legal rights as electors, yet the Court of

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* Cotton's Letter to Lord Say and Seal, in Hutchinson, Appendix, Vol. I.
† Belknap's American Biography. ‡ See Chalmer's Annals, p. 157.
§ Johnson, B. I, ch. 26.

Assistants never afterwards was composed of a legitimate number of members; and the dignities, the emoluments, and, for a considerable time, the powers of the government, were monopolized by ten or twelve persons.*

This contempt for abstract right, was accompanied by practical wrong. The board of directors, now metamorphosed into a Council of State, took the affairs of the Commonwealth entirely into their own hands, levying taxes, making laws, and punishing with severity all violations of their authority. They "exercised all the powers of Parliament, King's Bench, Common Pleas, Chancery, High Commission, Star Chamber, and all the other Courts of England."† At their first meeting after the transfer of the charter, (August, 1630,) they sat as a Parliament, promulgating a number of laws for the regulation of the plantation. The operation of these and subsequent laws originating from the same source, afforded ample opportunity for the exercise of Judicial powers, whether civil or criminal. As an Ecclesiastical Court of High Commission, they ever maintained a jealous watch over the interests of the Puritan establishment, inflicting banishments, fines, whippings, and imprisonments upon heretics, schismatics, and dissenters. As a Court of Star Chamber they levied taxes on the people without their consent, and punished with extreme severity those who questioned their authority, or treated them with disrespect.‡ In fine, the Court of Assistants spared no rigor to advance their power, and to compel obedience. Supreme authority was lodged in the hands of the few, irresponsible and self-constituted; while the many, who had hugged themselves in the thought that they should enjoy the largest liberty in the wilderness, found that in their new position they were in danger of becoming vassals, at the same time that they became outlaws.

The Magistrates having set the example in violating the charter, the Freemen were not slow to follow it. If the former were exclusive and arbitrary, why could not the latter

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* 1 Hutchinson, p. 293, n.

† Thomas Lechford, a "fractious attorney," applied this language at a subsequent period, to the General Court; but it may with equal truth, and with a better analogy, be used towards the Court of Assistants. See 1 Hutchinson, p. 398.

‡ For example, read the story of the inhabitants of Watertown, in Winthrop's Journal, Vol. I, p. 70. These men feared that they "would be brought into bondage," and openly declared that they took the government "to be no other but as a Mayor and Aldermen, who have no power to make laws and levy taxes *without the people*." One Stone was banished the plantation on pain of death, being first heavily fined, because he called one of the Assistants Just-ass, instead of Justice.

be also a privileged body? At the General Court held in May, 1631, the Freemen proposed and carried that singular measure, to which must be referred many of the subsequent troubles of the Colony. "To the end," says the order, "*that the body of Freemen may be preserved of honest and good men, none shall hereafter be admitted to the liberties of this Commonwealth, but such persons as shall be members of some of the churches within its jurisdiction.*"* Hitherto, men, not "church members," had been freely admitted to the franchise; and only the year before, one hundred persons, some of whom were "old planters," had taken the Freeman's Oath.† The consequences of this regulation were monstrous. Puritanism immediately seized hold of the infant Commonwealth with an iron grasp. A large number of the inhabitants were not "church members," and no matter what their wealth or consideration, they became hopelessly a degraded caste, unless they consented to burden their consciences with the Covenant. For the future, they could enjoy no security of life or estate; they could have no voice in the election of their rulers; and they were utterly prostrated at the feet of those whom bigotry would always incline to regard non-members of their Church, as adversaries of the State.‡ Such was the dawn of republicanism on a Puritan horizon; and so harsh was the operation of this relentless law, that so late as the year 1676, five-sixths of the people were disfranchised.§

But the Freemen soon began to chafe under the vigorous sway of the oligarchy. A short time before the meeting of the Court of Election in 1632, the Governor, foreseeing the impending storm, announced to his fellow Magistrates that they would soon be called upon to surrender their usurped privileges. He told them that the Freemen not only would demand that the Assistants should be "chosen anew every year," but that they would require that the Governor himself should be elected by the General Court. The Magistrates were filled with alarm. One "grew into a passion," declaring that in that event there would be no government, and that he should return to England.‖ In his opinion, "the bigotry" of a Laud, and "the tyranny" of a Stuart, were preferable to a popular government. But the ever firm and wise Winthrop "answered and cleared the difficulty in the judgment" of his compeers. The mode of election "rendered their continu-

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* Colony Laws.
† Hutchinson.
‡ See Lechford, in 1 Hutch. p. 30, n.
§ Story's Misc. p. 66.
‖ Winthrop's Journal.

ance in office almost certain;" while, as a last resort, they could summon the powerful coöperation of the Elders. The General Court soon after assembled, the great body of the Freemen overflowing with jealousy and prepared for an attack upon the oligarchy. The grievances under which they labored were immediately taken up, and they demanded that the Governor and Assistants should be chosen every year, by the whole Court, according to the charter. The measure was carried without difficulty or opposition; but the event proved that though the Magistrates could not safely obstruct its passage, they incurred no immediate danger in yielding it their assent. For no sooner had the Freemen resumed their legitimate rights, than "accordingly the old Governor and all the rest as before were chosen."

This attack upon the oligarchy was the beginning of a long and interesting struggle. Civil liberty, yet in its infancy, could look nowhere for sympathy. Sixteen centuries of Christianity had taught only the duty of obedience. On the shores of Massachusetts Bay, Puritanism was made the unwilling teacher of a new dispensation. The increase of the population, the continued expansion of the settlements, which, like slow spreading fires, were gradually lapping up the wilderness, gave a fresh impulse to the growing divisions between the Magistrates and the Freemen. The General Courts were falling into disuse, except as Courts of Election, and the Freemen, scattered loosely over the soil, found that they were subjected to a central power, which at the same time was the keeper and interpreter of the charter, the maker and enforcer of the law. Unwilling to lose their just rights, and ignorant of the true construction of the charter, which many of them probably had never seen, in the spring of 1634 they "deputed two of each town" to meet at Boston and consult respecting their anomalous position. The Court of Election was soon to be held, and it was considered necessary that this primitive *caucus* should make some preparation for an event which had hitherto met them too much in dishabille. The Deputies had no sooner assembled than they demanded "a sight of the patent," and reading therein that the power of making laws was lodged with the General Court, they repaired in a body to the Governor for an explanation. The interview was unsatisfactory. They were told that the charter never contemplated *so great an increase of Freemen*, and that therefore its provision concerning the law-making power was unfitted for "so great a body;" that as it was not possible for the Freemen to make and execute the laws, *it became necessary* for them

to entrust that duty to others; that though hereafter it might be proper for them to choose "a select company for the work," yet in their present condition they had not a sufficient number of men qualified for so important a task; but that at the ensuing General Court, they might make an order, that in every year, "upon summons from the Governor," a certain number of the Freemen should be delegated to revise the laws, to reform what should be amiss, and to see that no taxes were levied or lands disposed of without their consent. At the same time they were cautioned that this "committee" of the Freemen would be permitted to make no new laws, and that their grievances must be in all cases preferred to the Court of Assistants.*

Such was the arrogant manner in which the Governor treated the Deputies of the Freemen; and his conduct on this memorable occasion has been well likened to that of an absolute sovereign, deigning to grant a favor to his subjects.† But the consultations of the Deputies had their good effects, and prepared the Freemen for concerted action. In May, when the General Court assembled, "twenty-four of the principal inhabitants appeared as the Representatives of the people." The illegality of this proceeding was not for one moment considered. A ready apology was found in the impracticability of assembling at one time and place all the Freemen of the State, and in the danger that would threaten so many families left exposed to the ravages of the Indians. In truth, the charter was the last thing thought of, at this agitated session of the Court. The Elders were engaged in preaching against rotation in office;‡ while the Deputies and the Magistrates were fully occupied in struggling for their respective orders. But here, at least, the Freemen had the advantage over the oligarchy. The Deputies *would hear of no elections* until they had given expression to the grievances under which their constituents labored. They resolved that it belonged to the General Court to make laws, to appoint and remove officers, and to assign them their duties; and also that the General Court alone had power to levy taxes, and to make grants of land. These resolutions were followed by the elections, and the general displeasure was exhibited by the choice of a new Governor. The members of the Court then resolved themselves into a "Supreme Legislative Assembly," declaring that the General Court, consisting of Magistrates and Deputies, was the chief civil power of the Commonwealth; that

* Winthrop's Jour. † 1 Sav. Winthrop, p. 129, n. ‡ Winthrop's Jour.

four yearly sessions should be held, to be summoned by the Governor, but not to be dissolved without their own consent; that it should be lawful for the Freemen to meet by their Deputies before each session, and confer together upon such business as should seem necessary to be brought to the notice of the Court; and that the Representatives of the Freemen, duly chosen by them, should be entitled to the same privileges as by charter were conferred upon their constituents, the elections only excepted. The elections, the source of all executive power, the Freemen reserved to themselves; and a law was soon after passed, authorizing them to cast their votes in the several towns where they resided. Having thus resumed into their hands their legitimate rights, the Deputies imposed fines upon the Magistrates for the abuses of which they had been guilty.*

In this summary manner, the Court of Assistants was stripped of its exclusive legislative authority. Henceforth it could only act as a component part of the General Court, so far as legislation was concerned. But, wiser by experience, the Magistrates entrusted their future destiny to the powerful arm of their church. This step was the more necessary when they began to be divided among themselves. In 1635, the Magistrates, alarmed at the encroachments of the Freemen, were at issue on a question of public policy. In the elections for this year, they had been again made to feel more unpleasantly than before, the indignation of the Freemen, and symptoms of a republican spirit were breaking forth in the General Court. There was a general clamor for a *Magna Charta*.† What was the wisest plan for arresting the progress of so foul a disease? One party, led by Winthrop, maintained that "in the infancy of plantations," government should be administered with lenity; and others, with Dudley at their head, insisted that severity was the wiser course. The division was of an alarming nature; for in a contest like theirs, the few against the many, unanimity is of the last importance. The subject was finally referred to the Elders, who gave their opinion that "strict discipline" is more necessary in plantations than settled states, for the preservation of "the honor and safety of the gospel." To this decision, Winthrop submitted with much meekness, apologizing for his former remissness, and promising "by God's assistance to take a more strict course." Harmony was restored by a concession, which stung the last hours of the humane Winthrop;‡ and

* 1 Hutchinson, p. 39. 1 Sav. Winthrop, p. 132. Colony Laws.
† 1 Sav. Winthrop, pp. 155, 158, 159, 160, &c.
‡ See 1 Hutchinson, p. 142.

it was unanimously agreed that the government should be administered with more rigor; that the Magistrates should always consult together in private before the sessions of the General Court, in order that their "votes in public *might bear as the voice of God;*" that to the Governor should be confided the main control of the Court; that all contempts of the Court, or of the persons of the Magistrates, should be specially noticed and punished; and that they would appear with more solemnity in public, and with "the attendance and apparel" befitting their rank.*

The determination to use more rigor in the government, was perhaps the most unwise measure that could have been adopted, and was followed by a scheme equally imprudent. It began to be evident that the Magistrates were contending against fearful odds; and that they who had in all respects made the greatest sacrifices for the common cause, were in danger of sinking into the common level of the Freemen. Happily for their influence, they cast the burden of their support upon the Elders; though these could not arrest the huge principles that Puritanism had set in motion, but were only able to modify their bearing, and to check their rapid progress. While therefore the leaders of Puritanism in the New World were struggling against the growth of civil liberty, it was gratifying to them to learn that they had the sympathy of men of rank in England. Four months had not elapsed from the secret resolutions above mentioned, when the oligarchical longing of the Magistrates took a bolder flight. Lord Say and Seal, Lord Brook, and other persons of quality, who were of the Puritan party in England, contemplated removing to New England, and addressed proposals to the government of Massachusetts, requiring as an indispensable condition, the establishment of an hereditary oligarchy. To this stipulation, the Magistrates, however anxious, were unable to accede; but in their reply they acknowledged two distinct ranks to exist in every State, "from the light of nature and scripture,—the one of them called Princes, or Nobles, or Elders, and the other, the people." And fearing lest the rising preponderance of the Freemen would discourage the applicants from coming over, the General Court was prevailed upon, "by the advice and solicitation of the Elders," to establish a Standing Council, who should be the active Assistants of the Governor, *and hold office during life.* The number that was to compose this Council, was purposely left uncer-

* Winthrop's Journal.

tain, and only three were chosen at first, in order that "an open door might be kept for such desirable gentlemen as should come over."*

Strengthened by union, and armed with their new dignity, the oligarchy again flung themselves into the political arena, to contend against the Freemen. By charter, legislative acts required only the assent of a majority of the Freemen, assembled in General Court. On its floor, Magistrates and Freemen were supposed to meet, not as rulers and ruled, but as members of the same Company deliberating for the general welfare. Even the Governor was but *primus inter pares* until 1641, when the General Court conferred upon him a casting vote in the assembly.† Such a construction of the charter, however well adapted for a commercial Company, was utterly opposed to the legislation of a Commonwealth, and particularly to the pretensions of an aristocratic magistracy. This difficulty had been somewhat remedied in that bold measure which authorized the Freemen to appear in the General Court by their Representatives. Still the preponderance of the Deputies was very great; for each town was represented by three of its inhabitants, and while the Magistrates never exceeded twelve in number, the Deputies could muster more than thirty. To remedy this inconvenience, which increased with the increase of population, the Magistrates proposed in May, 1639, "to reduce all towns to two Deputies."‡ The effect of this measure, got up doubtless at a private meeting of the Assistants before the session of the Court, seems not to have been immediately apparent, and the order was carried with little opposition. But when the subject was discussed in the several towns of the jurisdiction, "the people were much displeased with their Deputies for yielding to such an order," and fear was entertained that "the Magistrates intended to bring all power into their own hands." Whereupon, at the next session of the Court, a petition was presented on behalf of the Freemen, demanding the abrogation of the law. A warm debate arose upon the question, for "the hands of some of the Elders were to this petition, though suddenly drawn in, and without due consideration." On the one hand it was said that such a movement "savored of *resisting an ordinance of God;*" on the other, it was alledged, that the reduction of the Deputies was an infringement of the liberty of the Freemen. Finally, "such reasons were given" for the

* 1 Hutchinson, Appendix, p. 436. Winthrop's Journal.
† Colony Laws. ‡ See 1 Sav. Winthrop, p. 300.

law, and such proofs afforded "that their liberty rested *not in numbers, but the thing*," that the petition was dismissed.*

The Freemen were soon revenged. The Standing Council had been in existence for three years, and the noblemen, whose application suggested "the new order of Magistrates," had relinquished all designs of emigration. But the oligarchy, far from being content with their acquisition, made it a plea for further advantage. The Standing Council had been won from the Freemen by arguments "from the Word of God;" possibly the same means would prove successful in demonstrating that not only "the principal Magistrates," but the Governor himself, *should hold office during life!* This plot, generated apparently at one of the secret sessions of the Assistants, before the meeting of the General Court, was hatched in a sermon. An Elder harangued the Freemen as they were preparing their votes for the elections, declaring that in his opinion "a Governor ought to be for life," and illustrating his position by a reference to "the best Commonwealths in Europe, and especially that of Israel." Contrary to expectation, the bold idea encountered immediate hostility. The Freemen suspected that "there had been some plot to put it in practice;" and the Deputies not only refused to listen to the proposal, but immediately passed an order that "no person chosen a counsellor for life, should have any authority as a Magistrate, except he were chosen in the annual elections to one of the places of Magistracy, established by the patent." Thus the Standing Council was virtually destroyed; and though the Magistrates, mortified by their double defeat, at first hesitated to give the vote their assent, they soon ratified it in substance, conscious that contention would only give color to the popular jealousy.

The principle of "the Negative Voice," was yet another attempt of the Magistrates to overpoise the Freemen. So early as 1634, the question had arisen whether the Assistants could negative a vote of the Deputies. The former maintained the affirmative with much earnestness, in order "to balance the greater number" of the latter, and they endeavored to establish its legality by referring to the charter. Since it was therein provided that every General Court should include among its members the Governor and at least six of the Assistants, it was argued that this provision made it necessary that these should concur in every law, in order to render it valid. This construction of the charter, the Deputies resisted.

* 1 Sav. Winthrop, pp. 300, 301.

A day of fasting was appointed "to seek the Lord," and Mr. Cotton preached a sermon, wherein he demonstrated that "the strength of the Magistracy was their authority, of the people, their liberty, and of the ministry, their purity;" and he showed how each of these orders in a State, *has a negative voice on the others*. But though the question was put to rest for the time, the Deputies were not satisfied. A favorable opportunity only was wanting to kindle fresh agitation. In 1642, a poor woman petitioned the General Court concerning her title to a sow which she alledged was unjustly disputed. The sympathies of the Deputies were enlisted in her behalf, and a majority were in favor of granting her prayer. But the Assistants, weighing the evidence more carefully, were otherwise minded. Seven Magistrates and eight Deputies prevailed against two Magistrates and fifteen Deputies; and it was noised about the country that the negative voice of the Magistrates "had hindered the course of justice." The Commonwealth was quickly in flames. In vain the Magistrates declared that their negative voice had been established upon "serious consultation with the Elders;" the discussion was removed from the floor of the General Court, and occupied the streets and market-places, the fields and the woods. Again in the short space of fourteen years, the sounds of the flail and of the axe were mingled with imprecations against the tyranny of the Magistrates. Treatises and pamphlets were showered about, showing on the one side that the negative voice was a fundamental principle of all governments, and that if removed, the Commonwealth would become a democracy; and on the other, that such a power was an usurpation, unknown to the charter, and dangerous to the liberties of the people. The question was "handled both scholastically and religiously," but the excitement did not abate. The Freemen were agitated by a jealousy which would yield neither to the finesse of the Magistrate, or the sanctity of the Elder.

The commotion caused by "the sow business," was increased by an unexpected event. One of the Magistrates, who had no seat in the Standing Council, became suddenly convinced of its illegality, and prepared an anonymous treatise against "the sinful innovation," for the use of the Deputies. Although this Council existed now only in name, the oligarchy were careful to preserve the imaginary distinction it conferred; and when "the reproachful and dangerous treatise fell into their hands, they endeavored to have it publicly censured. But the Court, persuaded of "the honest intentions" of its author, refused to entertain the subject, unless

he was first acquitted of all blame. At length, with some difficulty, the Deputies were prevailed upon to submit the soundness of the book to the Elders. The ecclesiastical decision, on a point of so much importance, was not hastily given; and predetermined, therefore, as were the members of the sacred college, they went through the form of meeting in general assembly at Ipswich, (October, 1642,) in order to give their opinion the solemnity of a synodical decree. The result was not long doubtful, and indeed must have been foreseen. The validity of the Standing Council was established, but with such admirable ingenuity, that it was deprived of all power independent of the Court of Assistants. At the same time the dignity of the Magistrates, and the scruples of the Freemen, were equally cared for by the ambiguous opinion, that the Council should be composed of "select men, taken out from the Assistants, *or other Freemen.*"*

But the breach continued to widen on the question of "the negative voice," and in 1643, the Magistrates proposed that this dispute should likewise be referred to the Elders. To the apparent fairness of the proposal, there could be no objection; and yet the success of the stratagem must have been foreknown. But there was no remedy; for to have cast a shadow upon the purity of the Elders, would have incurred certain and severe punishment. Before the meeting of the next General Court, the Elders settled, by a most singular construction of the charter, the legality of the negative voice, and thus forever silenced the clamor of the Deputies. Inch by inch, however, the Deputies contested the ground, and as the validity of the negative voice could no longer be questioned, they determined that its operation should be mutual. In March, 1644, they moved and carried an order, that henceforth, on account of "the inconvenience of sitting together," the two branches of the Legislature should hold their sessions by themselves, and that all bills should be sent for concurrence from one to the other. "This order determined the great contention."†

Such was the process by which the General Court of a Company was resolved into the Legislature of a Commonwealth. The Corporation of Massachusetts Bay was now completely merged in the Puritan State; and its simple machinery, well fitted for the business of trade and commerce, was adroitly moulded to the system of checks and balances. By their able management of this contest, in which they had

* 2 Sav. Winthrop, p. 89. † Colony Laws. 2 Sav. Winthrop, 159, 160.

not only to struggle against the Magistrates, but to thwart the counsels of the Elders, the Deputies of the Freemen preserved the liberties of their constituents. The "negative voice" alone saved the power of the Magistrates,—or rather saved them from sinking into insignificance. Emboldened by success, the Deputies aimed at greater results. Scarcely had the General Court been metamorphosed into an Upper and Lower House, than the Deputies aspired to participate in the executive branch of the Government. In May, 1644, they sent up to the Court of Assistants a bill, by which seven Magistrates, three Deputies, and one Elder, were constituted a Commission, "to order all the affairs of the Commonwealth." The Assistants immediately negatived the bill, alledging that such a measure would overthrow the foundation of the government and the liberties of the people. A conference between the two bodies produced no agreement. It was said, on the one side, that such an executive commission would recognize the Deputies as the source of all power, and would deprive several of the Magistrates of their offices; whereas the Magistrates exercised their functions by patent and election. On the other side, it was urged, that there were precedents where the Magistrates had received orders from the General Court, and had varied from the charter; and it was further insisted, that they had no power out of Court, except what was given them by the Court. To this it was replied, that *wrong examples are errors, and not precedents; and that if the Magistrates had in any respect varied from the charter,* they had not impaired *the foundation of the government.* It was in vain that the Deputies proposed to limit the Commission to emergencies of war, and to include therein all the Assistants; the Magistrates refused to accept any Commission, but offered either to increase their own number, or to leave the subject to the Elders. The proposition was unhesitatingly declined by the Deputies, who requested "that nothing might be done till the Court met again." The Magistrates replied, "that if occasion required, they must act according to the power and trust committed to them." The denial of this request produced so much bitter feeling, that the Speaker of the Deputies informed the Magistrates *that they would not be obeyed.*

The Court adjourned without harmony, and was again assembled in a few days, in consequence of difficulties with the Indians. A high military office was to be immediately filled, and the embarrassing question presented itself, from whom was the incumbent to receive his instructions? The Com-

mission agreed upon referred him to the Council of the Commonwealth; but would the Deputies allow this to mean the Court of Assistants? In this dilemma, the Magistrates thought proper to sign a protest in maintenance of their authority, in which they denied the current imputations, that they were endeavoring "to bring in an arbitrary government." The Deputies, afraid perhaps of the disfranchised class, desired that the declaration should not be published, and consented that "for the peace and safety of the Colony," the Magistrates should discharge their usual duties until the next session of the Court, when they hoped that the question would be finally settled. To this arrangement the Magistrates assented with alacrity. They could now foresee a favorable termination to the awkward controversy. In all these popular outbreaks, "*it was the Magistrates' only care to gain time, that so the people's heat might be abated, and that the advice of the Elders might be interposed.*" Accordingly, when the General Court again assembled, "all the Elders were sent for to reconcile the differences between the Magistrates and Deputies." They occupied but a single night in consultation, and in the morning unanimously declared that the Assistants were, by patent and election, the standing Council of the Commonwealth; that with them was lodged the magistratical power; that their authority was limited in all ordinary cases by the laws and charter, *but was not derived from the Freemen*, whose only province it was to designate such persons as were fit to exercise it; and that in extraordinary cases, where no express law was provided, the Magistrates were only to be guided by the word of God.* As usual, the sacred oracles declared for the patricians; and though some of the leading Freemen continued "fixed upon their own opinions," and from time to time stirred up fresh troubles in the Commonwealth, yet they never succeeded in dislodging the oligarchy from their final position.

One more attempt was made to diminish the number of the Deputies. Making use of the plea of economy, and perhaps with sincerity, the Magistrates offered, in 1645, to surrender their negative voice, if the Freemen would consent that their deputies should not exceed them in number, and that these should be "the prime men of the country," elected by the shires, instead of the towns. The proposition was declined, and probably never again brought forward. But for a long series of years, the Magistrates had no reason to be discon-

* 2 Sav. Winthrop, p. 214.

tented with their power and influence. The Elders supported their every motion, and nearly anticipated their every wish. It was only when the successors of the old magistracy had waxed cold in the first love of their fathers, that the Elders, whose hostility to the Church and Throne had only increased with each year of their unhappy schism, cast the weight of their influence in favor of the Freemen. One of the last scenes presented to us by the colonial history of Massachusetts, is the remarkable one of the Elders and Deputies, allied together in confronting the Magistrates, who in the form of a prerogative party, were endeavoring to surrender their franchise to the King.

We now behold the Company of Massachusetts Bay, a regularly organized Commonwealth, with an Executive, Senate, and House of Representatives. The Charter has become a Constitution, and the members of the franchise have usurped the dignity of citizens. We might pursue this branch of our inquiry further; but enough has been said to establish our position, that the spirit of Puritanism was hostile to the principles of liberty, on the shores of Massachusetts Bay. We have shown that the Puritan Commonwealth was saved from absolute despotism only by the determined opposition of the Freemen, and that the Elders and Magistrates were alike the enemies of popular freedom. The Republican cast into which the body politic was moulded, was forced upon it by the Freemen, *in spite of* the Elders and Magistrates. The oligarchy shrunk from it with aversion. A more summary mode of redress would have been, doubtless, to have discontinued their rulers in office; but apart from the consideration that this step would have brought down the thunder of a Puritan anathema,—wealth, learning, a certain prestige of rank, and more than these, influence in high places at home, all conspired in favor of the aristocratic magistracy. It was a wise reflection which taught the turbulent Freemen that they were better fitted to break the pride of their rulers, than to assume the responsibility of guiding their outlawed ship of state.

Nor let us waste our sympathy in behalf of the Freemen, as we read of their earnest and ingenious efforts against the oligarchy. They were not struggling for humanity, but only for self. They thought little and cared less for that large class of their fellow-subjects who were disfranchised by their own unjust laws, and who far exceeded them in number. For, to such a length did they carry their illiberal prejudices, that the Magistrates were afraid to deny openly "the aspersions cast upon them," lest the disfranchised population should

side with them, and so render their cause, "though never so just, obnoxious to the common sort of Freemen."* Hopeless, indeed, was the condition of the "non-members." They were subject to laws they did not make, and governed by rulers over whom they had no control. Including persons of different ranks in life, of various religious opinions, rich and poor, young and old, yet they were out of the pale of the Puritan Commonwealth, because they refused to enslave themselves to the Puritan Covenant. The most vulgar citizen, who knew nothing beyond his last or shears, could lord it over the scholar and the gentleman with impunity. Hear the voice of a cotemporary writer, upon the condition of the disfranchised class: "*The most of the persons in New England are not admitted of their Church, and therefore are not Freemen: and when they come to be tried there, be it for life or limb, name or estate, or whatsoever, they must be tried and judged too by those of the Church, who are in a sort their adversaries. How equal that hath been or may be, some by experience do know, others may judge.*"† Such was the spirit of New England Puritanism. Utterly opposed to civil and religious liberty, yielding nothing to humanity excepting what humanity absolutely forced from it, it barred like a flaming sword the pathway of human rights, to all but its own familiars and worshipers.

However gratifying then it would be to applaud the motives of the Freemen, in their struggle with the Magistrates, our lips must be sealed. Had a noble, though mistaken idea of right, animated their efforts, we should readily pardon the mistake in our admiration at the motive. But when we see the selfish, arrogant, and censorious character displayed by these vain-glorious "church members;"—when we behold them pushing their animosities into private life, and hanging a venerable lady for witchcraft, whose only protection was her gray hairs, and whose only fault, that she was the widow of a Magistrate;—when we read of the use made of the power they wrested from their rulers, and the unrelenting spirit with which they clung to the last to their exclusive religionism;—when we hear of their bearding their Sovereign, and bullying their political inferiors, deceiving the one, and outraging the other;—when we find that they could on a common platform, join with the Magistrates in distinguishing between "gentlemen," and "people of mean condition," even in articles of dress;—when, in short, we see that in both Church and State

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* 2 Sav. Winthrop, p. 171. † Lechford, quoted in 1 Hutch., p. 30.

they acted for a class, and not for the mass,—we shall be obliged to confess, that "the common sort of Freemen," even, were utterly ignorant of the principles of liberty, and that in this ignorance they were encouraged by the genius of their religion. Surely it is a pleasing reflection, that Churchmen were the first to raise their voices against the intolerance of Puritanism on these rude shores, and the first who were called upon to suffer from its tyrannical impostures. Nor should it be forgotten, paradoxical and incredible as it may seem, that the disfranchised people of Massachusetts Bay owed their final emancipation, not to the generous, voluntary sacrifices of *enlightened* Puritanism, but to the compulsory interposition of Charles Stuart the Second.

Hitherto our inquiries have been directed towards the manner in which the Republic of Massachusetts was evolved from the Company of Massachusetts Bay. We now would call attention to a kindred subject, which we have only partially touched upon, and which is of great importance in this connection; we refer to the Judiciary and Laws of the Puritan Commonwealth. It will be recollected that by charter the Governor and Freemen of the Company, residing in England, were authorized to make by-laws, not contrary to the statutes of the realm, for their own regulation, and also for the management of their plantations. This distinction taken between the Company and the plantations of the Company, between the laws of England and the sub-laws of the corporation, which is breathed in almost every paragraph of the charter, further proves, that originally a settlement was contemplated in the New World, which for certain purposes was placed under the management of the Company, but not so as to deprive the colonists of their rights or duties as subjects. The Company was authorized to discipline its servants and to punish disobedience, but not to exercise the prerogatives of sovereignty.

By charter also, the chief commanders, captains, superintendents, and other officers of the Company, employed in the immediate management of the plantation, or "on the way thither by sea," were authorized to administer these by-laws, and to rule, punish, and pardon all such persons as were in the service of the corporation. It was to this class of officers, who, as the commanders of a settlement in a savage country, were of a military rather than civil character, that the charter necessarily confided the enforcement of discipline. The Freemen, or stockholders of the Company, not changing their domicil, were subject to no other regulations than those com-

mon to "other corporations in the realm." The board of Assistants, which afterwards exercised such unlimited jurisdiction, was too far removed from the plantations to sit as a Court of Justice, or to punish violations of the law. The magistratical authority, which the Assistants afterwards usurped, was as unknown as it was unnecessary. To be the general managers of the pecuniary interests of the Company, to advise and assist the Governor in his executive duties, were all the powers that they claimed. It is true that some flagrant cases of injustice were perpetrated by Endecott, while superintending the plantation of the Company; but he acted without the assent, express or implied, of the board of Assistants. "The colonists being then but an embryo, were willingly subject to, and governed by, those wholesome and known laws of the kingdom of England, acknowledging only their willing obedience to such *rules and ordinances* as were by the corporation agreed upon as necessary for the carrying on of their present affairs, *and yearly sent over from England.*"*

The transfer of the charter rendered it necessary to change all this, and to assert a higher prerogative. We must distinguish, said the General Court in 1646, "between corporations within England, and corporations of, but not within England. All that dwell within England are subject to the laws in general; but foreign plantations are subject only to some laws of state."† Thus taking advantage of their own wrong, the Company claimed by right, both the law making and law enforcing power. The Assistants clothed themselves in the ermine of Magistrates, and erected their Court into a forum of justice. Nor was this usurpation wholly without necessity. For, when the Company was converted into a Commonwealth, and its members became a people, then, both a law to govern and a power to execute, more immediate than the far-off sovereignty of England, more complete than the petty police system suitable for the discipline of a semi-military settlement, became also necessary incidents. By common consent, therefore, the Assistants were dubbed Magistrates, and were authorized, without a murmur, to exercise the offices of the highest tribunals in the realm. How republican they were in the discharge of their extraordinary powers, appears from the fact, that for two years they continued quietly in office, exercising at the same time the Executive, Legislative, and Judicial functions, and dispensing with Juries in nearly all cases, civil and criminal.‡

* Hubbard.
† Committee's answer to petition of Child, Maverick et al., in Winthrop's Jour.
‡ Hutchinson, Col. Laws.

Fortunately for the cause of civil liberty, the Freemen "claimed the Common Law as their birth-right," and boasted that the same breeze which spread the sails of their barks, bore upon its wings the genius of that splendid system. The Common Law, which, originating with the primitive Britons, was handed down through successive dynasties and inhabitants, the Romans, the Picts, the Saxons, the Danes, and the Normans, borrowing from both Pagan and Christian civilizations, some wise customs and noble maxims, was transplanted by the fathers of New England, in order that it might bless their rising Commonwealth. But they claimed only such portions of it as were applicable to their condition, and whenever it conflicted with this, it was violated without hesitation. Still it formed the grand basis on which were erected the institutions which have made the wilderness to blossom as a rose. The Common Law was the birth-right of the Freemen, as it became infused more or less into all their political acts. It saved them, perhaps, from despotism, and by their wise precaution became, to the Commonwealth, a permanent and healthy sanative. But in the leading modifications it received, we can readily discover the action of two great principles, each struggling to neutralize the other. And these were the same which divided the State into Aristocratic and Republican parties. It was the Republican spirit which abolished the laws of primogeniture; the oligarchical which preserved the system of entails. It was the former which swept away at one blow, "the feudal burdens;" the latter which preserved, in all its strictness, the relation of Master and Servant, and substituted slavery for villanage. It was the former which insisted upon the establishment of the trial by Jury; the latter which withheld from Juries with jealous care the determination of the law. It was the former which caused the omission of the king's name in all legal process; the latter which, denying the Freemen as the source of power, substituted the name of the Magistrates. Finally, it was the former which asserted that the forms of all civil government are "the ordinances of man;" the latter which invested these forms with the majesty of divine right. Hereditary honors are to the few, said the Magistrates, what hereditary liberty is to the many.* But the Freemen, actuated by a wise sense of danger, felt that the honor of the Commonwealth would be more safe with hereditary liberty, than its liberties with hereditary honors.

* See 1 Hutchinson Hist. Appendix, p. 433.

The Common Law claimed by the Puritan Pilgrims, was "the Common Law of their native country, as it was amended or altered by English statutes in force *at the time* of their emigration." Comparing their Commonwealth to the then states of Burgundy and Flanders, and to the Hanse Towns of Germany, they acknowledged at times a *quasi* dependence upon the crown of England, but "not in point of government."* From the moment that they landed on the shores of Massachusetts Bay, they legislated for themselves. It is therefore particularly to their original statutes and ordinances that we should refer, to obtain a just knowledge of the spirit of their laws. During the exclusive sway of the oligarchy, the Court of Assistants governed "according to their discretions," sitting, as we have said, both as a Court of Justice and as a Legislature, and punishing *ad libitum* the violations of the laws which they had themselves established. Equity, said Mr. Selden in contempt, is according to the conscience of the Chancellor, and the consciences of the Chancellor are as uncertain as the length of their feet. One Chancellor has a long foot, another a short foot, a third an indifferent foot; it is the same with their consciences. This quaint old sarcasm of a common Lawyer, might have been used with admirable effect in illustrating the jurisdiction of the Puritan Magistrates. They professed to be governed by equity, *according to the circumstances of the case;* and "as for authorities or precedents, they had none beyond the reason and understanding which God had given them."†

But the General Court had no sooner assumed the shape and powers of a legislative body, than the Deputies of the Freemen, fully alive to the usurpations of the Magistrates, "conceived great danger to the State, *for want of positive laws,*" and demanded that a commission, both clerical and lay, should "frame a body of laws, *in resemblance to a Magna Charta.*"‡ The "wisest rulers of New England would have preferred not to have been *tied up so strictly to the observance of particular laws;*"§ but the Freemen, having enjoyed a taste of *Puritan Equity*, were not to be put off. Accordingly, Committees of Elders and Magistrates, sat annually for some years, from time to time reporting laws, as emergencies arose, which received the sanction of the General Court. Fortunately for the oligarchy, the Deputies had little or no voice in these deliberations. Ignorance of law, or some feeling of

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* 2 Sav. Winthrop, p. 279.
† Hutchinson.
‡ Winthrop's Journal.
§ Hubbard.

general incompetency, restrained them from actively taking part in committees, whose reports were sanctified by the coöperation of the Elders. But their general wishes were in the main understood, and much was yielded to their English prejudices. The trial by jury, established by Woden himself, and confirmed by the great charter of King John, was reluctantly adopted as a fundamental principle in the new system of laws. The Commonwealth was also divided into counties, Grand Juries were regularly established, and subordinate County Courts were erected, composed partly of Magistrates and partly of Freemen, (1641.) But the County Courts thus created, interfered but little with the extraordinary jurisdiction of the Court of Assistants. This Court still retained original and exclusive jurisdiction in all cases of divorce, and in all criminal cases, "extending to life, member, or banishment." It sat as a Court of Appeal from the County Courts, and thus continued to be the expounder of Puritan Jurisprudence. It is true that appeals lay in some cases from its decisions to the General Court; but these were for the most part where only a bare majority was in favor of convicting in capital trials. The original jurisdiction of the General Court seems to have been chiefly confined to the delinquencies of the Magistrates, though the elders thought even this an unwarrantable assumption of power. "We do not find," declared the sacred college in 1644, "that power of judicature is granted to the Freemen, or Deputies in the General Court, either by patent, or the elections of the people, or by any laws of the country."* But though the Court of Assistants was confirmed in its judicial usurpations, and though the criminal code set forth by the commission was severe in the extreme, the Freemen on the whole gained by their timely outcries. They exchanged uncertainties for certainties, and the internal administration of justice became complete and systematic. In 1648, the same year in which the Puritan Church promulgated her "platform of discipline," the several reports of the Commission were collected together, ratified by the General Court, and made public.†

We have said, that the Freemen, having drunk at the fount of Puritan *Equity*, clamored for a *Magna Charta*. The great charter of King John merits the title it bears, chiefly because it protected every individual of the nation in the free enjoyment of life, liberty, and property.‡ It was this protection, then, that the Freemen sought in their anoma-

* See 2 Sav. Winthrop, p. 205. † Hutchinson. ‡ 4 Bl. Com., p. 417.

lous situation. Their lives, liberties, and property, were held by uncertain tenures; and since the charter granted no authority either to take life, or to restrain liberty, or to control individual property; since the police system authorized therein was intended not for the Freemen or stockholders of the Company, but for their employees and servants residing out of the kingdom on a distant plantation; since they had by their own act removed themselves out of the reach of their sovereign's protection, and by abusing his kindness had forfeited his favor; since by renouncing their rightful allegiance they had sold themselves to the slavery of Puritanism, which ruled them through their fears, and their hopes for this world and the next, with a rod of iron: all these considerations rendered a *Magna Charta* indispensable to their security. Can we read aright the lesson taught by this remarkable scene? Can we truly apprehend the moral, shining forth in this clamor for a great charter, by men who had forsaken all that ought to be most dear upon earth, at the beck of a false religion? Are New Englanders capable of giving full credit to the truth that civil and religious liberty were enjoyed in England, when they were not only forbidden, but were ignored, on the shores of Massachusetts Bay?

One branch of the New England *Magna Charta*, which Puritanism vouchsafed to "the inferior sort," was a definite code of criminal law. This code had no analogies either in the laws of England or the spirit of Christianity. On the contrary, its *animus* and tone were confessedly Mosaic. It was characterized by a sanguinary severity. It allowed torture in cases where a convicted felon was suspected of having confederates, and it punished with death, idolatry, witchcraft, blasphemy, murder, bestiality, sodomy, adultery, man-stealing, perjury in capital cases with intent to take life, conspiracy, rebellion, cursing or smiting of their parents by children, rebellion against their parents by children over sixteen years of age, and rape. High treason, "the highest civil crime which any man can possibly commit," was ignored by Puritanism. In 1652, arson was made a capital felony on account of its frequent occurrence; and in 1678, half a century after the transfer of the charter, and thirty years after the murder of Charles the First, the General Court, stimulated by a sense of danger, acknowledged that it was the duty of all good subjects to provide for the safety of the person, crown, and dignity of their sovereign, and added treason to the list of capital offences. In crimes of a less heinous nature, the

penalties inflicted by the Puritan code, had in all possible cases their levitical archetypes.*

The mode of inflicting death for these various offences, we believe was not specified by law, and in some cases the Magistrates improved upon the terrible practice of Israel. In 1681, a negro, who had been convicted of arson, was publicly burned alive in Boston. One other instance only do we know of this fearful retribution in Massachusetts, and this was long after the Puritan Commonwealth had ceased to exist.† But who of us can tell how often power may have been abused during the sway of an irresponsible oligarchy? Who can set bounds to the follies of religious fanaticism? When we consider that in the early condition of "the Old Bay State," Puritanism muzzled the press, and sealed the lips of its victims and enemies, on the plea of quelling sedition; when we reflect that it is only by peeping behind the curtain, through the forbidden pass of private journals and manuscripts, never meant for the public eye, and which by accident merely escaped the flames, that we can catch a glimpse of the true moral machinery of Puritanism; when we think of the nature of the deeds that Puritanism was not only capable of doing in public, but of glorying in as a meritorious ground for Divine favor,—we surely shall be excused for shrugging our shoulders, if told that Puritanism has a right to the reputation of innocence until proved guilty.

Besides the several crimes above named, others were made capital on a second or third conviction. In 1647, a law was passed banishing on pain of death, Jesuits, or "any ecclesiastical persons ordained by the authority of the See of Rome." In the same year burglary was made capital, *on a third conviction*. In 1652, the penalty for the denial of the canonical books of the Old and New Testaments, was made banishment or death, on a second conviction, at the discretion of the Magistrates. Thus burglary was considered a lesser crime than liberty of conscience!

The credit for this sanguinary code of criminal law, belongs to the Elders; and that it would have been more sanguinary had it depended upon them alone, is a startling fact. The hand of the civil magistrate struck six from the list of capital offences reported by Mr. Cotton, among which were profaning "the Sabbath," reviling the Governor or the Stand-

* 1 Hutchinson, p. 388, n.

† In 1749, Phillis, colored servant of Capt. John Codman, of Charlestown, was burned for poisoning her master.

ing Council, incest within the Levitical degrees.* We must therefore refer much of the severity of the criminal law to the Elders, whose ideas were founded, not in the study of the science, not in the knowledge of the human heart, not on the real wants of the State, but were derived from a wrong-headed fanaticism, which refused to look beyond the pages of Holy Scripture, regardless of mutations and circumstances. Yet the sanguinary character of the Puritan laws has been made a subject for panegyric, and Bancroft, with great ingenuity, attributes it to a concern for the purity of the marriage bed, that adultery was visited with death! More modest arguments in behalf of the Puritan lawgivers, have urged that their criminal code was more humane than that of England, because the number of its capital crimes was smaller. But this position cannot be maintained. The great number of felonies in England grew up gradually to supply the supposed wants of a populous kingdom. As wealth increased, further security for property was found necessary; and as vice and crime continually advanced with civilization, new checks were indispensable, as new temptations were multiplied. But the Puritan Commonwealth, in all the bloom of its youth, and the strength of its boasted virtue, promulgated on the instant a code of criminal law, whose sanguinary spirit could only be exceeded by its illegality.

The peculiarity of the Puritan law, as we have before intimated, was its attempt to graft upon Christian civilization, the abrogated statutes of the Hebrew Commonwealth. As lawfully appointed agents to enforce the laws which Divinity had given, the Magistrates claimed a consecrated office, and considered themselves responsible alone to the Supreme Judge and Lawgiver. The same principle was even asserted among the democratic pilgrims of Plymouth, and the people of that hardy race were taught to behold in their Magistrates, "not the ordinariness of their persons, but God's ordinance for their good."† Thus this favored class in the Puritan Commonwealth made themselves a law to the Freemen, or rather made their private fantasies assume the shape and terror of laws. The two tables of moral law, containing Man's duty towards God, and his duty towards his neighbor, they reasoned with partial truth, are binding upon humanity wherever it wanders. Uttered by the voice of Jehovah, written with His own finger and termed the Covenant, man in every age and clime is bound to their faithful observance. It needs no legislation to

* 1 Hutchinson, p. 390, n. † Robinson's Letter, Morton's Memorial.

place the stone tables at the head of all codes of law, for they are obligatory alike on Christian and Pagan, and cannot be violated with impunity. Thus beholding in the Moral Law of Israel, not the seeds which were to bud forth and blossom into Christianity, but only ten distinct commands, as rigid and unexpansive as the marble letters in which they were written, the Magistrates held that whether they assumed the form of English statutes or not, they were obligatory upon the Puritan Commonwealth and should be enforced by the arm of the civil power.

Roger Williams first took the exception, that in breaches of the first table, the Magistrates were powerless; that they had no right to interfere between God and His creature; and that their legitimate authority was confined to the oversight of man's duty towards his neighbor. But this, the first gleam of religious liberty in the Puritan Commonwealth, was immediately obscured. At a General Court held in 1635, both Elders and Magistrates pronounced such opinions "to be erroneous and very dangerous," and Williams' "call to a church" in Salem, was adjudged, in consequence, "a great contempt of authority." The banishment of this enthusiast did not by any means put to rest the waking principle he had roused; nor did the manner in which the Magistrates exercised their authority, tend to check the "inordinate love of liberty." His persecution gained him many disciples, and the question of the first table continued a mooted point in Puritan jurisprudence, down to the synod of 1647, in which, after much debate, it was decided by the Elders that the civil Magistrate is "*custos utriusque tabulæ*," and has full power to compel their observance, so far as respects the outward man.*

This decision ratified the inquisitorial authority, which, since the transfer of the corporation, had been usurped by the Court of Assistants, and in the exercise of which, they had respected neither the charter, nor the statutes of England, neither liberty of person, nor freedom of conscience. Deluded by a fanaticism which taught that private reasoning was but little removed from inspiration, breaking away from the easy yoke of the Church to surrender their whole being to the iron slavery of Puritanism, Christianity, as they endeavored to mould it, was only blackness, and darkness, and tempest. Thou shalt have no other God but me, declares the Decalogue; and Familists, Anabaptists, and Quakers, violate this law, added the Elders, because they are not under our Cove-

* Winthrop's Journal, Hubbard.

nant. Nay, enter in, and possess this pleasant land, and drive out by fraud and violence the idolatrous natives, who worship an unknown God.* Thou shalt not worship any graven image, continues the Decalogue, nor the likeness of anything in Heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the waters under the earth. And, reasoned the Elders, is not the sign of the cross in baptism, an idolatrous superstition? Nay, may we lawfully live under a banner upon whose folds is emblazoned the cross? Remember that thou keep holy the Sabbath day, said Jehovah to stubborn Israel; I have sanctified the seventh day, and it shall be holy in your eyes. And this commandment the Puritan Commonwealth incorporated with the very essence of its Christianity. But though the seventh was the consecrated day of the Levitical Law, its sanctity was extracted by Puritanism and infused into the first. Sunday, the Lord's day, the great festival of the Catholic Church, was tricked out in the gloomy habiliments of the Sabbath of Israel. The gathering of our own sticks on the Sabbath day, said the Ipswich assembly of Elders in 1644, it is lawful to punish with death; but the theft of our neighbor's sticks on the ordinary days of the week, may be visited with a pecuniary mulct.†

Such, in brief, were the laws of the Puritan Commonwealth, and it is only necessary to add, that in those cases where no express law was provided, the Elders declared that the Magistrates were to be governed only by the word of God, or, in other language, by their construction of it. It is useless to disguise the absurdity, and at the same time the illegality, of such a system of laws. It never was intended by the charter that the Assistants should sit as a Court of Justice, or that the Company should erect a Legislature. Far less was it contemplated that the Company should resort to Mount Sinai, in order to perfect its statute-book. Strictly speaking, the legislation of the Commonwealth was treasonable, *and every capital punishment inflicted under its laws, was murder.* On the accession of William III, when the General Court debated whether the charter he offered Massachusetts should be accepted, it was openly declared, that *the old charter was defective, since it gave no power to take life in capital cases.*‡ It was boldly said, when we consider what the Puritan Commonwealth had done under the protection of this same old tattered parchment, which had required repeated patching and mending to enable it to survive the contests between the oligarchy and the Free-

* Winthrop's Journal, Hubbard. † Ibid. ‡ Neal.

men. It might have been added, that *not in one single place did the charter give to the Assistants their favorite title of Magistrates.*

Since the final end of all human government is to secure the greatest amount of happiness, and since all municipal law is but the "rule of moral conduct," it may be proper, before we conclude, to ascertain how far the government we have imperfectly described, answered the end for which it was established. The leading men of the Commonwealth were gentlemen of liberal education, and of unblemished lives; nor was the title of goodman, the right of every honest Freeman, a mere empty courtesy. Can the same be said of the great body of the people? Did Puritanism have sufficient vitality, we will not say to increase, but even to preserve the morality of the people?

The Puritan, from the beginning, greedily imbibed certain theological errors, which are fatal to the cause of morality and virtue, and which brought forth their proper fruits in the Puritan Commonwealth. "Doth the favor of God depend wholly upon our perfect walking," was the question arrogantly asked by the self-constituted saints of Massachusetts? Did Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob never enjoy protection, when "found to be out of the way?"* The Regicides of the old world, and the homicides of the new, were the same community of the elect, testifying their love to God by the destruction of His enemies. Their rebellious consciences were quieted by these comfortable fallacies, whenever a period of adversity awakened them to reflection. For, *the elect of God*, "although they may through the temptation of Satan and the world, *incur God's displeasure, and grieve His Holy Spirit, have their hearts hardened, their consciences wounded, and hurt and scandalize others, yet they are and shall be kept by the power of God, through faith unto salvation.*"† Such was the basis of public morals furnished by the Church to the Commonwealth. Can we wonder when we read of complaints that the butcherly expeditions against the Indians were "most shamefully discouraged, *because the army was too much under a covenant of works?*" Could any possibility short of a miracle, have kept sweet and clear an atmosphere so loaded with the seeds of moral impurity?

Puritanism did not emigrate with spotless garments. The fleet of Winthrop was often the scene of fantastic and severe

* See Winthrop's Letter, 1 Hazard, 514.
‡ Confession of Faith in 1680, Mather.

punishment; and Hutchinson has immortalized several culprits, who, when the Commonwealth was "but just come to its birth," were whipped, fined, pilloried, and even banished, for such crimes as theft, drunkenness, adultery, and profane swearing. He adds, that a great number of similar cases might be stated. We will not mention the repeated perpetration of those crimes which "the laws of England, with peculiar modesty, assure us are not fit to be named."* One needs only to examine the public records, or to turn carelessly over the leaves of the early annals of the Commonwealth, to become assured of the fact, that neither the restraints of religion, nor fear of the laws, were sufficient to prevent the commission of the foulest crimes. A multiplicity of penal laws, always a sign of the growth of the evils they are intended to check,† distinguished the Puritan statute-book; and we learn that the Commonwealth had not been in existence scarcely ten years, when, by the advice of the Elders, the General Court ordered a solemn fast, to be observed on account of "the foul sins" which were appearing among the inhabitants.‡ The first Grand Jury of the Commonwealth, presented in 1635, one hundred offenders; and Hubbard, remarking upon this singular fact, declares that had all "the following juries been as quicksighted, it might have prevented a great number of evils." Doubtless the austere annalist was correct; for "as people increased, so sin abounded, and especially the sin of uncleanness."§ Gambling, forgery, and fornication, were all made subjects for penal laws, ere the first synod of the Elders had settled the articles of their faith; and sixteen years had scarcely elapsed from the transfer of the charter, when it was found necessary to erect houses of correction in every county, in order "to redress many misdemeanors and evil practises daily increasing."‖

Nor were these "evil practises" confined to the old and hardened who hovered in the rear of the Puritan pilgrims like the rabble which follows the train of an army. Those whose beards had scarcely grown,—whose only associations had been with the devout and learned from their earliest years, not infrequently evinced symptoms of the general disorder. In 1644, "two of our minister's sons, about 20 years of age," students in Harvard college, were convicted of burglary and ignominiously punished.¶ Winthrop, blessed with a son who perhaps was the brightest ornament of New England Puritan-

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* Chalmers. † De Maistre. ‡ Winthrop's Journal.
§ Winthrop's Journal. ‖ Colony Laws. ¶ 2 Sav. Winthrop, p. 166.

ism, generously abstained from writing the names of these youthful culprits even in his private journal. They were the first burglars punished in the Puritan Commonwealth, and it was not until three years after that this crime became known to its statute-book. But this was not all. Attracted by the vociferous sanctity of Puritanism, "sundry gentlemen of quality" in England, were early in the habit of sending over their unruly children to the Puritan Commonwealth, in order that wholesome discipline, and correct example, might "prevent their extravagant and riotous courses." It was a noble aspiration,—this desire to make the New World a school of virtue and morality for the old. But the event proved how totally inadequate Puritanism was to exercise so important a vocation. These youthful prodigals found companions equally extravagant among the streets and alleys of pious Boston, so that the General Court, because of "*the reproach of the country*," was obliged to interfere, and to pass a law (1647) inflicting penalties upon such persons as encouraged them in "their riotous courses."*

It would be easy to summon forth from their obscurity many examples in support of the preceding remarks, which were bewailed by the wise and good in the Puritan Commonwealth. But we have space only to give a general outline. It may be also argued, that it is not among the emigrants themselves that we should look for the moral influence of Puritanism. Many brought over their vices with them, contracted under the institutions of the old world. But on the virgin soil of Massachusetts, where popery had not yet intruded, and where debauchery was all unknown, where, in short, the "true churches of Christ" had full scope to develop the perfect Christian character, surely the second and third generations of the inhabitants should have exhibited a pleasing contrast. But how was the fact? In 1660, suicides became so frequent that the General Court passed a law ordering that the body of every *felo de se* should be denied Christian burial, and that after being interred in some common highway, "a cart load of stones should be laid on the grave as a brand of infamy, and as a warning to others to beware of the like damnable practices."† This act was in a few years followed by one of equal significance. In 1665, the General Court, reciting that the crime of fornication was increasing to the great dishonor of God, and their profession of His Holy Name, empowered the proper Court, when one of the guilty parties

* Colony Laws. † Ib.

was a Freeman, to add disfranchisement to the penalties of fine, whipping, and compulsory marriage, already provided by law.* In 1670, the laws against gambling were revived, because "the great sin of gaming increaseth within the jurisdiction, to the great dishonor of God, and corrupting of youth."† But intemperance was the prevailing vice of the people. Spirits of all kinds were abundant and cheap; and wines especially, at first imported without duty, were plentier than in England.‡ It is but justice to say, that the Elders and Magistrates discouraged the general use of these luxuries by setting the example of self-denial. Yet it seems that they soon came into general use. The earliest duties levied in the Commonwealth, were small imposts upon "wines and strong waters," which proves that they were the most prominent articles of trade; and Johnson mentions the vintners of Boston, as being, at an early period, a class of very prosperous tradesmen. So early as 1641, the faithful journalist, Winthrop, records it as an extraordinary fact, that at "a great training of twelve hundred men" in that year at Boston, not one man was drunk, "though there was plenty of wine and strong beer in the town." This sobriety was so remarkable, that though these men were under the restraints of military discipline, it was considered worthy of special notice. If any hopes were excited by this unusual exhibition of temperance, they were destined to be transitory. In 1645, the importations had so increased, that it was determined to derive from them a revenue. Accordingly, the General Court laid an impost of ten shillings sterling upon every butt of Spanish wine that should thereafter be brought into the Commonwealth. But notwithstanding this tariff, sixteen hundred hogsheads were imported the following year, in English bottoms.§ The government were amazed. "It might truly have been said, as of old in the time of Constantine, '*hodie venenum effusum est in ecclesiam.*'"‖ The ordinary penalties for drunkenness, such as the whipping post and the pillory, were perceived to be utterly inadequate to neutralize such increasing temptations, and as a last remedy, it was proposed to remove the evil by rendering it impossible. "Forasmuch," declared the General Court in 1646, "as drunkenness is a vice to be abhorred of all nations, especially of those who hold out and profess the gospel of Jesus Christ, and seeing any strict law will not prevail, unless the cause be taken away," it is therefore ordered that no per-

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* Colony Laws. † Ib. ‡ Johnson.
§ Winthrop's Journal, Hubbard. ‖ Hubbard.

son shall sell any wine under a quarter cask, unless he shall be licensed by the Court.* But this, and other checks of a like nature, proved utterly inefficacious, and the traffic continued to increase with the population, until the country was filled with "the commodity to the overflowing of luxury and other evils."†

The preliminary symptoms of general decay were precipitated by superstition. While laws against profanity and "sabbath-breaking," were multiplying in number, the wrath of Heaven seemed to be gathering over the Puritan Commonwealth. Early in 1668, a bright meteor appeared in the horizon, in form like a spear. "It stood stooping, one end pointing towards the setting of the sun, and moved downwards, little by little, until it disappeared." *Visae per coelum concurrere acies, rutilantia arma, et subito nubium igne collucere templum.*‡ The star, which, Josephus says, hung like a sword over Jerusalem just before its destruction, could scarcely have excited more dismay. It was now observed that the youth of the Commonwealth had degenerated very much from "the strictness of their fathers," and in 1670, letters missive were sent by the government to the Elders of all the towns in the jurisdiction, apologizing for so unusual an interference with their duties, but urging them "to be very diligent and careful" to catechise and instruct the people under their charge. Yet a few years later, and the subject assumed a more alarming aspect. "The people began to grow intolerably licentious in their morals."§ Pride, contention, profane swearing, drunkenness, litigation, sabbath-breaking, and neglect of family worship, were greatly on the increase. For the first time, laws were found necessary for the punishment of corrupt juries, and for the enlargement of the rights of creditors against their debtors. Commerce and trade were creating a love of money, and Puritanism was incapable of modifying the evils connected therewith.‖ So rapidly were people emancipating themselves from "the strictness of their fathers," that nothing but the law, rigorous to the last, prevented a general falling off in the Puritan Church. Discouragements, wrote Mr. Willard to Mr. Mather, during the administration of Andros, "increase upon the hearts of the ministers, *by reason that a licentious people take the advantage of a liberty to withdraw maintenance from them.*"¶

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* Colony Laws.
† Hubbard.
‡ Tacitus, Hist. Lib. V, Sec. 13.
§ Neal.
‖ See Dunton's Memoirs, 2 Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. 2, p. 100.
¶ 1 Hutchinson, p. 320, n.

Such indications of moral disease, accompanied by pestilence and war, by losses in agriculture and trade, and by the menacing position of the Mother Country, excited gloomy forebodings. In 1679, the General Court assembled the Elders in Synod at Boston, and proposed questions touching the causes and remedy of the accumulating evils. This Synod, called from its character the Reforming Synod, declared that "besides a great and visible decay of the power of godliness among many professors in their churches," many vices, "especially pride, intemperance, and worldly-mindedness, began to bud forth amongst them." The Elders suggested, as a remedy for these evils, that the leading men in the Commonwealth should reform their lives for the sake of the example to the lower classes; and to prevent future apostacy, proposed the renewal of the covenant by the churches, and a revision of their old platform.

It cannot be a matter of surprise, that the recommendations of the Reforming Synod failed to produce the wished-for effect. So far from it, the General Court, by a special ordinance in 1689, reciting "the corruption of manners," and "the apostacies and degeneracies of the people," directed that the laws against vice, and all manner of profaneness and debauchery, "be faithfully and vigorously put in execution, particularly the laws against blasphemy, cursing, profane swearing, lying, unlawful gaming, sabbath-breaking, idleness, drunkenness, uncleanness, and all the enticements and nurseries of such impieties." Three years after, the new charter arrived, and the Puritan Commonwealth ceased to exist.

Thus that "frightful dissolution" of morals, which reacted upon Puritanism in England, had its counterpart in Massachusetts. True, royalty did not gild vice in the Puritan Commonwealth, nor did letters encourage the spirit of licentiousness. But without the splendor of the one, and unembellished by the other, immorality stalked forth in the land, a giant Nemesis, naked and deformed.

Art. III.—THEORIES OF THE SECOND ADVENT.

The Second Advent; or, what do the Scriptures teach respecting the second coming of Christ, the end of the World, the Resurrection of the dead, and the General Judgment? By Alpheus Crosby. Boston: Phillips, Sampson & Company, 1850.

The subjects which the title of this book comprehends, have excited attention in almost every period of the Christian Church. And, in almost every period, unauthorized and extravagant views have prevailed to a considerable extent. In the Apostolic age, St. Paul found it necessary to guard his Thessalonian converts against an expectation of the Lord's immediate coming, which some had cherished, in consequence of a misapprehension of his meaning, or of certain deceitful attempts on the part of false and unscrupulous leaders. He assures them that most important matters must first take place, and appalling developments be made; and endeavors to withdraw their minds from tenaciously dwelling on the supposed time of Christ's future advent, and to concentrate their attention on the all-important duty of preparing for it, as an event, the time and season of which were wisely concealed from human knowledge. The controversies respecting the Millenium, which agitated portions of the Church in the second and third centuries, show how strong a hold the speedy appearance and visible reign of Christ had taken in the minds of many of his followers.

But the existing state of things continued. Christianity increased rapidly and extensively. The second personal advent and the visible reign of Christ in the new Jerusalem on earth did not take place, and gradually other topics of discussion superseded that absorbing one. This again took the lead, however, at another period. The end of the tenth century and the beginning of the eleventh develop most extraordinary phenomena. Large portions of the Church are excited almost to a frenzy of superstition on this same point. The thousand years during which the great dragon was to be bound had nearly expired, and the arch apostate was again to be loosed for a short time. Antichrist is about to come; the world is soon to be destroyed; and then the glorious visible reign of the Redeemer is to commence. This impression

gained ground, and spread in certain sections of the Church like wild-fire. Domestic, social, civil relations, are deeply affected by the impulse. Property becomes nearly worthless; buildings, the most noble and venerated, are neglected, and in some cases are allowed to fall into a state of dilapidation; every means consistent with the limited knowledge and general superstition of the age, are resorted to, in order to propitiate the approaching God. Fanaticism soon reached its height. The belief that the end of the world was at hand, induced many to visit Palestine, the holy land, where it was supposed that Christ would make his public appearance. The pilgrimage could not but have a favorable influence for the good of the soul, and bring the emaciated, devoted, self-sacrificing disciple, near to the glorious Master, shining in all the splendor of the Shechinah or the transfiguration. But not again did "the glory of the Lord shine round about," to enlighten and comfort these enthusiastic expectants; not again did "the heavens open" above the sacred stream of the Jordan. Palestine continued under the iron hand of its oppressors, and Christians and Jews alike sighed out their souls under the hard yoke of Mohammedan tyranny. The few, who, after experiencing the failure of their hopes, were able to crawl back again to their native lands, presented to their fellow Christians exaggerated statements of the most deplorable condition of their Eastern brethren in those very spots which the divine Saviour had hallowed by his touch. European ears were made to tingle at recitals of the horrible condition of the faithful, crushed under the foot of the false prophet. The feeling that they must be delivered, became dominant, irresistible. The imposition must be destroyed. The infamous crescent must be pulled down. The holy cross, blessed emblem of redemption, must tower high in its place. The ancient and venerated city of the God of Israel must be under Christian security and rule. The sacred shrine, the hallowed tomb, that was once honored by containing the divine deposit, the bodily remains of the great Lord of life, must be rescued from sacrilegious grasp. The agitated and heaving ocean of Europe must pour its devastating surges on the cultivated regions of the blasphemer, who had ruined Oriental Christendom by his sorceries and abominations. The holy Sepulchre, the holy Sepulchre, is the watch-word, and hosts of European warriors swell the crusading armies in their Eastern march to vindicate the truth of God!

In time, however, the crusading fever abated. It was found that the period allowed the Gentiles to tread down the holy

city had not yet expired. The Turks were ultimately left in undisturbed possession of Palestine, and the expectation of Christ's immediate coming was abandoned. The Christian mind in Europe became engaged with other matters. Aristotle's philosophy had come into vogue. The Stagyrite was lauded by multitudes even beyond the most distinguished of Christian philosophers. Metaphysical keenness was kept on the *qui vive* by the subtle dialectics, as the Germans would say, the Spitzfindigkeiten, of the Realists and Nominalists. The doctrine of the real presence became a fruitful source of speculation and controversy; and, after the theologico-philosophical disputants had often wearied themselves and perplexed their readers with arguments scarcely intelligible, and language too mysterious for comprehension by persons over whom common sense maintained its influence, it settled, at last, by the help of the fostering care of authority, threat, and persecution, in the absurdity of transubstantiation. Scholastic theology absorbed the thoughts of the contemplative. The more active entered warmly into the controversies between the civil and ecclesiastical powers. The Popes and the Emperors had their respective partisans; and what could not at all be effected by reason, was often most efficiently carried out by force. Then came the minor crusades, (as they may be called, however sanguinary they were, and revolting to humanity,) against the Albigenses and Waldenses; the persecutions of the Lollards; and other various attempts to inculcate truth by dungeon, fire, faggot, the sword, the iron boot, thumb screws, and various other such logical appliances, intended to enlighten the mind by making strong impressions on the body, which it would be both tedious and disgusting to mention; although it may be well for Christians of the 19th century to think now and then of the means employed by their ancestors to introduce or perpetuate orthodoxy.* The magnificent *auto de fe* exhibitions too, must not be forgotten, second in interest only to the gladiatorial shows of old Rome. In them, as the princess of Eboli, in Schiller's Don Carlos, tells Elizabeth, with characteristic naïveté, "they burned nothing but heretics;" and there could be no harm or cruelty in that, surely. The schisms in the papacy, the fall of Constantinople, the revival of learning in Western Europe, the Reformation both

* To apply Wieland's language of his chivalrous knight during his interview with his unknown rival:

> "Sir Huon, whose good soul to hear the wretch is hurt,
> Draws his devoted sword the heathen to—CONVERT."

on the Continent and in England, with the various civil and religious excitements of which it became the indirect occasion, filled the minds of the thoughtful, and occupied the time of the active.

Still, however, the idea of the visible millenial reign was not wholly lost; and in our own day it has been brought forward with extraordinary prominence. The time of the second advent has been calculated and settled, and although the ascertained year has quietly passed over like all that preceded it, others have been settled again, on the failure of the former, and with the coolest effrontery imaginable. Some of our own Millerites, in the plenitude of their fanaticism, prepared their ascension robes, their light dresses of gossamer, fitted for aërial flight, and in the agreeable consciousness of their own election, chose for themselves the houses and grounds of their reprobate neighbors, to be occupied on their descent again to dwell on earth in the visible kingdom.* With some exceptions, however, the saints, unlike many of those of the latter part of the tenth century, held their property at the ordinary market prices, which compels one to doubt whether, after all, they had arrived at the full assurance of faith. But father Miller has passed away, we hope to a better kingdom of God and of Christ than that of his or any other man's formation or modification, and this delusion too is gradually subsiding.

Let not our readers imagine that the extravagances connected with this subject are limited to the weak and ignorant, or uninformed. Men of considerable talent, of much piety and worth, both in England and in this country, seem to have become infatuated on the subject of our Lord's second and visible coming, and of his subsequent reign in the literal Jerusalem. It would seem that something very like a reëstablishment of the old Jewish system is contemplated by some, (although expressly disclaimed by others,) with this exception, that all nations are to unite with the ancient holy people in divine worship at the old national altar. The locality of Solomon's temple is to be gloriously distinguished, and perhaps physically elevated; a splendid temple is to be built there, the material of which is to be brought from Mount Lebanon, as formerly by arrangements between Solomon and Hiram; the feast of tabernacles is to be celebrated there every year, and those who refuse to attend are threatened with condign punishment; the most terrific extirpation of those

* The writer begs leave to say that this is no fancy sketch, but communicated to him on satisfactory testimony.

who are supposed to be hostile to the Messiah, is to be perpetrated by "the saints of the Most High, who are to possess the kingdom," and in this extermination of the ungodly they are to follow the example of the divinely directed and aided conqueror of the Canaanites. Thus is the second advent to be established, and thus is the divine Redeemer to reign gloriously in Mount Zion.

To satisfy our readers that these positions are not gratuitous assertions, thrown out at random, it may be well to substantiate their correctness by referring to some few of the authorities on which they rest. After quoting Isa. ii, 1, ss., Mic. v, 1, ss., and Ps. lxviii, 15, 16, our author proceeds as follows:

"Some have inclined to interpret this literally, of a real elevation of Mount Zion to a height which shall overtop the mountains around, and command the sight of all the people from afar. And that there will be great changes in the physical face of that country, cannot be doubted, as the prophets have expressly declared it." "Though I have been accustomed to give to this passage of Micah, and the correspondent passage of Isaiah, a metaphorical interpretation, as significant of the supreme dignity which shall be given to Mount Zion and the temple of the Lord thereon builded in the age to come, and the willing homage which all mountains and high places of the earth will yield to that where the Lord's glory abideth; I am far from slighting *the more literal interpretation which hath been given to it by Ben Ezra and others*, that Mount Zion shall receive a supereminence of elevation far above the mountains around, to hold up to the sight of the nations the holy temple of the Lord. But still I incline to think, that the glory of Zion, in the eye of the prophet, standeth rather in this, that it shall acquire such a celebrity in those days as shall bring low the most noted of the mountains of the earth, and draw the eyes of all men upon it, *being the centre of the worship of the whole earth*, as is set forth in all the prophets, and most gloriously in the 60th chapter of Isaiah, where all nations, and not only so, but all the natural productions of the earth, come together to beautify her and to admire her beauty."*

This English divine is "far from slighting the more literal interpretation of Ben Ezra." But Ben (or Aben) Ezra gives no such literal interpretation. He was a man of great learning for his day, and what is still better, of very good sense, and his comment on the text is as follows: "There is no doubt that this prophecy relates to the future; therefore he (the prophet) says, in the latter days. And the meaning is this, inasmuch as he mentioned before that the mountain of the house should become high places of the forest, he (now) turns to comfort Israel, for the glory of the house shall again return. It is (well) known that the mountain of the house was not high. But observe that the sense is this: *its fame shall be widely extended*, and from all corners (of the earth)

* Interpretations of Old Testament Prophecies quoted in the New; by a celebrated English divine. First Amer. edit., published by the Rev. Isaac P. Labagh, New York, 1845, pp. 264, 265.

people shall repeatedly bring offerings to it. It is *as if it were on the tops* of the mountains, and were elevated above the hills, so that all the inhabitants of the earth might see it." To the same purpose, also, DAVID KIMCHI. "After having spoken of the devastations of Zion and Jerusalem, he gives them this consolation. It shall be in the last days: which are those of the Messiah. The mountain of the house of the Lord, which he says shall be as the high places of the forest, shall hereafter be established on the top of the mountains. *He does not mean that the mountain shall be raised in bulk, but that the nations shall exalt and honor it,* and shall go there to worship the Lord. And, inasmuch as the nations worshiped their gods upon high mountains and hills, he says that there they shall worship the Lord with one consent, and shall exalt this mountain above all others that have ever been exalted and glorified."* No doubt these Jewish Rabbies had extravagant anticipations, but they were not so absurd as some of our modern "celebrated divines" would make them.

"The next thing, after the ennobling of the place above all places of the earth, is the flowing of the people unto it: 'And people shall flow into it'—that is, *the people of the Lord, the Jewish people,* in contradistinction to the nations, or Gentiles, who are spoken of next."† Now it happens that the original word translated *people,* is in the plural number, and that in this form it never means the Jewish people, except when the covenant people are placed in the same category with the hostile and irreligious heathen, with whom they may have chosen, by their wickedness, to identify themselves. It cannot, therefore, be put here "in contradistinction to the nations or Gentiles."

It is not surprising that a writer who is so confident, should dogmatically decide that "the man whose understanding of God's Word is *so vitiated,* as that he cannot see in these superabundant promises the fact of a national restoration to Israel at all, is not in a case to understand any part of Scripture, and will interpret it according to his own prejudices and fancies, or those of the generation he lives in and the men he esteems."‡ It is quite unnecessary to quote any more from a book teeming with extravagant interpretations, and wholly destitute of that calm, deliberative judgment, which alone can give weight to any decisions on subjects of such solemnity and importance.

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* Jewish Rabbies, by Samuel H. Turner, D. D. New York, 1847, pp. 198, 199.
† Interpretations, &c., p. 266. ‡ Id., pp. 267, 268.

From this writer, let us turn to another, a man of high character as a philologist, a traveler, a theologian, and a pious Christian. The able and learned Dr. Henderson, in his late work on Isaiah, has laid down some very extravagant positions on the subject under review. Strange to tell, he sometimes loses sight of the sublime and beautifully poetic imagery of his author, and dwells on the meagre, prosaic, literal meaning of the burning words and seraphic figures of that lofty genius and divinely inspired prophet. After the splendid and glorious imagery by which this man of God represents the future spiritual condition of the holy people, the true Israel of converted Jews and Gentiles, under the great king Messiah—when light shall have poured into them—when every thing hostile shall have united in closest affection, or been completely subjugated—when whatever is valuable shall have become their own—when all nature shall have contributed its beauteous and bountiful productions to adorn God's holy house, his spiritual temple—when complete peace shall be enjoyed, expressed by the figure of open gates to lead in the eternally conquered enemy, and to show that no hostile entrance is at all apprehended;—oh! how chilling is the bathos which brings down this most celestial delineation to the matter of fact business of cutting wood on Mount Lebanon, and transporting it to Jerusalem to build a new temple with—of keeping the gates open, that people in general and travelers may not be hindered from going in and out, even at night! We would not make such a demand on the credulity of our readers, as to expect them to take such a representation on any authority short of the learned writer's own statements.

"The inhabitants of the West, especially those which carry on maritime traffic, shall lay their ships and wealth under contribution, to the accomplishment of the purposes of God relating to the restoration of the Jews to Palestine. Their property as well as themselves, shall be conveyed, free of charge."*—"The idea conveyed by the gates never being shut, is that of the continual arrival of the multitudes referred to. Modern travelers greatly complain of the inconvenience to which they are put, when they do not reach Jerusalem before the gates are closed."†—"A literal temple or house of worship being intended, the language must be literally explained. From all that appears to be the state of Palestine in regard to wood, supplies from Lebanon will be as necessary as they were when the ancient temple was constructed."‡—"The enemies of Israel having all been swept away by the powerful judgments of God, the most perfect tranquillity shall reign throughout the land, and those who may go up to worship at Jerusalem, shall enjoy unmolested the fruit of their labor."§—"Creation is here to be understood not physically, but in a civil and religious sense. The subject is Jerusalem and the Jews. Their restoration will be like a fresh springing into existence; and the constitution to be established among them will be entirely different from their ancient economy."‖

* The Book of the Prophet Isaiah, translated, &c., by the Rev. E. Henderson, D. Ph. London, 1840; on Isa. lx, 9.
† Ib. 11. ‡ Ib. 13. § lxii, 8, 9. ‖ lxv, 17, 18.

In Zech. xiv, 16, it is said that "the nations which came against Jerusalem shall even go up from year to year to worship the King, the Lord of hosts, and to keep the feast of tabernacles." We have always supposed that this is figurative, denoting a general worship of the true God in his true Church, the figure being taken from a Hebrew joyous festival, as is the case in 1 Cor. v, 8. But our dullness has been enlightened by "the celebrated English divine," whose work was republished by the Rev. Mr. Labagh. After quoting the text he proceeds thus:

"This I consider as the best commentary upon the verse under consideration,* and proves that the words are not to be understood in a merely spiritual sense, but in a literal sense; for no one, after reading this passage, can doubt that it is a real feast of tabernacles to which the nations shall be required to come up."—"There is no hint of their ever refusing to yield the obedience of that ordinance, on the terms of which the Millennial blessedness is held. They shall year by year strip themselves of houses and of possessions," &c. &c.—"Feast of tabernacles, at which all nations are to appear in some way or other, (most likely by deputations of their chief governors;) when, being all assembled in far greater multitudes and from far more various regions than heretofore at Pentecost, the mother and metropolitan Church at Jerusalem might well say unto them," &c.†

Now, if the language of Zechariah must be understood literally of annual journeys to Jerusalem to celebrate the feast of tabernacles, why should not Isaiah be understood literally when he speaks of doing this at every new moon and every Sabbath? lxvi, 23? We are firm believers in the progressive condition of human nature, although we are by no means disposed to go all lengths with some of our ultra philosophists; we have observed with amazement the advances of our own age in science and practical knowledge; we have glided on the water in the steamboat, and have been whirled along by the impetus of the thunder-snorting iron horse, at a velocity which, in our younger days, we should have set down to the account of some supernatural influence. Moreover, we do not undertake positively to deny that the time may come when California gold-diggers, or other such enterprising adventurers, shall be wafted through the air to their elysium, although we are quite confident that, as Dominie Sampson says, at the awful idea of mounting on horseback, we shall never put our precious limbs into such imminent peril; yet, notwithstanding all this, we cannot work up our faith to such a pitch as to feel satisfied that the good time's a-coming, when men from distant parts of the globe shall be able to go to church every

* Isa. xii, 3, which, as well as John vii, 37, 38, probably alludes to the practice of pouring out water, as a symbol, at the feast of tabernacles.

† Interpretations, &c., pp. 208, 210, 212.

Sunday at the Cathedral in Jerusalem. We opine, therefore, that Isaiah must have used this language figuratively. And if so, we want something beyond the ipse dixit of "the celebrated English divine" to satisfy us, that the same may not be true of Zechariah's style. And if this is figurative, why may we not suppose that many other similar representations are figurative? Consistency would seem to require it; it would be entirely in harmony with the analogy of Scripture; and thus multitudes of difficulties would be obviated.

Dr. Henderson speaks in comparatively mild language of all the enemies of Israel being swept away. We make no objection to the representation, provided we be allowed to explain the language in a spiritual sense. But another distinguished clergyman has employed phraseology well adapted to excite furious zealots to fanatical passion and cruelty, who, "knowing not what spirit they are of," at the same time madly imagine that their "wrath is working the righteousness of God."

"It is copiously predicted, that the cup of the Lord's anger shall continue in the hands of the Jews until the time appointed of the Lord, not merely to take it out of their hand, but also to transfer it into the hands of those who till then will have oppressed them. The language, declaring this, is grounded on the existing circumstances of the nation in the days of the prophets. Edom, who broke the yoke of his brother from off his neck; the Assyrian, who carried away Israel; and Babylon, who held Judah in captivity, were the great types of all the subsequent enemies of the chosen nation, whether Romans, Turks or professing Christians. *The day of Jerusalem's recovery is the day of their ruin. In that day, it will be a righteous thing in the servants of the Lord to execute* UNSPARING DESTRUCTION *upon his and their enemies.* In the prophetic anticipation of that day, Psalm CXXXVII seems to have been written. The Hebrews were kept in bondage till the iniquity of the Egyptians was full, and they were delayed in the wilderness till the iniquity of the Amorites was full. So now they are kept in dispersion and degradation till the iniquities of the modern mystical Edom and Babylon shall be full, *and then fury shall be poured forth, and vengeance executed* BOTH BY THEIR OWN HANDS, *as in the case of Joshua's* EXTERMINATING CONQUESTS, and by a greater hand than theirs, stretched out to fight for them, as in the case of Pharaoh's overthrow."*

On this passage we add no comment, except what may be suggested to the thoughtful Christian and peace-loving reader by our italics. We will only say, that we should require a system to be substantiated by most solid scriptural evidence, before we could feel ourselves justified in even thinking such an idea, much less promulgating it to others. "Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord."

The influence which long cherished and favorite views exercise on the interpretation of Scripture, is the only principle by which we can account for certain expositions maintained

* Popular Lectures on the Prophecies relative to the Jewish nation, by the Rev. Hugh McNeil, M. A. London, 1838, pp. 69, 70.

by really good and able men. On no other ground can we comprehend how such a man as the writer just quoted could give so distorted a view of the language of St. James, delivered at the council of Jerusalem, as occurs in the same work.

"In that council, Peter referred to the special revelation by which he had been led, some time before, to go and preach in the house of Cornelius, upon which James made the following remarkable comment: 'Simeon hath declared how God at first did visit the Gentiles, TO TAKE OUT OF THEM A PEOPLE FOR HIS NAME.'* Now we have here a distinct declaration of God himself, that the design of this dispensation is to take and save a people *out of** the Gentiles, which is certainly a very different thing from converting and blessing all the families of the earth."†

But *this dispensation* is undoubtedly the Gospel dispensation, introduced by our Lord and established by his apostles under the influence of the Holy Ghost. Its design, according to the eloquent lecturer, is not to convert and bless "all the families of the earth." St. Peter and St. Paul, therefore, have most strangely and unwarrantably applied the promise of God to Abraham, "in thy seed shall *all the families* of the earth be blessed," to "*these days*," (Acts iii, 24, Gal. iii, 8,) that is, to the very age of our Lord and his apostles, and to the Gospel dispensation as *then* instituted. The popular and ardent preacher would have us believe that God's purpose was, to select *some Gentiles* to be the ostensible depository of his covenant blessings, just as of old he had selected Abraham, and not to extend these blessings among "all the families" of man! Credat Judæus, non ego Christianus! In a note he develops the idea more fully.

"*After*‡ this I will *return!* After what? After a period of desertion, during which the house of David shall be desolate and broken down. *After* such a period I will *return to* it and build it up. But *during that period*, what is to be done? Is God to be without a people on the earth, *while* he is turned away from the Jewish people, and until he *returns to them?*

"No. In the interim he hath visited the Gentiles, to take out of them a people for his name. To *this agree* the words of the prophets, who say, *after* this I will *return;* and I will build again what was fallen down. What is it that is thus described as fallen down and deserted for a season, and afterwards built up *again as in days of old?* Clearly the Jewish nation, the consequence of whose restoration is immediately added, that the residue of men might seek after the Lord, even *all the Gentiles*.

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* The capitals and italics are the author's.

‡ The italics are the author's.

† Pp. 88, 89.

"Thus there is first a period revealed, during which the Jews would be trodden down; and the characteristic of this period is, *a people taken out of the Gentiles*. Then, secondly, after this, a period at which the Jews will be lifted up again. And, thirdly, a period immediately consequent, when *all the Gentiles* will call upon the Lord."

Any lengthened comment on this most extraordinary development of St. James' language is unnecessary. It is quite clear that the predictions quoted in the 16th and 17th verses from Amos, are applied by him to the fact which he mentions in the 14th, as having just been stated by St. Peter; in other words, the conversion of the Gentiles and the union of them, *then* commencing, with the Jews in the Church of Christ, are the verification of the prophecy. To *this* fact, he says, that the words of the prophets, from whom he quotes an illustration, agree. The tabernacle of David, the royal and spiritual authority of his kingdom promised in 2 Sam. vii, to be permanent, *had* in a very great degree fallen down. It was *then* in the act of being built up by numerous Jewish conversions to Christ, and the Gentiles were being built up in connection with it. Of course, *this same* spiritual reëdification is to proceed, and doubtless hereafter with increasing extent and strength. But still it is the growing of the *same* holy temple in the Lord, and in its progress a *further* development of the accomplishment of the words of the prophets referred to by both these apostles. The expression, "take out a people," is evidently employed to denote the *commencement* of the *same dispensation*, which, in its *progress and completion*, is to "convert and bless *all the families of the earth*."

And here we cannot forbear calling the attention of our readers to what we fear is at present in some danger of being overlooked, or to which sufficient prominence at least may not be given. We mean, the fact that very large bodies of the Hebrew nation were in the apostolic age converted to Christ. We know that they were only "the remnant," the "election," the choice few, in contradistinction to the great unbelieving mass. Yet in themselves they were very numerous. The 3000 converts of the day of Pentecost were soon augmented by daily additions of the saved, Acts ii, 47; so that "the number of the *men* was about 5000," iv, 4. We may be confident that that of the women was not less. And, as the truth became more known, "multitudes of believers were added to the Lord," v, 14, and "the number of the disciples was multiplied," vi, 1. Afterwards (xxi, 20,) we read of "many *myriads* (Gr.) of believing Jews" in Jerusalem; on examining St.

Paul's epistles, we find that every Church to which he writes, abounded with Jewish converts; and St. James addressed his epistles to "the twelve tribes," as a suitable appellation of the vast and dispersed body of believing Israelites. These facts justify the conclusion, that the fallen-down tabernacle of David, the spiritual authority of David's Lord, had been very considerably raised up in the apostolic age. It would be a palpable mistake to imagine that the ancient prophecies of Jewish conversion, and of the reception of Gentiles into the same divine kingdom, had not been at all verified, or, if so, at most, in a very trifling and unimportant degree. The view which Mr. McNeil endeavors to maintain, would seem more effectually to militate against all practical Missionary efforts, as it would be useless to attempt to spread over all the world a system, the whole design of which was nothing more than to make a selection from among the Gentiles of a certain class, to be, for some indefinite period, the depository of God's truth during that "dispensation."

Among the most remarkable and extravagant notions of the Millennium, which it has ever been our fortune to meet with, we must allow a very prominent position to that of Professor Lee, of Cambridge; indeed, so far as we know, its distinction is wholly the author's, and not shared by any enterprising critic. Dr. Lee is indeed a very extraordinary man; of great ardor of character, of indomitable energy and perseverance, of very extensive learning, to whom the Church of England is much indebted for having given an impetus to the study of the Old Testament in its original tongue. But he is too much under the influence of theories to be regarded in general as a wise and judicious expositor. The theory to be sustained frequently gives birth to interpretations wholly unsupported by usage of language, or authority that can be confidently relied on; and this we are compelled to think is the case in the instance now to be adduced. One of his leading principles is, "that the whole of the prophetical Scriptures has long ago been fulfilled."* It follows, from this theory, that the Millennium has already taken place, and this conclusion the learned Professor avows without any hesitation. "I contend that the thousand years, or Millennium of the Revelations,† is not a strict chronological period. That it is not

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*Six Sermons on the Study of the Holy Scriptures, &c., and two Dissertations, &c. By the Rev. S. Lee, B. D., of the University of Halle, &c. &c. Lond., 1830. Pref. p. 38.

† The plural form is the author's, and is an error by no means uncommon.

necessary to suppose it to be so, the symbolical character of the context is perhaps argument sufficient. My opinion is that by this term is meant that *first division of the seventieth prophetical week already mentioned,* in which the Gospel was to be preached, and the Church erected, chiefly by the instrumentality of the Apostles." Pref. p. 36.

Yes, strange as it must appear to our unsophisticated readers of plain sense, the whole Millennium is comprehended within the last three and a half prophetic days of Daniel's seventy weeks! What the author states in his preface, he attempts, in his own characteristic way, to support in the body of his work. It is sufficient for our purpose, to quote one or two sentences, as our readers would hardly wish us to enter upon any formal refutation of such disconnected statements and unreasonable assumptions. "During the first half of this prophetical week, they" (the two witnesses of Rev. xi, 3) "shall give their testimony in sackcloth. The first of these periods, I take to be the *Evangelical Millennium;** for in this, the miraculous powers then and then only possessed by the Church, are earnestly and pointedly dwelt upon by St. John: '*If any man will* (is willing, θέλῃ ἀδικῆσαι, to) *hurt them,* (rather to convict them of injustice, which our Lord had declared should not be done: οὐ μὴ ἀδικήσει, the very words used by St. John,) *fire proceedeth out of their mouth, and devoureth their enemies,* &c.'; that is, they shall denounce them as destroyed by fire: this is repeated, in order to give the relation the greater emphasis. Similar denunciations occur in the next verse, which appear manifestly to allude to our Lord's words, Matt. xvi, 19; xviii, 18—20. This view of the subject seems to be established from the declaration of the third verse, viz: '*I* (Christ) *will* GIVE POWER *unto my two witnesses,*' the Law and the Gospel: by a metonymy for *the preachers* of those parts of Revelation which conspired to bear testimony to me. If it be objected, that in so glorious a time as the Millennium is predicted to be, to prophesy *in sackcloth* would involve an incongruity, I answer: Let it be remembered, the good news of this kingdom is *purely spiritual;* that those who wear *soft clothing* are to be found in the houses of temporal kings only; and that *this kingdom* ever takes its commencement, and secures its establishment principally in the exercise of repentance and faith; and of the first of these, sackcloth was the usual mark.†" Any comment on all this would be superfluous.

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* The italics are the author's.

† Dissertation Second, pp. 362, 368.

A notice of Professor Lee's extravagant and disconnected statements is no unsuitable introduction to Mr. Crosby's little book, the title of which we have placed at the head of this article. The author professes to "present the testimony of the Scriptures. All allusion to any other source of argument, or to the opinions of any particular sect or uninspired writer, will be studiously avoided. It is my wish, as far as possible, to *shut myself up alone with the Bible*, excluding every sound of theological controversy or speculation, divesting myself of every prejudice, and even forgetting, for the time being, my own most cherished opinions."* We have no reason to doubt his entire sincerity; and, in all probability, his investigations have been pursued on the same principle. But perhaps there are few points on which a man is more likely to be deceived. It is hardly possible to bring the mind to an examination of what the Bible teaches on subjects of such immense interest and importance as our Lord's second coming, and the events connected with it, perfectly free from impressions already imbibed from education, association, and other similar influences. And, moreover, as the topics must be confessed to be of considerable difficulty, a careful examiner would wish to investigate the views of the great and good men who have gone before him, and not to trust exclusively to his own deductions.

The author lays down several propositions, on which we propose to make a few remarks. The first is, that "the Scriptures often speak of a second, but never of a third coming of Christ."† To prove this, numerous quotations are adduced, which speak of the coming of the Son of Man, the day of Christ, of the Lord, of redemption, of His revelation and appearing. Most of the passages cited do refer to our Lord's final coming, although a few may well be explained of any event to which one or other of the phrases would be applicable. Thus, for example, "When the Son of Man cometh shall he find faith on the earth?"‡ may well be understood of any coming of Christ to try the faith and patience of his people; and "the day shall declare it,"§ of any time of remarkable trial; although in both cases the final coming and day may be the most prominent. Moreover, it would, we think, puzzle the writer to explain some of the texts quoted in harmony with any events which have yet transpired. The reader is referred to Matt. xxv, 31; Col. iii, 4; 1 Cor. v, 5; 2 Pet. iii, 12.

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* P. 11.
† P. 13.
‡ Luke xviii, 8.
§ 2 Cor. iii, 13.

His second proposition is, that "with the second coming of Christ the Scriptures associate the end of the world, the resurrection of the dead, and the general judgment with its awards."* This is undoubtedly true, but the Scriptures evidently mean, as the texts cited show, the second coming by way of distinction, which is quite different from such a spiritual coming as Christ promises his apostles in John xiv, 18–20, 28, xvi, 16, 22, 23. Under this head many texts are ranged, which certainly do sustain the author's position.

The third and fourth propositions affirm that both "Our Saviour" and "the Apostles," announce "the second coming with its associate events," as about to "take place before the death of some then living."† The usual large array of texts is brought forward to sustain the view; but the author enters into no exegetical examination of them. Their relevancy to his theory is assumed, and the replies that have been so often made to his application of them, and the difficulties to which it lies exposed, are very wisely passed over. It is extraordinary that after quoting 2 Pet. iii, 11–14, "seeing then that all these things shall be dissolved," &c., he should ask: "Are men waiting and looking for events which they have no expectation will occur till after their death, and it may be thousands of years after?" P. 66. The persons to whom St. Peter was writing did not know the time of the coming of the day of God. Times and seasons the Father had wisely reserved in his own power. The very uncertainty of the event might be expected to act as an urgent motive for preparation; and this accords with our Lord's reasoning in his exhortation: "Watch, for ye know not when the master of the house cometh." And are not Christians now "looking and hasting for," that is, ardently contemplating Christ's future coming as a fit motive of action? and even those who have no expectation of his immediate advent?

In this connection we cannot but remark, that the author's application of what is said in the Acts of the Apostles, respecting the early Christians' "having all things common," appears wholly unfounded. He regards the indifference with respect to property thus developed as a proof of the "strength of the expectation" of the proximity of Christ's second coming. We have neither time nor space to discuss the whole subject of what has been called *the community of goods*. Gibbon adroitly attempted to represent it as a lure to draw the poorer classes into the Church by establishing a sort

* P. 20. † Pp. 28, 54.

of equality. Dr. Mosheim's dissertation shows satisfactorily, we think, that the statements made in the Acts do not imply a proper community of goods, but merely express in strong language the fulness of primitive liberality.* Indeed, the narrative of Ananias and Sapphira sufficiently refutes the notion. The real motive, explanatory of the conduct of the early Jerusalem Christians, is to be found in their devotion to their faith, by which they were led to regard with indifference their earthly possessions in comparison with the heavenly inheritance. The same remark applies to many other passages which here, as elsewhere, the author has heaped together, as if their applicability were unquestionable.

Nothing but the principle which we have already stated, (on p. 69, bot.,) can enable one to account for the statement made by its author, on page 95: "There is no promise to believers of REST at death, but when the *Lord Jesus shall be revealed* from heaven." Had the author, after "he had shut himself up alone with the Bible," forgotten that St. Paul "desired to depart and be with Christ," because it was "far better" than "to abide in the flesh?" that "we who have believed do enter into his rest?" that the Saviour promised the dying criminal, that he should participate with himself in the rest of "Paradise that day?"† Did not St. Paul expect to die, when he assures Timothy that he is "ready to be offered and the time of his departure is at hand?" and when he says, "if our earthly house of this tabernacle be dissolved?" and, "I am ready to die at Jerusalem?"‡ Did not St. Peter expect to die when he said, "I must shortly put off this tabernacle," and, "I will endeavor that ye may be able after my decease to have these things always in remembrance?"§ And can it admit of the shadow of a doubt, that these friends and servants of the Lord Jesus expected rest as confidently as the penitent thief? Does not St. John promise immediate rest to the departed saints when he says: "Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord *from henceforth?*" adding: "Yea, saith the Spirit, that they *may rest* from their labors."‖ Verily, a man may "shut himself up alone with the Bible," and yet fail of appreciating some of its plainest declarations.

Our readers will doubtless be amazed at the quotations we

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* De vera natura communionis bonorum in Ecclesia Hierosolymitana Commentatio. This valuable Discourse may be found in the learned author's second volume Dissertationum ad Historiam Ecclesiasticam pertinentium: Alton. et Flensb. 1743, pp. 10–53.

† Phil. i, 23. Heb. iv, 3. Luke xxiii, 43.

‡ 2 Tim. iv, 6. 2 Cor. v, 1. Acts xxi, 13. § 2 Pet. i, 14, 15. ‖ Rev. xiv, 13.

are now about to make. We cannot comprehend the author's views, and therefore wish him here to speak for himself, in preference to any attempt on our part at exposition or condensation.

"The generation addressed by our Saviour and his Apostles has long been numbered with the generations that have passed away. The men who composed it have all been lying in their graves nearly two thousand years. The events, therefore, which were to be fulfilled before that generation should pass away, must have long since taken place. No prediction of our Saviour can have failed by its fulfilment within the predicted time; and any expectation of its fulfilment out of this time, unless ignorantly entertained, must be a presumptuous questioning either of his knowledge or of his veracity. But we have seen both how variously he intimated, and how explicitly he declared, that his second coming, with its associate events, would take place before the death of some who were then living; and also how clearly and abundantly the Apostles manifested a corresponding expectation. And is it then possible for us to avoid the inference expressed in the following proposition?

"Prop. V. The second coming of Christ with its associate events, the end of the world, the resurrection of the dead, and the general judgment, must have already taken place; and all expectation of these events as still future, is forbidden by the Scriptures."

The Sixth Proposition maintains that "the predictions of" the events "must be explained in a figurative or spiritual sense, and such as admits an application to what has already taken place." Pp. 96–99. His remarks on the two last propositions are comprised within a page and a half.

Our author very wisely declines saying "*how* these events have taken place." He must be a bold man, truly, who will undertake to satisfy sane minds, that such wild assertions are in harmony with some very plain language of the New Testament; especially such places as Matt. xxv; 1 Thess. iv, 14–17; 2 Pet. iii, 10–13. Did the end of the world, and the resurrection of the dead, and the general judgment with its awards, actually take place nearly eighteen hundred years ago? And ever since that time have the "righteous" been enjoying "life eternal," and the wicked suffering "everlasting punishment?" Marvelous hallucination of mind, which could prompt such an exhibition! We say again, wisely does the author decline "any attempt to determine the precise nature and characters of the *spiritual* sense," which he would give to the predictions.

That the apostles and others expected the second coming of the Lord in their own age, has been repeatedly affirmed by infidel and neological writers, just as it has been stated by that class of men, that Isaiah and Jeremiah predict a glorious state of the Jewish Commonwealth and Church after the Babylonian captivity. And they feel no difficulty in this theory, although the events have proved the expectation and prediction to be chimerical. The only conclusion is, that the apostles

and prophets were mistaken. According to Rosenmüller, Isaiah predicts the miraculous birth by a virgin-mother of a Saviour who was to be really and truly God. But what then? This is a myth, and no more to be believed than the account of some Hindoo Avatar. If the propositions laid down in the book before us be true, and the texts alledged in proof sufficient to establish them, we see not how to vindicate our Lord and his accredited and inspired disciples from the charge, either of willful falsehood or of imbecile superstition. Mr. Crosby does indeed appear to regard their declarations as truly divine, and to consider them as having been actually accomplished long ago. He says:

"I conclude by expressing my fullest conviction, my most assured belief, that the predictions of our Saviour respecting the great events which we have now considered, have been fulfilled *in the precise sense* which he himself contemplated when he uttered the sublime attestation, "Heaven and earth shall pass away, but MY WORDS shall not pass away;" and that is no *lower* or *more earthly sense*, but the very *highest*, *noblest*, *heavenliest*, of which these words are susceptible."—P. 100.

We confess our utter inability to understand how, when or where, they received their accomplishment; and, in conclusion, feel bound to express our regret, that any statements on topics so important and interesting, and yet so obscure to our imperfect vision, should be promulgated, which, however they may be regarded by their author, must tend, in a greater or less degree, to lessen our veneration for the truthfulness and divine authority of the SACRED SCRIPTURES.

Art. IV.—SOCIALISM.

The name of Charles Fourier, as connected with the Theory of Association, has, from some cause, acquired, in the American mind, we apprehend, a degree of prominence, which does not, perhaps, to the same extent, attach to it in Europe. And in justice, we are frank to confess, that, in our belief, Fourier was, in his origin, his education, and his character, superior to most of the school of modern reformers, who have addressed themselves to the subject of remodeling the social and industrial relations of life.

M. Charles Fourier was born at Besançon, (in France,) on the 7th day of April, 1772, and died at Paris, on the 10th of October, 1837. His family were respectable, and he inherited some property, and received what was called in his native city a collegiate education, although not probably of a very high order. He seems to have been distinguished somewhat in the mathematics and some of the natural sciences, and geography, especially, was a very great favorite with him. He was apprenticed as a clerk to a mercantile house in Lyons, and by his labor, in that and kindred capacities, gained his subsistence during his whole life. His mode of living was humble and contented, and his wishes for the human family, for the most part, kindly no doubt, but his prejudices so severe at times as to know no bounds. His strictures upon moral philosophy, and his efforts to ridicule Fenelon's Telemachus, on the ground that it was an attempt to inculcate the duty of always telling the truth, may be cited to show the extent of his hatred of the existing order of things, and also the correctness of his moral perceptions!

And yet, with the acknowledged fact, that he made the entire subject of moral philosophy a by-word and a scoff, his biographer attributes the beginning of his efforts at reforming the social relations, to his early perception of the studious disregard of truth, which everywhere prevails in the concerns of business! He names, in confirmation of this view, his being compelled to throw into the sea a large quantity of grain, which had become damaged by being too long kept, during a time of famine, in order to maintain a monopoly which his employers had secured. And again, (p. 8,) he says, "We have often heard him relate, that struck with the falseness of commercial relations, on an occasion when he was

punished by his parents *for having told the truth*, he took, at five years old, against commerce, the oath of *Hannibal*." "That oath, which he kept so well, was the origin of his discovery; for it was in searching for the means of introducing truth and loyalty into the mercantile system, that he afterwards arrived at *Agricultural Associations*, at the grand *Serial Laws*, and at the immortal theorem of *Attractions proportional to Destinies*" ! ! ! This is indeed a strange tirade upon humanity in general, and commerce and business in particular, and volumes might be filled with similar ebullitions. It can, at best, be regarded as scarcely less than the ravings of a maniac. Such an one is in fine condition to undertake the restitution of truth and order among men! We have certainly no account of any one, claiming to be an inspired person, manifesting such a spirit, unless it be that of Lucifer, after his fall, as described by Milton.

Fourier passed through a variety of fortune, but always without much success, living almost the life of a recluse, to the very end of his days. He seems to have maintained a formal belief in Christianity, and to have died nominally in the communion of the Roman Church. He used to date from the fasts and festivals of the Church, especially the more prominent ones. But he does not, after all, appear to have had any abiding faith in the great leading doctrines of the Christian Scriptures, and of the Church Catholic, as set forth in her creeds or in her formularies, or as dogmatically taught in her articles of belief. Judging from his system, as well as from his more express declarations of faith, we can only conclude that he was a mere deist, or, more strictly, perhaps, a pantheist.

He does indeed complain of those who opposed the Social Theory, and equally of the St. Simonians, that it was absurd, either to charge him with the design, or to attempt, in fact, to abolish the Church, and introduce a new Christianity, or to supersede the marriage relation, or that of distinct families, or to abolish inheritances, or make all property common.

And still notwithstanding all this, his own theory, if we understand it, is to have one vast edifice for the home of eighteen hundred persons, or three hundred families!! All their rooms opening into one covered passage, or common hall; all eating, in general, at a common table; all subsisting in a kind of partnership, wherein the ultimate profits should be divided according to the capital and labor furnished by each. In regard to marriage, it should be, as every thing else is in the Phalanstery, merely optional with the parties, as to

its continuance. A man should take a wife, as he would take a teacher, or a servant, so long only as suited the taste of the parties, until both or either could do better, or wished to try the experiment of change! Peradventure this experiment might, not seldom, be tried, during the subsistence of the former temporary marriage. But what of that! Shall one incur the hazard of change, without some reasonable chance of knowing whether it shall be for the better or worse! Surely, a cynical world will not be so harsh in its judgment! The children should all be educated at the public schools, and beyond the care or control of the parents. Under such a *regime* it would indeed be a wise child who should know his parents! The members of the Phalanstery should worship "one God or twenty," or none at all; most likely the latter! And all this left to work out its own course, in its own way! Is not this, indeed, "making systems with an axe," and with a vengeance too? Can any sane man suppose that this is not equivalent to the utter abolition of the marriage and family relations, of separate property, of religious worship, and indeed of all order and authority, both human and divine?

We are not surprised, indeed, that an observing and amiable man should find much in the present order of social relations, and especially in commercial transactions, somewhat revolting to the just sense of right, and evincing a too great disregard of the ties of brotherhood between man and man. It is easy to find fault with any thing and every thing, in the present organization of society. This has been, in some sense, the employment of system-builders, since the days of Plato, and we have no reason to expect that it will ever be essentially otherwise, in our present state of being. So these reformers always find it an easy matter to present a perfect system of their own! But the Republic of Plato, and the Utopia of Sir Thomas More, exist only in the speculations of their builders. They are but such stuff as dreams are made of. And it has been so with the Phalanstery, and will never be less so.

The assumption of Fourier, in the very outset, upon which his whole theory is based, is essentially and intrinsically false. The idea that man in his present state is susceptible of perfect freedom from ill, that he is capable of uninterrupted comfort and enjoyment, and that all this is to be brought about by unbridled license, by entire freedom from constraint, and by giving a loose rein to all the instincts, passions, and impulses of his nature, is surely quite the reverse of what is taught us in Holy Scripture. There is indeed no attempt to

found any such absurd teaching upon the doctrines of either the Old or New Testament.

The theory starts with the alledged truism, that all the works of God are perfect, and that man is one of those works. Hence, it is argued, if not prevented he will be perfect in his powers, in his passions, and in his enjoyments. But, say they, he is not so now. Hence it must be attributable to the false systems of social relations in civilized life. That would doubtless be a direct syllogistic inference, if it were made certain, that no other agency was concerned in the matter. But it is obvious, at the very first blush, that the great fact lost sight of in this theory, is nothing less than the effect of the Fall, and the origin of evil, which are problems quite too vast for us to encounter here, and which these empyrics find it convenient to leave wholly out of the case. And in doing so, they have, in effect, at the same time, laid Christianity altogether aside. For the truth of the Fall and Redemption of man is the very foundation-stone, the beginning and the ending of Christianity. Without this, the religion of Christ and of Plato are not essentially different. Certainly the difference is far less than what exists between the extremes of nominal Christianity in the present day. But with this, Christianity differs as much from all other religions, as heaven is distant from the earth, or as Socialism differs from the one Catholic Church. And to attribute the perversion of man's nature, or of his character and habits, to the false doctrines and practices of civilized life, is little better than to charge it upon Christianity itself. For Christianity, as a real, formal existence, lives, and acts, and speaks, as the great organ of Christian civilization. It is true, indeed, that the one Catholic Church has, like many other genuine organizations, numerous spurious imitations, more or less closely conforming to the pattern of the original, and professing to do her work. And how far their kind offices will be accepted of the Master, is surely not for us to conjecture. But to charge these corruptions upon the Church herself, or to make her responsible for their consequences, and hence to declare that this her chief work is vicious, is but to say that Christianity itself originated in a fatal misconception of the wants and the destinies of humanity, and that in its progress it has proved a hopeless failure.

This, indeed, is not, as yet, in terms, put forth by any of the advocates of Association in this country. Such a proposition, if distinctly enunciated as the basis of a new system, would doubtless prove too revolting to that sense of ven-

eration so generally felt in this country for some form of Christianity. But in Europe, we apprehend, the thing is much less disguised. It is not generally pretended there, at the present time, that Socialism is consistent with any existing form of the Church. If we can safely rely upon such men as Henry Heine, the exponent of German philosophy and French infidelity, which are very nearly convertible terms; if we may rely upon the testimony of such a man—and we know not why we may not—upon such a subject, Catholicism, that is, in France, the Roman Church, was completely crushed during the last century. And Protestantism had become so meagre a thing in that country, as scarcely to deserve the name of a national Christianity. "At Paris," says Heine, "assuredly Catholicism had been quite dead, ever since the revolution, and indeed it had lost its health and strength long before."

It may be, indeed, that Louis Blanc, Ledru Rollin, and the other revolutionary leaders of the same school, or Paul de Kock, George Sand, (Madame Dudevant,) Eugene Sue, and the writers of this class, who are but the aiders and abettors of the Red Republican outrage upon all that is sacred in the State and in the Church; it may be that these men seriously believe themselves the true friends of Christianity. But to us the case is scarcely supposable. The mantle of charity is scarcely broad enough to enclose such men under its ample folds. And it may, perhaps, with equal justness, be esteemed somewhat problematical, how far Lamartine, and Thiers, and Guizot, and Cousin, are more truly imbued with any true devotion to any known form of Christianity, aside from the idle day-dreams and absurd vagaries of their own overwrought imaginations. The truth is, no doubt, that for the time, Christianity has, in a degree, lost its control over the French mind. The Church is suffering a temporary depression there. The Church of Rome seems now everywhere to be receiving at the tribunal of even-handed justice, the same measure which she has so long meted to others. The poisoned chalice, which she had mingled for others, is now commended to her own lips. She may long be compelled to drink of the wine of the wrath of the Almighty, whom she has so justly incensed. It may be, that for her sins, and for her own purification, this scourge is suffered to come upon her. That is not for us to determine. But we have felt, that in the inscrutable wisdom of Omnipotence, it might so eventuate, that the subversion of the temporal power of the Bishop of Rome might result in the eradication and elimination of all that corrupt teaching

which she has been induced to adopt at different periods, in trying conflicts with the temporal powers of Europe, in order to maintain her own ascendancy as a temporal dominion, and to preserve some show of consistency along with her pretensions to infallibility.

But to return from this digression. We confess it does seem to us, that the teaching of this School of Association, although distinctly and unequivocally unchristian, is nevertheless based upon the conscious recognition of a principle of which the Church has too much lost sight. We mean the Social principle, the tie of brotherhood, binding society together in all its several relations and ministering to its several necessities and wants. And a consciousness of this fact seems to have driven many sincere minds into the absurdity of abandoning the forms of Christianity altogether. And so also on the other hand, many earnest, sober, and devout minds, who are really anxious to maintain their position obediently, within the pale of the original organization of the one Church set up by the great Master Himself, are, in our day, found exceedingly restless and vacillating, under the consciousness of the want of a cementing and controlling social principle. Now we all feel, no doubt sadly enough, that the world still lieth in wickedness, that man is essentially corrupt, that he is only evil continually, that he is very far gone from original righteousness, and of his own nature induced to evil. It is also but too true that the canker of worldliness hath everywhere eaten out the life of the Church. We see the unity of Christ's Body, that seamless garment, rent and torn into a thousand fragments. It cannot be disguised, that Christianity, in our day, and in this country especially, has lost much of that principle of coherence, that tie of brotherhood, that bond of perfectness, that truly Catholic spirit, which burned so fervently, in that final prayer of our blessed Lord with His disciples, and which so truly characterized the Christian Church, in all ages, until the arrogance of the Roman usurpation began gradually to encroach upon that liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, by her fulmination of excommunication against entire nations, by her haughtiness and pretension, mixed with great worldliness of spirit, and by the grossest, the vilest profligacy of life and morals. Here we find the origin of Socialism. And what of all this, it may justly be asked? Shall we conclude, with the Socialists, that Christianity requires a new dispensation; or with schismatics, that the Church has become so corrupt, that it is a burning sin to remain within her fold? Surely not, unless we will make God a liar, and the promises of no effect.

But it is time to turn the tables with the Socialists. We aver then, that the Church, with all her innovations and developments, has always maintained inviolate, the great fundamentals of the faith, and the great principles of social order. One of these principles is, obedience to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake. It is not less a cardinal point in the teaching of the New Testament, as well as of the Old, than it has been of the primitive Church, and of the Catholic Church in all ages, and to which the English Church has always strenuously adhered. The duty of obedience is indeed the foundation of all just authority. Authority, and, in short, all government, whether in the Church, or in the State, or in the Family, without its correlative, the duty of obedience, is mere usurpation and oppression. And this duty, in principle and in practice, it must be confessed, the Roman Church in this country, oftentimes under very trying circumstances of oppression and outrage, has uniformly and steadily maintained. Whether indeed this has been owing to her impotence, we do not pretend to say. But when we look back upon her career in the old world, and see her outraging every principle of social order, century after century, we confess that we do not care to trust her. At no time has she ever presumed upon a bolder step in that direction, than was resorted to by a coterie of eleven self-constituted priests, of the faction of Red Republicans in France, during the late revolution, when they deliberately assumed to absolve the consciences of all the former functionaries of government from the obligation of their oaths of allegiance, in a brief formula of three lines, which is worth preserving, as it shows the unblushing effrontery of these hawkers of constitutions. It will be found in the article from the London Quarterly, p. 150, and runs thus:

"Republique Française.

"Le Gouvernement Provisoire décrète:—*Les Fonctionnaries de l'ordre civil, militaire, judiciaire et administratif sont déliés de leur serment.* Hôtel de ville de Paris, le 25 Fev., 1848."

This is certainly a very expeditious mode of granting dispensations and indulgences, for such it as surely is if it is any thing, as ever emanated from the Vatican, under the seal of the Fisherman. And this shows that journalists and Prelates, Socialists and Roman Catholics, are much alike, in these profane pretensions, when they once suffer their minds to be seduced from order and decency, and plunge headlong into licentiousness and corruption. We have no wish needlessly to arraign the Romish Church upon such charges; we have done it in this instance, for the mere purpose of showing

how infinitely superior is the chance of sound teaching, while we abide by the original organization of the Church, to what it can be, when we suffer ourselves to follow in the lead of these irregular Associations, whether they profess to be of the Church, or of a merely secular character. It is in this view we have alluded to the universal rule in the Church, everywhere, and at all times, to inculcate the duty of reasonable obedience to those in authority over us.

In one other particular, of some importance in this connexion, the teaching of the whole Church, both in the East and in the West, has been uniform, and is founded upon the express warrant of Holy Scripture. We mean the perversion and corruption of human nature by the Fall, and the Redemption of the world by our Lord Jesus Christ.

And these two points seem to us the very terminus at which Socialism takes her departure from Christianity, and by which it is made, and will always be found to be, essentially antichristian in its teaching and in its tendency. And like the divergence of the tangent from the arc, this departure will be found to increase in a duplicate ratio, as it progresses. The systems, both in their premises and conclusions, are hopelessly at variance. The one founds itself upon the utter apostacy of the whole human family, and their hopelessly remediless condition, upon any known or possible plan of mere human development. The other assumes the original, and continued capability of all men, for the perfection of usefulness and happiness, upon the sole basis of progressive advancement and innate development.

In regard to the duty of obedience, it is a language unknown to their vocabulary. They plant themselves upon the safe limit of yielding obedience only to such commands as are lawful and reasonable, *the governed themselves being judges.* This is obedience so far as it is *comfortable* and *agreeable,* and will be likely to prove *profitable!* which, in principle and in practice, is no obedience at all.

In this view the right of rebellion and of revolution, instead of being the exception becomes the rule, and is one of the most sacred rights of the subject, and he is himself to judge, when there is just cause for a resort to these remedies! And whether he shall be, in all after time, applauded as a patriot or denounced as a traitor, depends upon the narrow cast of success or failure. So to, upon this principle, separation in the Church is as perfectly justifiable, at the mere option of the separatist, as for one to flee from the man who pursues him to take his life. Discipline, in such a case, becomes impossible. So too in the

family, the obligation to obey the parents rests not upon any fitness resulting from the relation, or upon any authority of the decalogue, but upon the mere reasonableness and propriety of the command, *to be judged of by the child!*

In both these particulars, Christianity, as taught in the Church and in the Phalanstery, will be found hopelessly at variance. Whatever may be the avowed purpose of the advocates of association, if it succeed, it must be upon the ruin of the Church, and with that the extinction of Christianity itself. For in our apprehension, Christianity without a visible formal Church, is salvation without a Saviour, a soul without the body. And to those of us who believe that our religion is a divine institution, that with the promises of the Almighty, it can never fail, and that like all the works of the Creator, it came forth from His hand in a state of absolute perfectness, it requires little argument to show that Socialism can never prevail, or that the Church can never be improved by mere development. And we have said all that we deem important in this view. To those whose views correspond with our own, *verbum sat.* And to those who believe in the doctrine of development, whether Romanist, or Puritan, or Socialist, there is no common ground, where a Churchman can meet them. What to us are axioms, to them are solecisms. All authority must of course be abandoned, and we descend into the common bear garden of gladiatorial conflict, where every thing must be argued from first principles.

But even upon this basis, the claims of Socialism are equally unfounded and absurd. The pretensions to economy which they put forth, are but the vainest speculations, the most idle dreams. There is no pretense, that one single successful experiment has ever yet been had. Attempts have been made, both in this country and in Europe, and by those who had faith in the principles of Association, and who were sincerely desirous of producing a favorable result, but in every instance those attempts have proved the most signal failures. Those which have been tried in this country have proved more disastrous, than could reasonably have been expected. It might have been anticipated, one would suppose, that with the genius and enterprise of Robert Owen and Frances Wright, something more satisfactory might have been brought about, in the New Harmony, in the State of Indiana, than was the fact. The enterprise seems to have fallen dead upon their hands, almost in the very outset, and was speedily abandoned as a hopeless undertaking. Hopedale, and Roxbury, and Northampton Associations, in the State of Massachusetts, and

others which have been attempted in this country, have met the same fate. They have scarcely acquired importance sufficient to become healthy laughing stock, so as in fact to be energetically ridiculous. They rather excite our pity than our merriment, and appeal far more to our sense of contempt than to any other.

The advocates of this system deprecate, in most lugubrious numbers, any comparison of their theories with that of the Shakers, and other similar religious associations. To us, however, it seems that in any such comparison, the Socialists have little cause of complaint; the Shakers are by far the most injured party. The Shakers have, at least, to urge in their own defence the merit of deep and earnest religious sentiment, and the impulse which this sentiment has breathed into all their experiments, has made them far more successful than any mere combination of hypocrisy and indolence can ever become. And these will, in our judgment, be found ultimately to constitute the chief motive-power of these industrial Associations.

We should perhaps be content to let them sink down into the common grave of forgotten things, without the pains even of giving them decent burial, trusting to the effect of their own specific gravity, to secure them a fit resting place, if it were not for the constant mention which they continue to secure, in the most respectable periodicals of the day. Every few months you shall hear such leading journals as our neighbors of the North American Review, chiming in with their most hopeless and absurd speculations; with a sort of parenthetical exception of their precious selves, however, so that when the day of account shall arrive, they may be able, in all soberness, to exclaim, "Ye cannot say that we did it!" Surely not! Men who have no more settled opinions upon any subject, and especially as it regards the Church, than attaches to writers of that school, will have few sins of commission to answer for. They may well ask, "Lord when saw we thee an hungered, or naked, or in prison, and did not minister unto thee?" The truth is, they see every thing which regards the Church and social order generally, as in a kind of twilight, as through a glass darkly, which only exhibits its images reversed, as in the magic lantern, or men as trees, walking. Their very position precludes any clear vision of any object which regards this subject. But hear them in their own words:

"Whether the application of Christianity to commerce can be best made by individuals, without changing, in any degree, their present relations to the world

around them; or whether there is some form of combination, which will aid them in applying the spirit of their master to the affairs of life, is a difficult and a vast inquiry. We are not Associationists of any school! yet we are willing that the experiment of which these men are desirous *should be tried! but tried only among themselves!*"*

The advocates of the Social theory, as they call it, claim for themselves, however, to have met with greater success on the continent of Europe, and even in England and Wales, than in this country. In times of commotion, when foundations are being thoroughly tested, when the weak-headed and false-hearted are filled with alarm, it would not be wonderful if such a system should find more favor. When men like Newman and Oakley, and their associates, are verging from the extreme of Puritanism in the Church, through all the intermediate stages, and finally plunging into the most deadly forms of Papal error, which has occurred in repeated instances both in England and in this country, we ought not perhaps to be surprised that there is also along with this, a vast movement in a counter current, by which scores of the Romish clergy in England and Ireland are conforming to the English Church, and that in this rush some should, like Baptist W. Noel, and other of the more ambitious spirits, be swept into the vortex of dissent, and others again, falling into more deadly currents, should finally be overwhelmed and utterly lost. Nor ought we, in view of all this, to be surprised perhaps, that some good men, and well wishers to their fellow men, should be seduced and led astray, and thus range themselves under the banner of Association, in some of its less revolting forms.

It is doubtless in this way, mainly, that these doctrines have been enabled to make any headway in Great Britain. We beg leave here to quote one instance of the kind, the only one

* To show that the theory of Socialism in the United States is no creature of the imagination, we make the following extracts from a letter from a *regular correspondent of the New York Tribune*, of Feb. 13, *and commended by the editor.* The writer, after much more to the same purport, says: "The *legal rights of property in land*, and the human *doctrines* to maintain these rights, are as *legitimate* in their existence as the unclean and ferocious animals. But are they more legitimate than these creations? I trow not. * * * * * It is puerile to quibble about *rights* and *legal origin*. Nobody doubts of the divine origin of crocodiles and rattlesnakes, wolves and foxes, bugs and lice, but everybody questions their utility in civilized society and cultivated regions of the globe. * * * * According to the notions of the Socialists, *the present system of society is radically false.*"

Whether the publication and commendation of such stuff as the above is an indictable offence, we do not pretend to say; but we do say that the sentiments themselves are a mixture of Jacobinism and infidelity of the most inflammatory and revolutionary character, which ought not to be tolerated in any respectable print.

now at hand, and which seems very fully to confirm the view we have taken of this subject. It is the case of Nottidge vs. Ripley, reported in the Boston Law Reporter, for Oct., 1849.

This case was tried in the Court of Exchequer, in Westminster Hall, at the Nisi Prius Sittings, in Middlesex, after Trinity Term, June 23, 1849, before the Chief Baron, and a Special Jury.

The case was certainly a very peculiar one, and calculated to throw light, perhaps, upon the operation and ultimate tendency of the principle of Association. The plaintiff was a maiden lady, who had joined one of these Associations, and had by the defendants, her family relatives, been forcibly abducted from the Association and confined in a lunatic asylum, under the assumption that one who would voluntarily join such an Association must be a fit subject for such discipline, which indeed the jury negatived by their verdict.

The investigation gave a pretty minute picture of Association in England. The facts elicited are briefly stated by Sir Frederick Thesiger, in his opening address to the jury, and by the witnesses more in detail.

"The Agapemone, or Abode of Love, in which the plaintiff had taken up her abode, contained among its inmates, FOUR APOSTATE CLERGYMEN," [from the Church of England, in very reputable standing and with competent livings, before their defections,] "a civil engineer, a farmer, a solicitor," [the very one who brought the suit,] "two bloodhounds," [and about fifty or sixty persons besides, as stated by the witnesses] "And in this establishment all prayer was abandoned."

By the testimony it appeared that at first they called themselves the Lampeter Brethren, and wandered about the country as a kind of strolling company of religious enthusiasts; but finally fell in with a family of some standing, where there were as many as three maiden sisters, having each 6000 pounds sterling, in their own right. These they contrived to cajole, and finally draw into their company, the plaintiff being the last of these victims. They then adopted the doctrines of Association, built a great caravansary, which they called the Agapemone, or Abode of Love, where they all dwelt, as one family, having no head, and acknowledging none, except God, as was expressly testified by Price, one of the apostate clergymen, who farther gave testimony as follows:

"We have horses and carriages, and we live in style, and we go out whenever we like, ride, or drive, or walk. We have money in the bank, and some of it we have purchased a farm with. There was a chapel there once, but we have turned it into a residence! We abjure prayer altogether! and we never pray as a religion, but we pray by offering up prayers to God, by following a life of goodness to God, and by outward manifestations, such as singing! and healthy exercises, and "hockey" is one of them. I consider that all we do is to the glory of God. That

is the commandment of God I consider that we are glorifying God when we eat and drink! Every one does as he pleases on the Sunday! We make no difference between that and any other day! All of us play at "hockey," females as well as males, when we like!" Another witness says, "Whoever wants money can have it."

Now this surely must be a precious set! We commend the picture to Associationists generally. As a description of the practical working of Association from one of the initiated, it requires no commentary. It is its own best expositor, as to all its results, whether economical, moral, or religious. And however much the advocates of the system may affect to disclaim all its practical workings, in the various experiments which have from time to time been tried, the world will judge them by their fruits. And until they can show that the *Novum Organum* is a humbug! and the inductive philosophy a failure! they must expect themselves to be condemned, until they can present to the world a succession of experiments, wherein the scheme is shown to produce beneficial results. As yet, we wait in vain for one such experiment. We have said enough of the pretensions to success on the continent of Europe, put forth by this school, in a former number. The above case shows how the thing succeeds in Great Britain.

It is, in our apprehension, a somewhat remarkable fact that the originators and prominent supporters of so many of these theories, are men whose education was, more or less, formed in the military school. The biographer of Fourier, p. 24, says, "May we not think that the organizer of the Phalanstery derived from his chasseur remembrances, some of the arrangements which he applied to his Little Horde, to that corporation of children, which play so fine a part in the harmonian system?" We have before alluded to the military life of St. Simon. And M. Considerant, the bosom friend of Fourier, as we learn, p. 66, was educated a sublieutenant of engineers. The entire theory is based upon military tactics, and even military terms are still retained in the *description* of most of its details, and its application to the affairs of life has, as yet, hardly gone beyond *description*. The entire framework of M. Biancourt's pamphlet, which stands at the head of our former article, is founded upon the battalion drill in the French army; and his illustrations are all taken from the various evolutions of the battalion, and its subdivisions of companies, sections, and squads.

We have no doubt that they are right, in this resort to the discipline and the drill of the army, where all authority is arbitrary, and obedience servile and abject. It is the only plan upon which a social phalanx could be kept in operation for a

single twelvemonth, unless it were through the agency and control of some superior and leading mind among them. That a horde of eighteen hundred men, women, and children, are to subsist together in perfect harmony, without constraint, each pursuing the impulses of his own inclinations, is a proposition too glaringly absurd to be put forth by any but an enthusiast, a monomaniac, or a hypocrite. They would, like so many wild beasts, worry and devour each other; or else, from want of stimulus and motive to action, they would soon settle down into a state of hopeless indolence and incurable lethargy, both of body and mind.

Are these men, indeed, so absurdly stupid, that they do not yet comprehend that the reasonable love of self and the love of family are indispensable stimulants to all efforts and enterprise? Do they not perceive, that under their system genius would die, and all progress come utterly to an end? It is matter of notoriety, that the great reason why all corporate stocks, with a few rare exceptions, are so hopelessly depressed and so constantly depressing, in this country, is a good deal to be attributed to that diminished spirit of skill and enterprise with which associated effort is carried forward, to the want of unity of purpose in large associations, and to the difficulty of maintaining proper discipline, subordination, and supervision, among so great a number. These difficulties may measurably disappear, as these corporations become more fully established, but never fully.

And this Phalansterian notion, of having every one do as he will, is, if possible, more absurd than most of their other speculations. There must be, in this world, the principle and the exercise of authority. It may be administered with such kindness and forbearance, and with such skill as scarcely to be felt. But it must after all exist, and exist where God has located it, in the Family and in the School, in Courts of justice and in Legislative halls, in the Church and in the State, above and beyond the reach of him who is the subject of it. In short, authority is, and must be, an objective necessity, and not a mere subjective perception of utility or propriety. Men may submit to authority, from the consciousness of the hopelessness of resistance; but that sense which pervades other minds, is a kind of panoply and shield, to protect those who are called to inflict punishment, from resistance. The dogma of self-government, which is so much bandied about by these Associationists and others, is an infidel dogma, a gross solecism, too gross to be conceived of without confusion of thought. All government implies restraint and law, and law

demands a penalty, which is punishment. Men do, indeed, in what are called free governments, have an agency in electing their rulers and in making the laws, but do they therefore govern themselves? The thing is flatly absurd. The offender against the law, in free countries, even the most democratic, has no more power to stay the sentence of the judge, because he himself had some agency in making the laws by which he is to be condemned, or even in appointing the magistrate by whose mouth he is to receive sentence, than if he resided in the most absolute monarchy of the old world. And when the executioner of the law comes to demand its penalty, whether of fine, or chastisement, or incarceration, or death, the guilty culprit is as helpless and as hopeless, in the forest of the American republic, as in the most despotic monarchies of the East.

And the opinion, that the minister of justice is himself but the instrument and the servant of the people, and to them alone responsible, is a most fatal, though a most common misapprehension. A well-informed Christian man, in public station, feels that he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil, that he should therefore become a terror to the evil doer, that he may thus become a praise to him that doeth well. And all authority that is merely supplicatory, must of necessity become ridiculous. We know that this dogma of self-government, and responsibility only to the dear people, has become the watchword of political mountebanks, to such a degree, that it is next to impossible to find, anywhere, any just sense of obligation to obedience. And it may become less and less, till it shall finally expire, and the unmitigated reign of anarchy and terror everywhere prevail. This is our growing danger, and yet we hope better things. We believe in the advancement of the race, but only in the way pointed out by God himself, and through the instrumentalities of His own institutions, the Family, the Church, and the State. Should Socialism ever be tried, upon any large scale, it would, we predict, if long continued, produce a state of affairs more hopelessly beyond all remedy, than the world has ever yet known; in comparison with which the darkest pages of paganism would be as the mid-day sun to the fitful glare of a rush-light. He that knew his Master's will, and did it not, shall be beaten with many stripes.

THE MODERN PULPIT.

ART. V.—*Ecclesiastes Anglicanus: being a Treatise on Preaching, as adapted to a Church of England Congregation: in a series of Letters to a young Clergyman.* By the Rev. W. GRESLEY, M. A., late student of Christ Church. First American, from the second London edition, with supplementary notes, collected and arranged by the Rev. BENJAMIN I. HAIGHT, M. A., Professor of Pastoral Theology and Pulpit Eloquence in the General Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, and Rector of All-Saints Church, New York.

WE have no intention of writing a formal review of this book; it has already had so wide a circulation as to render any extended statement of its contents superfluous, and has been received with such general approval, that our commendation would be only an echo of the general verdict of praise. Mr. Gresley's easy and natural style, the brevity with which he discusses every topic, the clearness and comprehensiveness of his positions, and the earnestness with which he writes wherever earnestness is called for, combine to render this treatise attractive, as well as edifying. It is certainly as much of a task as a privilege, to travel resolutely through Sturtevant's more elaborate and ponderous Manual, and there is the feeling of a duty accomplished, when it is over. "Hannam's Skeletons" are still more appalling; we seem to be introduced into a museum of "dried preparations," where, instead of the articulations of life, we see the yellow bones strung together with wires, and a melancholy, by no means of a pleasing sort, comes over us, as we gaze upon the once living offspring of Tillotson, and Watts, and Walker, after undergoing the process of dissection, now labeled and laid away on the shelf, to serve the purpose of scientific study. But good Mr. Simeon has outdone all other theological anatomists, and the sight of his "twenty-two thick volumes of closely printed skeletons of sermons, published to furnish assistance to the junior clergy on entering upon their respective charges," irresistibly calls to mind the words of the son of Amoz, "Thou hast multiplied the nation, and not increased the joy." We cannot help asking ourselves, why was it necessary that the bones should be so "very many," as well as so "very dry?" Some

people may be interested in finding out how many forms and combinations can be produced from the half-dozen bits of ivory which constitute the "Chinese Puzzle;" but we seriously doubt whether the science of geometry has made much progress as the result of this sort of study. We also have some doubt whether the ingenious arrangement and rearrangement of a few standard doctrines, in the various artistical forms of sermon-making, conduces greatly towards imparting the power of effectively preaching the Gospel. In all events, we take comfort in the fact, that the operation of constructing a religious discourse, by which we mean the disposition of the beams and rafters of the edifice, is not so complicated an affair as formerly.

There is something extremely formidable in the aspect of certain old sermons, as they lie upon paper, divested of their fleshly clothing, with their stern array of General Heads, and General Divisions under each head, and multitudinous subdivisions under each division, flanked by a miscellaneous cavalry of Observations on the right hand and on the left, fortified in the rear by a host of Uses, and Improvements, and Inferences, and Applications, all marked off in due numerical order, and arranged like a battalion of truths on drill; and we have sometimes ventured to wonder why no other species of public discourse has been subjected to the same military adjustment. It is worth considering, whether this mode of "making sermons" tends to quicken thought and excite emotion, and to give that air of reality to the spoken word, upon which so much of its effect depends. Where there is actual thought, there will of course be an order of thought, and by analysis, this outline may be detected and laid bare; but the artificial principles upon which sermons have often been constructed, recognize no natural sequence of ideas, but a mere conventional arrangement of distinct and independent propositions.

The *formal modes* of sermonizing, as with all other species of composition, inevitably change with the age. It would seem very much out of place to open one of the ponderous volumes in which the profound thoughts of our earlier Divines lie embalmed, and find there crisp, curt, direct phraseology which belongs to our times. We naturally look for some correspondence between the unwieldiness of the volume and the ponderosity of its contents. A folio is not to be read in haste, nor without an effort. The exertion of lifting it, is but a foretaste of the heavier toil to come. Through a labyrinth of involutions, where sentence is mortised into sen-

tence, and every major thought enwraps its minor, we wander patiently from margin to margin, over the vast page; ever and anon, it seems as though we were nearing the final period, where we may find a moment's refreshing rest, when a new path opens and the prospect of relief vanishes; and perhaps it may be our doom wearily to climb the summit of a second page, and journey far down its declivity, before the desired repose is found. How this sort of composition was ever *delivered*, without inducing a chronic bronchitis, we cannot understand. By what art of emphasis and varied tone it was made intelligible to common auditors, it is equally difficult to conjecture. It is certain that such discourses, however abundant in thought and garnished with rare learning, would operate as an effectual opiate upon one of our modern Sunday-afternoon congregations. John Howe's course of fourteen sermons on the five words, "We are saved by hope," the bare skeleton of which would occupy more room than is allotted to this article, full of excellent matter as they are, if preached in our day, would hardly "sustain the interest of a crowded assembly." Should the Rector of any of our most intelligent congregations say to his people, in the language of one of these discourses, "The very *transitus* of anything from its *non esse* to its *primum esse*, is always a matter of real difficulty, and which cannot but carry somewhat of obscurity and dubiousness along with it;" they would no doubt allow the inference, whether they understood the terms of the statement or not; but we fear that our "poor Christians," take them as they rise, would get but little additional light as to their condition, should they be told from the pulpit, that in their case, when "men are let loose upon them, and the devil is let loose upon them, and there is a great deal of distemperature and deadness within, and at the same time God is gone and withdrawn from them, in their sense and apprehension gone, to appearance gone;" that then, "as to actual comfort, *idem est esse et apparere, idem non esse et non apparere*, so that here is nothing to be up now but hope."

Our old Divines, however, when they condescended to use the vernacular, called things by their right names, and thus far, at least, their writings have more of simplicity and individuality than are seen in modern discourse. We have now an extensive common stock of euphonious synonymes, pictorial explicatives, and felicitous phrases, which impart a singular family likeness to our whole progeny. Any distant country is "a foreign strand;" all our judges are clothed in "ermine," which is liable to be "soiled;" rich people have a

universal propensity to "roll in wealth;" man in general is "a denizen of earth;" a wife is ordinarily set forth as "the partner of our joys and sorrows;" war is always preceded by a "tocsin;" the pyramids and all similar structures are "monuments of human art;" all which phraseology is well enough in itself, but becomes somewhat wearisome when made perpetual. These hackneyed beauties of diction are not peculiar to the pulpit, but there is a distinct set of professional words and phrases, of which our preachers possess the undisturbed monopoly. There is an accredited mode of turning the corners of a sermon, and of introducing the final exhortation, which does not greatly increase the freshness and naturalness of discourse. The dignity of the preacher's office, and the august commission which he is called to discharge, may render appropriate a mode of speaking in the church, unlike what is ordinarily heard in secular assemblies. But if there is any place where an inflated and turgid style is inappropriate and unseemly, it is in the house of God. It would require long practice to stalk about on stilts, with an air of real dignity; and it may be safely affirmed that a natural walking on the feet, after the best fashion that our native endowments allow, is, upon the whole, always most becoming and graceful. Every man has a mode of utterance, which belongs to him, just as much as his own face; if he see fit to transform himself into a machine, he may play his tune correctly, as a barrel organ does when the teeth are properly set; but this artificial accuracy is gained at a grievous loss, just where, in these days, we can poorly afford to make the sacrifice.

We live in a time when the preacher of Christ's Gospel finds peculiar impediments in the way of *arresting public attention*. The world is intensely busied in other things than those which pertain to the soul and eternity. The passion for novelty is constantly fed with stimulating condiments, and the appetite grows by what it feeds on. Science, day after day, reads forth to the eager audience of the world her astounding discoveries; mechanic art almost instantly realizes whatever science declares possible. The treasures of learning, once revealed only to the initiated few, are now torn from the sacred casket, and flashed before the gaze of greedy millions. Philosophy, with its subtle eye, penetrates the phantasms and hollow formulas, before which man had been wont to bow so reverently, and straightway the bubble vanishes. The earnestness of the civilized world is concentrated upon the elevation of our social state, cheapening cloth, multiplying

food, diminishing taxes, cleansing prisons, abolishing war, alleviating pain, briefly, in making this present life more desirable, and our bodily condition more comfortable: we wonder that it is so hard to make men listen, when we speak to them of a world to come. It is an age of Conventions, and Lyceums, and Caucuses, and Multitudinous Gatherings, where men of real might, who know how to mingle historical allusion and felicitous illustration with profound reflection and fervid appeal to passion, address the multitude upon topics to which they are beforehand predisposed to listen. "Tell me something that I never heard before!" all hearts cry; and daily is fresh food found to gorge this insatiable desire. What hope has the preacher of righteousness, that he will be heard, when he stands up to tell the people that which was from the beginning? He has a message to deliver, a commission to discharge, whether men will hear or not; but if he have a real interest in his work, he will desire that they should give heed to his words. And he has facilities for securing respectful regard and attention, which no self-appointed teacher of the people can arrogate to himself. He proclaims his errand under divine authority, he can show his credentials of ambassadorship, and he represents a kingdom, before which all earthly dignities fade into insignificance. There is one day in every week when the chafferings of trade are quiet, the loom and the wheel stand still, the plough rests in the furrow, the halls of legislation are empty, and men come up to hear from him all things that are commanded him of God. He speaks to them in a consecrated place, around which hallowed thoughts gather, and where every thing is tempered by prayer; in a place where every thing wears an unworldly look, where pillar and architrave and roof and aisle and nave and chancel have a heavenly semblance, where the very light is not like that which shines in meaner places; in a place where nuptial vows have been solemnized, where mothers have given their little ones to God, where eucharistic bread has been broken, where funeral chants have filled the air with wailing. And though the subjects of which he speaks are familiar, they are of universal and abiding interest; and there are crises in the history of all men, when they are either inclined or forced to heed the truths of religion. Modern philanthropy may render our physical being very comfortable, and reconcile all classes of men to their earthly condition; but it can say to no child of Adam, "abide here forever." Science may resolve the mysteries of nature; but there are solemn questions coming up at intervals out of the depths of the soul, to which it can offer no reply. There is a province of thought, over

which the minister of religion presides alone, and that embraces all that is most vital to our well-being. If he know how to do it, he can make himself heard above all the din and uproar of the world: there is an inner chamber of the soul, if he can only find the way into it, where the lowest whisper of God's truth becomes audible. What is the clue that will guide him thither? He must first have communed with truth in the secret closet of his own soul; he must have heard the voice of the Spirit speaking there, revealing to him his own necessity as a dying sinner, showing him how that necessity can be provided for, disclosing to him "Christ the wisdom of God and the power of God." This inward experience must be his guide to the hidden door of his neighbor's heart; out of his own consciousness he must address the consciousness of his hearers; and fire will kindle fire. No artificial rules, no anatomizing of other men's productions, no outside study of human nature, can teach us where lies the avenue that leads to the sinner's heart. No art of rhetoric can waken those cords of genuine religious feeling, that give out such music of praise as angels delight to hear. The preacher can tell his people only what God has first told him. Let him speak out of the abundance of an enlightened heart, and, whether he speak by rule or not, *he will secure attention;* without which it will matter little what he says.

Now if we should undertake to lay down *the laws of sermonizing*, they would be simply such as are necessarily evolved from the principle just stated. The preacher, who would move the hearts of others, first looks back to see what it was that moved himself; and he finds that it was a certain, *distinct, definite* truth. His primary aim, therefore, is to handle the word with *definiteness*. Vague generalities, abstract disquisitions upon vice and virtue, formal descriptions of the properties and uses of things, stale propositions which no one denies because they are so obvious, and no one cares for because they are so trite, may serve to fill up the half hour which custom obliges us to occupy; but then the clock on the gallery, with its monotonous tick, could exhaust the time just as effectually. And no wonder that, under this infliction, the eye of the hearer wanders wearily from the watchman in the pulpit to the watch on the wall, and he is mightily relieved when the two together strike the close of the profitless hour.

If the preacher would hold the attention of his auditors, they must perceive that he presents to their consideration a definite *subject*. If it be his design simply to develop the

statement of the text, let that which is really the thought of the text, its true import, be set forth. We do not here refer to the habit which some have of using passages of Scripture upon the principle of accommodation; but to the fault into which many fall, of being led away by the sound of the words, without considering their real meaning; or of being attracted by some side-view, so that the direct import of the text is lost. By way of giving his minister a delicate hint in this connection, an eminent lawyer in our vicinity once requested his spiritual teacher to preach from the passage, "Joy shall be in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine just persons which need no repentance;" adding courteously, that if he might be allowed the liberty, he would like to suggest the following mode of treatment: I. There is joy in heaven. II. There is one sinner that repenteth. III. There are ninety and nine just persons which need no repentance. We think that sermons may be heard occasionally, which are constructed somewhat after this model.

If the text be used as introductory to a topic, which it is supposed merely to suggest or imply, let that topic be something in particular, and not every thing in general. It is very desirable that the people should be able to tell, after leaving the church, what they have been taught, or what the preacher intended to teach them. If this principle were more rigidly recognized, the complaint which is now so common, that sermons are all alike, would soon be confined to those captious critics, with whom this sort of censure is an indispensable luxury. Where each subject has its own peculiar identity, there will necessarily be a wholesome variety in the material of our sermons. It will not be needed that we should go beyond the legitimate boundaries of the Gospel, and search the realms of science and history and philosophy, in order to interest, as well as edify our congregations. We shall not feel ourselves called upon to amuse the people with "incidents of travel, seasoned with moral and religious reflection;" or entertain them with recent discoveries in astronomy and geology; or furnish a synopsis of the more serious occurrences of the week, with appropriate improvements; or occupy them, Sunday after Sunday, with the statistics of the "various moral and benevolent enterprises of the day;" we shall have enough to do without this, and it will not be required at our hands.

Having a definite subject, it is important that it should have *a definite treatment.* It may be thought that this is attained by an orderly distribution of the heads of discourse, and by a distinct expression of whatever is intended to be ex-

pressed. But intelligibleness is one thing, and definiteness is another; a statement may be very clear, and still have no very direct connection with the subject which it is intended to illustrate. Every distinct topic ought to suggest its own distinct train of thought and illustration, and so the whole discourse have a life of its own; but some preachers would appear to keep in their possession a set of movable slides, each representing a particular doctrine, which, Sunday after Sunday, they slip through the lantern, sometimes in one order and sometimes in another, until the time devoted to this "luminous exhibition of truth" is over, and then the light is extinguished.

The notion prevails in many quarters, that every sermon must contain a certain class of truths, or fixed formulas of truths, or there exists a vital defect. What these formulas shall be, depends upon the school of theology, to which the individual happens to belong. One will say, "our Rector has given us an able and eloquent sermon to-day, but he has not said a word about the Church;" when perhaps every sentence has been imbued with the spirit of sound Church doctrine, and every word is in entire accordance with her authoritative teachings; only the preacher has not thought it necessary to assert the doctrine of Apostolical Succession, or some similar truth. Another will say, "The sentiments to which we have been listening are very excellent, but we have not had the Gospel preached;" understanding by the Gospel, the dogmatic statement of man's lost and ruined condition by nature; his justification by faith alone without works, and the cognate doctrines; while, it may be, that the principles which the preacher has declared, have glowed with the very interior life of the Gospel of Christ.

If the speaker knew that he would come in contact with his auditors but once in their lives, that the existing opportunity were the only one that he would ever enjoy to lead them into the way of life, he might do well to set before the people, as compactly as possible, a compend of the whole Gospel; but where, for a long course of years, the same congregation come up to the same house of prayer, to be edified by the same lips, it admits of reasonable doubt, whether they will be likely to grow up into a very vigorous Christian manhood, if they are constantly fed with the same thin dilution. In addressing a baptized congregation, nurtured from infancy in the Church, and enjoying all her blessed privileges, it may safely be presumed that they know something of the outline of Christianity; and while the greatest care should be taken,

that they be all "rooted and grounded in the faith," it may sometimes be expedient to "leave the first principles of the doctrine of Christ, and go on unto perfection."

As definiteness in the selection of subjects will necessarily induce variety, so definiteness in the mode of their treatment will lead to the exercise of *actual thought* in preparation for the pulpit. We do not mean to insinuate that sermons are ordinarily produced without labor,—perhaps the preacher generally endures a degree of fatigue in preparing his discourse, proportionate to that of his audience in hearing it,—but that toil may be expended in devising new ways of saying old things, in a novel adjustment of venerable material, in concocting something which shall appear to be a respectable substitute for thought. This however can hardly be considered as the highest kind of labor; nor in its results most likely to profit those for whose sake it is endured.

"What then!" is here exclaimed, "shall the ministry of Christ forsake the simplicity of the Gospel, to give us the crude results of their own thought? Do we go to church to exercise the reason, or to feel the power of truth? Shall the preacher soar above the heads of his people, transcending their capacity, and the ordinary bounds of their knowledge? Has not St. Paul said, that he came, not with excellency of speech, or of wisdom, declaring the testimony of God?"

He has said this, but immediately adds, "Howbeit, we speak wisdom among them that are perfect." When the mass of modern sermons evince the same thoughtfulness which distinguishes the writings of St. Paul, the mouth of criticism will be effectually closed.

It would be folly to suppose that a congregation can be profited by preaching which is incomprehensible. But the work of instruction presumes that the instructor will go somewhat in advance of those to be instructed; if he merely follow them, or keep pace with them, it is not easy to see how they are to be benefitted; and if the necessities of those who possess the lowest modicum of intelligence are to be met, ought not the condition of more highly cultivated minds sometimes to be recognized? Is it indispensable that *everybody should understand every thing that is said in the pulpit?* Must strong men, as well as babes, be fed continually with milk?

It has been well observed by Prof. E. A. Park, of Andover: "It is more than one age too late to acquire the respect of a congregation by superficial and common-place teaching. Simple truths are on the wings of the wind. Our popular reli-

gious literature has carried them to every man's fire-side. The Churches demand a higher instruction and an ampler reasoning from the pulpit than can be gleaned from the narratives of the nursery. They may be pleased for a time with the pleasant voice and the pathetic tale, but like the prodigal, they will soon turn away from the husks, and long for more nutritive aliment. Men who are not thinkers wish to be addressed as if they were. Unlettered men do not wish to have their minister imply by his style that he is making a great effort to become simple enough for their comprehension. The preacher who appointed a service for the lower classes and the ignorant of his flock, had 'fit audience though few.' The hearer who complained that he did not receive his 'money's worth' at church, because his pastor, instead of preaching in the Greek language, which he had understood to be a superior one, preached only in the English, which even poor men used without salaries, uttered the language of many, who demand that a sermon be elaborate, even if they be less capable than they choose to be reputed of comprehending its instructions."

It is no doubt true that we should go to church, that we may be made to feel the power of truth, rather than to exercise our reason upon it. The design of Gospel preaching is to impress the heart, and renew it. But how is this result to be produced? How is the fountain of genuine, religious emotion to be reached? Can men be made to feel, simply by being told that they ought to feel? True feeling comes as the result of a process of reflection, and its intensity is ordinarily proportioned to the intensity of our mental operations. "When I consider, I am afraid." "While I was musing, the fire burned." There is a species of animal excitement, which exists only upon the condition that the exercise of reason, or intellectual activity, be suspended; but this is the fire which consumes life, instead of cherishing it.

To feel the power of truth, that truth must be *discerned;* not merely known as a dogma, as an abstract generalization, but seen in all its concrete life, in its distinct individuality, in its speciality of relation to my own condition and destiny; it must thus be *apprehended,* and brought home to my consciousness, be made to touch the *bare nerves* of the soul, and their quivering will tell when its power is felt. If he would so exhibit the truth as to bring about this result, there is surely room enough for the exercise of the preacher's intellectual activity.

But still it is feared that the "simplicity of Christ will be vitiated," if we attempt to go beyond the plain, unadorned

proclamation of familiar, dogmatic truth. We allow that the ministers of Christ are sent, not so much to prove, as to preach, or proclaim the Gospel. We do not mean to say that they should occupy the attention of the people with the forms of logic, or amuse them with the ingenious products of their own fancy. Their vocation is, to declare and unfold "the truth as it is in Jesus." This truth may be all summed up in a brief, comprehensive creed: would the habitual repetition of that creed be considered an adequate substitute for preaching? It is a simple process to commit that form of words to memory: in the moment that we go beyond this and attempt to develop its meaning and show the mutual relation of its several truths and their practical bearings, we are in danger of corrupting its simplicity. Shall this danger deter us from attempting such an analysis?

Because the vain-glorious preacher substitutes his own visionary speculations for the doctrine of Christ, it does not follow that the ministers of religion should systematically avoid the exercise of thought. The whole meaning of the Gospel does not lie exposed on the surface to every superficial glance. There are depths of wisdom in it, which it requires a patient and earnest inspection to fathom. The people have a right to look to the clergy for the results of such inspection. So long indeed, as public sentiment demands such incessant sermonizing, so long as it is asked of the preacher to produce his two or three sermons in every week, we must ordinarily expect a wearisome iteration of the common-places of truth: the cistern that is drawn upon continually, must discharge into itself again, and thus the same waters be made to supply the continuous draught; but this is an evil that will in time rectify itself. When it is seen that, amid incessant utterances from the pulpit, there is still a "famine of the word," and the cry, "My leanness! My leanness!" sounds from every quarter, it will be felt that one discourse, from which something may be learned, is better than three, from which we learn nothing. The conviction is already abroad, that there is too much unprofitable preaching: unprofitable, not because positive error is inculcated, but because positive, living truth is not preached.

Strange notions many seem to have, of what constitutes truth. Strange is their want of confidence in the truth, when they are so afraid that it will evaporate in the handling. We must not analyze a doctrine, we must not seek to detect its vital principle, the very secret of its power, lest in the process it turn to vapor, or lose some constituent element. We may describe in general its properties and uses, as they strike the

eye, we may measure it, and weigh it, test its color, and catalogue its qualities; but it is counted perilous and sacrilegious to penetrate its hidden life.

Revelation authoritatively declares certain dogmatic forms of truth, which should be the basis of all our preaching; but there is a certain dynamical law pervading those forms, by virtue of which they become resolved into spiritual forces. In the evolution and application of this law, the human reason, or our native gift of thought, is legitimately exercised. The dogmas, or facts of Christianity, as such, lie beyond the reach of our philosophy; they are fixed, authoritative truths, matter of belief, and not of speculation. Reason could never have discovered them; reason has no right to sit in judgment upon them. I receive the doctrine of the Incarnation implicitly, because it is revealed in Scripture; I have nothing to do with the question, *how* it could be. But when I would know the scope of this doctrine, its profound meaning, its relation to the human race and to my own destiny, there is opened to me a field of thought, upon which I have a right to exercise my faculties, and which I must investigate, if I would have the full benefit of the truth.

It is a sorry compliment to say of preaching, that it costs no effort to comprehend it; for the inference is, that the preacher has made no effort to comprehend his subject. Truth may be very simple, and very simply stated; and yet it may task the whole man fairly to apprehend it. It is not ambitious preaching, fine preaching, that we want, we have enough of that; pyrotechnic displays of oratory in the pulpit may be very popular, but they are very profitless; we need a plainer preaching than we have; fewer stereotype beauties of diction, but more of true thought: simpler words, but a profounder meaning; less which comes from the memory, and more which comes from the preacher's living consciousness; fewer frosty diagrams, and a freer play of the heart.

This leads us to the last consideration that we intended to suggest, and that is the want of greater unction in the pulpit. We have, perhaps, in our day, a full share of what is called *energetic preaching*, a sort of professional earnestness, in which the physical effort appears to keep somewhat in advance of the spiritual. The preacher seems to feel that a certain amount of animation, of some sort, will be expected of him; very probably he is conscious that his discourse does not possess in itself a very large proportion of this desirable element; and what is wanting in one respect, must be made up in another.

Now it is indispensable, in order to real earnestness of utterance, that the speaker should feel, not only that he has important truth to present; but also that he has that truth before him in such a shape, that its importance will become apparent. Let him be conscious that, by intense reflection upon it, he has acquired a right of property in the truth, so that he can offer to the people that which belongs to him; let him be conscious that he has something to say, which is not only true, but has been seen by him in its *true life;* let him be conscious that he has so accurately measured and bounded the great verities of which he speaks, that he can show them to others, just as he himself has apprehended them; let him, above all, have "the mind of the Spirit," without which, a clear, spiritual perception is impossible; and then he may safely allow tone and emphasis and gesture to take care of themselves; the inward fire will gleam through the portals of the body, let the eye and the tongue and the hand fashion their movements as they will. But when one says to himself, "now it becomes me to *appear* to be in earnest," it is not possible that he should *be* in earnest; for deep emotion is never self-conscious. While it lasts in full vigor, it takes exclusive possession of the soul, and drives out all meaner occupants.

The only *rule*, therefore, that is needed in order to give an air of earnestness to our discourse, is *to be* in earnest. All the defects which characterize our modern preaching, centre here. The working up by rule, of formal discourses, as a stated, weekly task; the perpetual reiteration of mere forms of speech, threadbare metaphors, faded beauties of diction, mouldy proverbs, so "stale, flat, and unprofitable," would cease. The pulpit would no longer seem to be hung round with icicles, and incongruously ornamented with artificial flowers. It would shake with fewer spasms of convulsive eloquence; the preacher's heart would beat with the regular and healthy throb of vigorous life, and "his word would distil as the dew." Unto him would men give ear, and wait, and keep silence at his counsel. The secret of God would seem to be manifested in the tabernacle. When his words were as goads, they would still be felt to be wise words. The heart of the people would be bowed, as the heart of one man, before the majesty of truth. The word of the Lord would have free course and be glorified.

AMERICAN ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.*

THE manuscript copy of the following pages was delivered to the subscriber by Bishop White, with the request that it might be published, when it could conveniently be done. It will be found chiefly valuable for reference in Pennsylvania, as it consists of abstracts of Conventional proceedings in that Diocese. There are, however, many points of interest to Churchmen at large, as presenting the view of an important Diocesan Convention on questions of a general nature.

It seemed to the subscriber due to the memory of Bishop White, to commence this department of the Review, by complying with his request to publish, even though it should compel him to withhold documents that would probably be more generally interesting. Of these he has an abundant supply for future use, which he hopes will afford, in their variety, satisfaction and information to Churchmen, curious in matters relating to our early Ecclesiastical History.

F. L. HAWKS.

New York, March 1, 1850.

ART. VI.—A NARRATIVE OF THE ORGANIZATION, AND OF THE SUBSEQUENT PROCEEDINGS OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA. BY WILLIAM WHITE, D. D., BISHOP OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The design of the following Narrative is to lessen the injuries arising from the little care bestowed on the preservation of the Journals, as they come from the press. They are considered as ephemeral and become wasted on any of the domestic uses, to which they so readily present themselves. Yet it often happens in conversation, and sometimes in ecclesiastical debate, that it is desirable to obtain information from them, when they are not at hand to be resorted to. In consideration of this, the narrator entertains the idea that a small production embodying the Organization of the Church, and its trans-

* Copyright secured according to law.

actions during the half of a century will be a convenient deposit, with any person feeling an interest in its concerns. Our Journals are rendered the less interesting by the circumstance, that they do not contain judicial determinations. Among us, every thing of this sort is subjected to another department, created for the purpose. Although we value this feature in our system, yet it is unfavorable to the contents of our Journals being matters of curiosity, beyond the times of the transactions recorded in them. Still such a publication as this may be of use alike to the clerical and to the lay deputies of our Conventions; especially as it often happens, that subjects are brought forward, which had formerly been considered and set aside, on grounds which if known, would have prevented a renewal of them at the unnecessary expense of time.

On some day in the first week of November, in the year 1783, there assembled by appointment, at the house of the Author of this Narrative, besides himself, the Rev. Dr. Samuel Magaw, Rector of St. Paul's Church in this city, and the Rev. Robert (since Dr.) Blackwell, assistant minister of Christ Church and St. Peter's, within the same; of which two churches, in parochial union, the Author was Rector. It was understood that they should compare their several opinions, in reference to measures for the organization of the Church in this State, with the view of extending the Organization throughout the Union, it seeming that something of the sort was essential to the continuance of our Communion, the annihilation of which was threatened by the circumstances of the times. It was agreed by the three conferees, that the Vestry of the united churches of Christ Church and St. Peter's, and the Vestry of St. Paul's Church, should be requested by their respective Rectors to appoint committees, for a conference with their three parochial clergy on some future day. This was the first step here known for the giving of a beginning to measures directed to the said important object. While it is recorded as historic fact, there is entertained the persuasion that there existed in the minds of American Episcopalians generally, the expectation of an agency in this concern, and the conviction, that it was necessary for the perpetuating of the Faith, the Discipline, and the Worship, descended to us from the Mother Church of England.

On the 13th of the same month, the Vestry of Christ Church and St. Peter's appointed three laymen from each of these churches, as its representatives, and about the same time, a similar appointment was made by the Vestry of St. Paul's.

On the 29th of March, 1784, the said conferees met at the house of the Author; and the issue of their deliberations was, that the subject should be brought before committees of all the congregations in this State, with the view of its being extended to the congrega-

tions throughout the civil union. On the 31st of the same month, the conferees met at Christ Church. They chose the Author as their chairman; and agreed on a letter to be signed by him, and to be sent by him to each of the few clergy in the State, and to some influential laymen in each of the congregations destitute of a minister. Such a letter was accordingly drawn up and sent, and may be seen in the printed Journal of that period.

The only Episcopal clergymen in the State were the Rev. Mr. Currie, who had formerly been a very respectable Missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, but who had discontinued his ministry because of his great age—the Rev. Joseph Hutchins, settled in Lancaster, and the Rev. John Campbell, settled in Carlisle. Of these two, the former had lately arrived from Barbadoes, of which Island he was a native, but had been educated in the College of Philadelphia; and the latter was a native of the State, but had resided for some time in England, from which he had lately returned. There was also a Rev. Mr. Illing, officiating in the country churches of Lancaster county. He had been ordained by the Bishop of London, immediately before the revolutionary war, but never performed any act, or made any communication indicating the desire of joining with his brethren in the organizing of the Communion.

The number of churches then in the State was 16. The most of them were very small in size and in population; and no one of them out of the city, had been competent to the maintaining of a Pastor, without the aid of the Society in England, whose stipends were now withdrawn. To account for the smallness of Episcopalian population in Pennsylvania, it should be remarked, that there never had been an emigration of them in any large body from the mother country; the first settlers being of the people called Quakers, but "Friends," according to the modern phraseology preferred by them; and the subsequent accessions, in large bodies being from Germany, consisting of Lutherans Reformed and Roman Catholics, and of settlers from the north of Ireland. Of these, almost all were of the Presbyterian denomination. Hence it happened that there were only a scattered few who professed themselves of the faith and worship of the parent country.

At this juncture, there was something very peculiar in the condition of the Episcopal congregations, existing in the various districts of the United States. While they were subjects of the colonial governments, they were connected, through the medium of the Diocesan superintendence of the Bishop of London. This tie of union being broken by an act of Divine Providence, there was no channel through which they could carry their common desires into effect, which created the necessity of their constituting a representative body, who would be the organ of their wishes. To have devolved such a trust on the small remnant of the clergy, would not only, it was thought, be wanting in the requisite weight of authority and of influence, but be contrary to the maxims which had always governed

in the Church of England; the consent of the laity in Parliament being held necessary by the Courts of Justice, to whatever is allowed to operate in the shape of ecclesiastical law. It is a principle familiar in the jurisprudence of that country, and may be seen established in the 8th Book of the immortal work of Richard Hooker. It has been thought expedient to say thus much on the subject of Lay Representation, because, when it was introduced into the religious counsels of Pennsylvania, there arose in some districts serious doubts and misgivings which, for a long time, have happily subsided. After the meetings held on the 29th and 31st of March, 1784, there was held a similar meeting in Christ Church, on the 24th and the 25th of the ensuing May. There were present 4 Clergymen, 11 of the Laity. The Author was chosen chairman, and Wm. Pollard was chosen clerk. There was drawn up and passed, an Act of Association, which was signed by all the members present, and became the connecting bond of all the clergy and of all the congregations in the State. It gave existence to the Convention as an organized body; to meet annually, and at other times, when summoned agreeably to a provision therein made.

From the time that the counsels were begun for the organizing of the Church, there also began counsels for the reviving of the Corporation for the widows and children of deceased clergymen in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, included in similar Charters from the three Colonial Governments; the same persons being designated as members under each of the Charters. The meetings of the Corporation had been suspended during the Revolutionary War; but as some of the stock had survived the ruinous havoc of depreciated currency, it was expedient to bring the material furnished into operation. The correspondence of the clergy of Pennsylvania with those of the two other States, was carried on through the instrumentality of the Rev. Abraham Beach, of New Brunswick. The result of the correspondence were endeavors to get together as many of the clerical members as possible, on a day towards the end of the month of May. The two objects were made coincident, and New Brunswick was appointed as the place of meeting.

On the day agreed on, there assembled in that city, from New York, the Rev. Benjamin Moore and the Rev. Thomas Moore; from New Jersey, the Rev. Abraham Beach and the Rev. Uzal Ogden; and from Pennsylvania, the Author, the Rev. Dr. Magaw, the Rev. John Andrews, and the Rev. Robert Blackwell, who had lately been received from Maryland. The meeting was opened by divine services, with a sermon by the Author, who was desired to preside. The members from Pennsylvania communicated to their brethren what had been done in their State, with their wishes that similar measures might be adopted in the other two States. No fault was charged on the points proposed. But some of the brethren present having joined with the clergy of Connecticut in recommending the Rev. Samuel Seabury, D. D., for consecration in England, they judged

that it would be inconsistent in them to be parties in any other measures, until the issue of their said act should be known. Consequently, there was not taken any step, which could properly be here a matter of record, in the concerns of Pennsylvania. But there was a unanimous consent to exertions to produce as general a meeting as possible to be held in New York on a day in the ensuing October. This led ultimately to an entire organization, and is therefore to the purpose of the present narrative.

There assembled in New York, on the day appointed, not only deputies from the three States which had concurred in the appointment, and who took up with effect the design of renewing the clerical Corporation, but divers from other States, acknowledging their conviction of the greatest need of measures for the arresting of the declining condition of the Church. The deputies assembled did not possess the power of acting definitely on any subject. But they agreed in a recommendation to the Church in the several States, to unite under the few following articles. 1st, That there be a General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. 2d, That the Episcopal Church in each State send deputies to the Convention, consisting of clergy and laity. 3d, That associated congregations in two or more States, may send deputies jointly. 4th, That the said Church shall maintain the doctrines of the Gospel as now held by the Church of England, and shall adhere to the Liturgy of the said Church, so far as shall be consistent with the American Revolution and the Constitutions of the respective States. 5th, That in every State where there shall be a Bishop duly consecrated and settled, he shall be considered as a member of the Convention ex-officio. 6th, That the Clergy and Laity, assembled in Convention, shall deliberate in one body, but shall vote separately; and the concurrence of both shall be necessary to give validity to any measure. 7th, That the first meeting of the Convention shall be at Philadelphia, on the Tuesday before the Feast of St. Michael next, to which it is hoped and earnestly desired, that the Episcopal Churches in the several States will send their Clerical and Lay Deputies, duly instructed and authorized to proceed on the necessary business herein proposed for their deliberation.

The 1st Annual Convention of Pennsylvania.—It was held on the 23d of May, 1785. It was opened with divine service and a sermon by the Author. The foregoing articles, agreed on in New York, having been sent to the several Vestries in this State, and concurred in by them, there was held a Convention of the said Churches on the 23d and 24th of May, 1785. The place of meeting was Christ Church, Philadelphia. There were present 6 Clergymen and 7 Lay Deputies. The Author was chosen President, and Samuel Powell, Esq. was chosen Secretary. There were passed five articles, declaring the proper quorum, and regulating the manner of voting.

An Act of Association was framed, having a binding operation on the body and on all successive Conventional Meetings. It was signed by all the members present. Clerical and Lay Deputies were appointed to represent the Church in the Convention to be held in New York in the following October. There was appointed a Committee to carry on all necessary correspondence; and to superintend the printing of the Act of Association, and to transmit the same to the several Congregations in the State; and in general to transact all business relative to the concerns of the Church therein.

The 2d Annual Convention.—It was held in Christ Church on the 23d and 24th of May, 1786; and by adjournment, on the 3d and the 6th of October, in the same year. The Author was chosen President, and the Rev. Dr. Magaw was chosen Secretary. The Clergy present were four, and the Lay Duputies ten. The question was proposed whether, consistently with the Act of Association, Clergymen not having Parochial Cures, could be admitted members of the Convention, and a motion being made embracing all without this distinction, it was determined in the negative. Three rules were passed to govern in debate. A Committee of three Clergymen and two Laymen were appointed, to consider of the Book of Common Prayer, proposed by the General Convention assembled in New York in the preceding October, and to report thereon. And doubts having arisen in regard to the third fundamental article established in Philadelphia, and the fourth fundamental article proposed in New York, so far as they require adherence to the Liturgy of the Church of England; which articles are recognized and affirmed by the Act of Association; it was referred to the said Committee to consider, whether it be necessary that a supplement be made to the Act of Association; and to report such supplement, if necessary, to this Convention. The question was proposed, whether Deputies to this Convention may delegate the powers of their appointment to others, and it was determined in the negative.

Clerical and Lay Deputies were elected to represent this Diocese in the next General Convention.

The Committee appointed to consider the Book of Common Prayer, made their report concerning the same. The report contained sundry proposed amendments. They were adopted, and ordered to be laid before the next General Convention. This was done: but there being various proposed amendments from other Dioceses, and the Convention not being possessed of authority to decide definitively on their respective merits, it was moved and resolved that they be all referred to the first General Convention which shall assemble, with full power to establish a Liturgy for the whole Church. An adjournment to the 14th day of September was unanimously agreed on: it being nearly coincident with the time of the General Convention, which was summoned to meet in Wilmington, on the 10th of October. Notice of the adjourned meeting was sent

to the several congregations, and it was announced to them that the object of the meeting was the election of a Bishop to proceed to England for consecration: letters having been received from the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, announcing that they had procured an Act of Parliament, empowering them to that effect. That communication and another from the Archbishops and the Bishops jointly were read. The election was held; and there was a unanimous choice of the Author as Bishop. For the meeting of the expense of the voyage of the Bishop elect to England, it was resolved to raise 200 guineas, or £350 currency; the sum to be apportioned among the congregations of the Diocese.

The 2d Tuesday in May, 1787, was appointed for the next Convention.

THE 3d CONVENTION.—This was held in Christ Church on the 15th of May, 1787. There were present of the Clergy, including the Bishop, five, and of Lay Deputies, nineteen. After the opening of the Convention with prayer, the Committee of Correspondence and Advice, reported their proceedings in the obtaining of consecration of the Bishop elect; the successful issue of which was now attested by his presence. Also, his letters to them, during his absence in England, were read. The Bishop laid before the Convention the instrument of his consecration, under the hands and the seals of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and of the Bishops of Bath and Wells and Peterborough: also an instrument under the signatures of the Notaries Public, attesting the due record of the consecration in Doctors Commons. A committee was appointed to consider and report the proper time for holding the annual meeting of this Convention; and further on appointing a committee or council with whom the Bishop may advise in the discharge of the duties of his office, in the recess of the Convention; also on the manner of appointing said committee or council.

It was ordered, that those proceedings of the General Convention, which have a more immediate relation to the Church in this State, form a part of the minutes of the Convention.

The deputies of this Convention, to the General Convention in October last, reported an act of that body, by which the Nicene Creed is restored; the article of Christ's descent into hell is replaced in the Apostle's Creed; the 10th article of the General Constitution is newly modified; and the 4th article of Religion in the proposed book, is accommodated to the Creeds.

The Committee appointed to consider of the most proper time for holding the annual Convention, reported the 2d Tuesday after Whitsunday. The same committee reported that there should be appointed a Council of Advice and Correspondence, with whom the Bishop may consult in the discharge of his office. These reports were sanctioned; and a Council of Advice was chosen, consisting of three Clergymen, and three Lay members.

The 4th Annual Convention.—It met on the 24th of May, 1788. After prayers, the Rev. Dr. Magaw was chosen Secretary. There were present, including the Bishop, five Clergymen and fourteen Laymen. Clerical and Lay Deputies were elected, to represent the Church of this Diocese in a General Convention, if it should be held before the next annual Convention of this Diocese.

A Council of Advice was chosen for the current year.

It was enacted, that if at any time any member or members appointed to the General Convention should decline, or be unable to attend, on notice given to the other members of the same order, they shall appoint a substitute or substitutes.

The 5th Annual Convention.—It was held in Christ Church on the 9th of June, 1789. Four Clergymen, including the Bishop, and 11 Lay members, were present. After Prayers, the Rev. Joseph Bend was elected Secretary: the Rev. Dr. Magaw declining a reëlection. Provision was made for the defraying of the expenses of the Convention. The Bishop was requested to revise the canons of the Church of England, and to prepare such as will be suitable to the circumstances of this Church.

There was an election of Deputies to the ensuing General Convention, and of a Council of Advice for the current year. The Rev. Mr. Bend was appointed Treasurer of the moneys raised for the defraying of the expenses of the Convention.

The Deputies to the General Convention were instructed, that for any one of their number who should decline or be unable to attend, a substitute should be provided.

The 6th Annual Convention.—The same was held in Christ Church, Philadelphia, on the 1st of June, 1790. There were present of the Clergy, including the Bishop, eleven, and of Lay Deputies, eight. After prayers by the Rev. Mr. Bend, he was chosen Secretary. A resolution was moved, to the effect, that every Clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal Church in this State, who is entitled to the privileges of a citizen therein, shall be entitled to a seat in the Convention of the said Church. The proposed resolution had a reference to the case of the Rev. Dr. Smith, who, having returned from Maryland, to reside in Philadelphia as Provost of the College, had sent in a claim to a seat in the Convention. The resolution was postponed. But in its bearing on the case of the Rev. Dr. Smith, it was resolved, that he was entitled to a seat.

The Committee appointed on the subject of clerical membership, made report of a resolution which was adopted; to the effect, that every Clergyman of the Episcopal Church, resident in the State, and a citizen thereof, shall have a seat in the Convention, although without a pastoral charge.

A Committee was appointed for the publishing of 200 copies of the Journals of the Convention, with the account of the meeting which gave rise to it.

The Rev. Mr. Bend was again chosen Treasurer of the moneys raised to pay the expenses of the Convention.

The Constitution of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America was read. And notice was given that it is proposed to consider and determine on, in the next General Convention, the propriety of investing the House of Bishops with a full negative on the proceedings of the other House. It was moved and determined, that in the case of the Rev. Elisha Rigg, in Deacon's Orders and a candidate for Priest's Orders, it be recommended to dispense with the knowledge of the Greek language, in consideration of other qualifications for the Gospel ministry.

The 7th Annual Convention.—The meeting of this Convention was on the 21st of June, 1791. The number of Clergymen present with the Bishop was eleven, and of Lay Deputies, thirteen.

After Prayers read by Mr. Clarkson, he was chosen Secretary.

Agreeably to an existing provision, it was recommended by two thirds of the members of the Convention, that the knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages be dispensed with in the examination of Mr. Joseph Turner for Holy Orders, in consideration of other qualifications necessary for the Gospel Ministry.

Clerical and Lay Deputies were appointed to a General Convention, if held, and provision was made for substitution in the case of any who should decline or be unable to attend.

The General Convention having required the instituting of a Standing Committee in every Diocese, for certain purposes defined; this Diocesan Convention passed an Act providing that the members of the Council of Advice shall be the said committee, and ordaining further rules for the constituting and governing of the combined body.

There was a choice made of the members of the Council of Advice and Standing Committees.

The Rev. Mr. Clarkson was chosen Treasurer. Deputies to the General Convention were elected; and they were instructed to press, at any meeting of that body, and before such meeting, if any fit opportunity should offer, the necessity of further election in some of the States, of persons to be consecrated Bishops, in order that the Succession may be secured.

The 8th Annual Convention.—It was held on the 5th of June, 1792. Seven Clergymen besides the Bishop, and 15 Lay Deputies, were present. After Prayers were read by the Rev. Mr. Clay, John B. Gilpin, Esq., was chosen Secretary.

Deputies to the General Convention were elected; as were the members who should compose the Council of Advice and Standing Committee; and provision was made for the supply of the places of those who should decline, or be unable to attend.

The Deputies to the General Convention were instructed to urge therein, an ample appointment of the Clerical order, to the Episcopacy in the several States, to perpetuate the Episcopal Succession.

It was enjoined on the Secretary of the Council of Advice and Standing Committee, to lay the minutes of the preceding year's business annually before the Convention.

The Convention adjourned to meet in Philadelphia, at 10 o'clock on the appointed day.

The 9th Annual Convention.—They met on the 28th of May, 1793. There were present, the Bishop and seven other Clergymen, and ten Lay Deputies. After Prayers read by the Rev. Slater Clay, he was chosen Secretary, and the Rev. Dr. Blackwell was chosen Treasurer.

There were chosen Deputies to the General Convention, and the members of the Standing Committee and Council of Advice.

There appeared sundry members of this Church, deputed by members of the same in their respective townships, who have formed themselves into Congregations for the purposes of Church communion, and with the intention of building Churches in certain designated places.

The Convention requested the Bishop to dispense with the knowledge of the learned languages, in the case of Mr. Robert Davis, in his examination for Holy Orders. The same was applied for in favor of Mr. Caleb Hopkins, but was referred to a Committee, to be reported on at the next Convention. The next Convention was appointed to be in Philadelphia, in Christ Church, on the annual day, at 10 o'clock.

The 10th Annual Convention.—This was held on the 17th of June, 1794. There were present the Bishop and five other Clergymen, and of Lay Deputies, eight. After Prayers by the Rev. Mr. Turner, the Rev. James Abercrombie was chosen Secretary. It was resolved, that it be recommended to the Bishop, in the case of Caleb Hopkins, to dispense with the knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages, in his examination for Holy Orders.

A recommendation was granted to the Committee in New York, appointed by the General Convention to superintend the printing of the Book of Common Prayer, for the permission of certain individuals to print the same separately.

There was the election of Deputies to the General Convention, and of a Standing Committee and Council of Advice. It was resolved, that six weeks preceding the next General Convention, the Secretary shall give notice to every Clergyman, and where there is no Clergyman, to the Wardens of every congregation, of the place and time of meeting. The next Convention was appointed to be in Christ Church, Philadelphia, on the annual day, at 10 o'clock.

The 11th Annual Convention.—It was held on the 20th of June, 1795. The Bishop, with five other Clergymen, were present; as were also eleven Lay Deputies.

After Prayers by the Rev. Mr. Abercrombie, he was chosen Secretary. The Convention passed seven canons, which have been since superseded by canons of the General Convention on the same subjects. Those now passed were—Of Presentments—Of Inquiries on Presentments—Of Penalties—Of Assessors on Trials—Of the Trial of a Bishop—Of the removal of Ministers from any State into this, and—Of the celebration of Marriages.

The two following resolves were moved and adopted—that the several vestries be advised to apply to the proper authorities for Charters of Incorporation; having first submitted them to the Bishop and the Council of Advice for their approbation; and so framing those instruments as to render them, throughout the State, as nearly similar as local circumstances will admit, and that the vestry of every congregation vacant now or at any future time, should have a provision for a term not less than three years, to such minister as shall be duly elected and settled: the rents of Glebes being applied, during vacancies, to create capital funds, bearing interest, for the use of future ministers; excepting where the donors of such Glebes may have applied any parts of the rents thereof to other pious purposes.

It was recommended to the Bishop to dispense with the knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages, in the case of Absalom Jones, a colored man, ministering in the African Church of St. Thomas, in the city of Philadelphia, with the proviso, that the same shall not be understood to entitle the African Church to send a Clergyman or Deputies to the Convention, it being stated, that this provision is in consideration of their peculiar circumstances at present.

The Council of Advice were authorized to print the last five Journals, including the present. Deputies to the General Convention, and members to constitute the Standing Committee and Council of Advice, were elected.

The next Convention was appointed to meet in Christ Church, Philadelphia, on the annual day, at 10 o'clock.

The 12th Annual Convention.—It was held in Christ Church, Philadelphia, on the 24th of May, 1796. There were present, the Bishop and five other Clergymen, and of the Lay Deputies, ten. After Prayers read by the Rev. James Abercrombie, he was chosen Secretary.

It was resolved, that in order to provide a fund for the printing of the Journals, and defraying other incidental expenses, the associated Churches shall annually contribute one per cent. on the salaries paid to their respective ministers.

On the presentment of a petition for an amendment of the 6th canon of 1795, the same was negatived.

A Canon was enacted, that in the case of the misbehavior of any minister of another State within the bounds of this, the same shall be certified to the proper authority of the State to which the party is amenable. This Diocesan Canon became superseded by one which the General Convention enacted to the same effect.

Deputies to the General Convention, and the members of the Standing Committee and Council of Advice, were elected. The meeting of the next Convention was appointed to be in Christ Church, Philadelphia, on the annual day, at 10 o'clock.

The 13th Annual Convention.—It was held, agreeably to appointment, on the 13th of June, 1797. There were present the

Bishop, nine other Clergymen, and nine Lay Deputies. After Prayers read by the Rev. Mr. Abercrombie, he was chosen Secretary. The Deputies from one of the congregations made a proposal for the repeal of certain Canons of the General Convention.

There was also read a letter to the Convention from divers members of the same congregation, objecting to certain matters contained in the said instructions. The Convention, without taking any order in the business, earnestly recommended to the congregation, to adopt measures in the spirit of love and forbearance, for the healing of their divisions.

It was required by a Canon, of every Clergyman, that in the month of March in every year, he shall make a return to the Bishop of the number of families in the congregation or congregations in which he officiates, of the Baptisms, of the Communicants, and of such general information as he shall think necessary or useful. This diocesan Canon became superseded by one which the General Convention enacted to the same effect.

It was resolved, that a sermon be preached at the opening of every future Convention; and the Bishop was requested to perform that duty at the next.

It was resolved, that one and an half per cent. instead of one per cent., as required by the last Convention, be collected on the salaries of the different ministers throughout the State, as a fund for printing the Journals and defraying the other incidental expenses of the Convention.

Deputies to the General Convention, and the members of the Standing Committee and Council of Advice, were elected.

It was resolved, that the next Convention meet in Christ Church, Philadelphia, on the annual day, at 10 o'clock, A. M.

The 14th Annual Convention.—It was held on the 3d of June, 1798. The Bishop, six other Clergymen and eight Lay Deputies, were present. After Prayers, read by the Rev. Mr. Abercrombie, he was chosen Secretary.

The Bishop stated to the Convention his design of delivering a Charge to the Clergy, at every future annual Convention.*

It was resolved, that the returns to the Bishop by the parochial Clergy, instead of being in the month of March in every year, as provided by the last Convention, shall be in the second Monday after Whitsunday in every year. A Canon was passed to this effect; and it was made the duty of the Secretary, to give notice of the day to every Clergyman, and to every Congregation destitute of a minister.

Deputies to the General Convention were elected; as were the Standing Committee and Council of Advice.

* Note by the Author.—This purpose was not carried into effect except in four instances, for some years, because of the fewness of attending members, and afterwards because of its being judged more reasonable, generally to commit the introductory exercises of the pulpit to some of the Presbyters.

Christ Church, Philadelphia, was appointed as the place of meeting of the next Convention, on the annual day, at 10 o'clock, A. M.

The 15th Annual Convention.—It was held on the 21st of May, 1799. The Bishop and three other Clergymen and four Lay Deputies were present. After Prayers by Mr. Abercrombie, he was chosen Secretary. It was resolved, that as through the omission of notice, or some other circumstances, the number of members present is unusually small, the Bishop be requested to defer the delivery of the Charge which he has prepared, agreeably to the desire of the last Convention.

Deputies to the General Convention were chosen, as was also a Standing Committee and Council of Advice.

It was resolved, that the next Convention be held in Christ Church, Philadelphia, on the annual day, at 10 o'clock, A. M.

The 16th Annual Convention.—It was held on the 10th of June, 1800. The Bishop, four other Clergymen and four Lay Deputies, were present. After Prayers, read by the Rev. Joseph Clarkson, the Rev. Dr. Blackwell was chosen Secretary.

There was laid before the Convention a proposal of the late General Convention, for the holding of the meetings of the latter body, once in every five, instead of once in every three years.

Deputies to the General Convention, and the members of the Standing Committee and Council of Advice, were elected.

The next annual meeting was determined to be in Christ Church, Philadelphia, on the next annual day, at 10 o'clock, A. M.

The 17th Annual Convention.—It was held on the 2d of June, 1801. The Bishop, six other Clergymen and four Lay Deputies, were present. After Prayers, read by the Rev. Dr. Blackwell, he was chosen Secretary. It was resolved, that the time of the annual meeting shall be advertised in at least two newspapers, for six weeks previous to the day of meeting. It was committed to the Council of Advice, to devise a plan, by which the various congregations may have occasional opportunities of Divine Worship; and it was recommended to every Clergyman, to give a Sunday or two in the year for so good a purpose.

Deputies to the General Convention, and a Standing Committee and Council of Advice, were chosen. It was resolved, that the next meeting of the Convention shall be in Philadelphia, in Christ Church, on the annual day, at 10 o'clock, A. M.

The 18th Annual Convention.—It was held at the time and place appointed, June 15th, 1802. The Bishop, five other Clergymen and four Lay Deputies, were present. After Prayers, read by the Rev. Mr. Turner, the Rev. Dr. Blackwell was chosen Secretary. A resolution of the General Convention held in Trenton, in September, 1801, for the altering of the first article of the Constition, was made known to this Convention.

A report prevailing, injurious to the character of the Rev. ——— ———, formerly of Ireland, the teacher of a private school in this

city, a Committee was appointed to inquire into the grounds of the same. On the next day the Committee reported that they had not yet received satisfactory information on the case of the Rev. —— ——, so as to form an opinion either as to the instituting of a process on the grounds of the Canons, or as to the dismission from further considerations. Accordingly they recommended an adjourned session. [Note.—The adjourned session did not take place.] Lay Deputies to the General Convention, and the Standing Committee and Council of Advice, were elected.

The next Convention was appointed to be held in Christ Church, in the city of Philadelphia, on the annual day, at 10 o'clock, A. M.

The 19th Annual Convention.—This was held on the 7th of June, 1803. The Bishop, five other Clergymen, and five Lay Deputies, were present. After Prayers, read by the Rev. Mr. Abercrombie, the Rev. Dr. Blackwell was chosen Secretary.

The case of the —— —— being taken up and fully considered, he was presented to the Bishop for trial. Deputies to the General Convention, and the Standing Committee and Council of Advice, were elected.

Two Lay Deputies were appointed to attend on any proceedings to be held on the case of the Rev. —— ——.

It was resolved, that if any of the Deputies appointed to the General Convention should be unable to attend, their places shall be supplied by others of the same order. Christ Church, Philadelphia, was appointed as the place of meeting of the next Convention, and the time 10 o'clock of the annual day.

The 20th Annual Convention.—It was held on the 27th of May, 1804. Besides the Bishop, seven Clergymen and five Lay Deputies, were present. After Prayers by the Rev. Dr. Clarkson, the Rev. Dr. Blackwell was chosen Secretary. There was read to the Convention, the sentence of Degradation of —— ——, the teacher of a private school in this city. Deputies to the General Convention, and the Standing Committee and Council of Advice, were elected.

The Deputies to the General Convention were empowered to fill up any vacancies which may occur in their number. It was resolved, that the next Convention assemble in Christ Church, Philadelphia, on the annual day, at 10 o'clock, A. M.

The 21st Annual Convention.—It assembled on the 8th of June, 1805. The Bishop, seven other Clergymen, and six Lay Deputies, were present. After Prayers, read by the Rev. Mr. Hopkins, Plunket Glentworth, M. D., was chosen Secretary. The following resolves were passed: That the Secretary be instructed in giving notice of the annual day, to notify to every Clergyman not residing in the city, the request to him to notify the annual day, not only to the Wardens and Vestrymen of his own congregation, but to those of any vacant congregation in his vicinity; the said notices of the Secretary to be such as that they may be received at least one month before the annual meeting.

That it is highly expedient to provide occasional preaching in vacant congregations; and the Clergy present expressed their desire of contributing to the work as far as is consistent with their respective situations.

That a Committee of three be appointed, who, with the Bishop, shall determine the times and places of preaching.

That in accommodation to the more distant Clergy, it be recommended to them to take such measures in the premises as circumstances may permit.

That the different Clergy be desired to report to the next Convention, the visits they should have made.

That the visiting Clergymen furnish the Bishop and the Committee with the information obtained from the congregations; and that these be assured of the earnest desire of the Convention for the accomplishing of the object.

That the Secretary be desired to forward a copy of these resolutions to every Clergyman in the State.

Deputies to the General Convention, and the Standing Committee and Council of Advice, were elected. The next Convention was appointed to be held in Christ Church, Philadelphia, on the annual day, at 10 o'clock, A. M.

The 22d Annual Convention.—It was held on the 3d of June, 1806. The Bishop, eight other Clergymen, and nine Lay Deputies, were present. After Prayers, read by the Rev. Levi Bull, Dr. Plunket Glentworth was chosen Secretary. The Secretary reported that the Journal of the last and a notice of the present Convention had been forwarded to every Clergyman in the State. Several of the Clergy present having made reports of their visitations, it was resolved, that the Clergy hereafter visiting congregations make their reports in writing to the Bishop, to be laid before the Convention.

It was resolved, that the Secretary direct the attention of every Clergyman to the 11th Canon of the General Convention. It was resolved that a discourse be delivered annually before the Convention, on the 2d Wednesday after Whitsunday; the plan on which the duty shall be performed to be determined by the Bishop and Council of Advice. The Deputies to the General Convention were empowered to supply vacancies. The Secretary was desired to have the Journal of the present Convention printed. Christ Church, Philadelphia, on the annual day, at 10 o'clock, A. M., was appointed as the place and time of the meeting of the next Convention.

The 23d Annual Convention.—There were present, besides the Bishop, eight Clergymen and eleven Lay Deputies. After Prayers read by Mr. Pilmore, the Bishop delivered a Pastoral Charge. Dr. P. Glentworth was chosen Secretary. The thanks of the Convention were presented to the Bishop for his Charge to the Clergy, and he was desired to furnish a copy for publication. Several of the Clergy present, not being prepared to furnish lists of the numbers of Marriages, Baptisms, and Communicants, they were

requested to furnish to the Bishop such information, as soon as possible; and the Secretary was directed to forward the said lists to every Clergyman in the State, with the present Journal when printed. Deputies to the General Convention, and the Standing Committee and Council of Advice, were elected. The Deputies were empowered to supply vacancies. It was resolved, that the next Convention assemble on the annual day, in Christ Church, Philadelphia, at 10 o'clock, A. M.

The 24th Annual Convention.—There were present, besides the Bishop, six Clergymen and twelve Lay Deputies. After Prayers read by the Rev. Mr. Bull, and a Sermon delivered by the Rev. Dr. Abercrombie, Dr. Glentworth was chosen Secretary.

Thanks were voted to the Rev. Dr. Abercrombie for his Sermon, and a copy requested for publication. The Secretary was requested to transmit a copy of the Journal of the last General Convention to every congregation in the Diocese; and where there is a Clergyman, to request his attention to the 10th Canon.

The Rev. Dr. Abercrombie and the Secretary were appointed a Committee for the printing of 250 copies of such of the Journals as are not yet printed.

Dr. Blackwell and the Secretary were appointed a Committee to bring before the next State Convention, any subject directed to be laid before them by the late General Convention.

Deputies to the General Convention, and the Standing Committee and Council of Advice, were chosen.

The Deputies to the General Convention were empowered to supply any vacancies that may occur. It was appointed that the next Convention meet in Christ Church, Philadelphia, on the next annual day, at 10 o'clock.

The 25th Annual Convention.—There were present, besides the Bishop, five Clergymen and twelve Lay Deputies. After Prayers read by the Rev. Mr. Wiltbank, Dr. Glentworth was chosen Secretary.

The Bishop, in compliance with the 45th Canon of the General Convention, delivered an address relating his Diocesan administrations of the preceding year. The Standing Committee were authorized to consider of and to direct a proper investment of the legacy of the late Andrew Doz. Inconvenience being apprehended from the delay of presentments under the operation of the first Canon of this Diocese, of 1795, a Committee was appointed to report thereon to the next Convention, if judged expedient.

In consequence of a statement of the circumstances of St. Paul's Church, Chester, it was resolved, that it be recommended to the Vestry of the same, and to the neighboring Churches, to express their desires in writing, with information of what can be done for the support of a Minister, and to transmit the result to the Bishop; who, with the Clergy of the City present, engaged to use their best endeavors for the settlement of a Minister in the said congregation.

Sundry of the Clergy of New York having encouraged the publication of a periodical work in that city, with the view of diffusing information concerning the doctrine, the worship, and the discipline of the Episcopal Church, the Convention voted, by a resolution, their approbation of the same.

Deputies to the General Convention, and the Standing Committee and Council of Advice, were chosen. The former were empowered to fill any vacancies which might occur.

The resolution of a former Convention, directing the annual delivery of a Sermon, was repeated. It was appointed that the next Convention be held in Christ Church, on the annual day, at 10 o'clock, A. M.

THE 26th ANNUAL CONVENTION.—It was held on the 19th day of June, 1810. There were present, besides the Bishop, ten Clergymen and fifteen Lay Deputies. After Prayers read by the Rev. Mr. Clay, Dr. Glentworth was chosen Secretary.

The Bishop, agreeably to the 45th Canon, and to his practice under it, begun at the last Convention, delivered an Address, detailing his Episcopal acts during the last year.

The Committee appointed by the last Convention, to prevent inconveniences arising from the delay of Presentments, reported that they had not yet matured their opinion on the matter referred to them.

Deputies to the General Convention, and the Standing Committee and Council of Advice, were chosen. The Deputies to the General Convention were authorized to supply vacancies in their number. The next Convention was appointed to be held in Christ Church, in the city of Philadelphia, on the annual day, at 10 o'clock, A. M.

THE 27th ANNUAL CONVENTION.—It was held, agreeably to appointment. There were present, besides the Bishop, ten Clergymen and seventeen Lay Deputies. After Prayers read by the Rev. Mr. Wiltbank, the Rev. Jackson Kemper was chosen Secretary. Agreeably to the 45th Canon, the Bishop delivered an Address, reciting his Episcopal acts of the last year.

The Committee appointed to devise a plan for preventing the inconveniences which may occur from the delay of Presentments, reported a Canon, which was unanimously adopted.

It being reported, that the General Convention has referred the business of a Bishop for the Western States, and for the parts of Virginia and Pennsylvania situated beyond the Alleghany Mountains, to the Bishops of Pennsylvania and Virginia, it was resolved, that the Council of Advice be desired to assist the Bishop in the said business, so far as it relates to this State.

There being laid by the Bishop, before the Convention, papers relative to the Church in Yorktown, it was resolved, that this business be referred to the Council of Advice, and that they be instructed, with the concurrence of the Bishop, to take such measures as they may think proper.

A Committee was appointed to devise a plan to be reported to the next Convention, for the support of the Episcopate in this State.

The Clergy made their several reports, agreeably to a Canon of the General Convention, of Baptisms, Marriages, Funerals, and Communicants. Deputies to the General Convention, and a Standing Committee and Council of Advice, were chosen.

THE 28th ANNUAL CONVENTION.—It was held in Christ Church, in the city of Philadelphia, on the 26th and 27th days of May, 1812. There were present 13 Clergymen, besides the Bishop and 19 Lay Deputies. After divine service read by the Rev. Levi Bull, the Rev. Jackson Kemper was elected Secretary.

In compliance with the 45th Canon of the General Convention, the Bishop delivered an Address, relating his Episcopal acts in the last year.

The Bishop having mentioned in his Address the contemplated appointment of a Bishop in one of the Western States, it was resolved, that if a Bishop should be consecrated for any State westward of the Alleghany Mountains, and if it should be thought expedient that the Churches of this State, seated in the same region, should be under the superintendence of said Bishop, then the Convention consent to the same, on such terms as may be approved of by the Bishop and Council of Advice.

The Committee appointed by the last Convention, to devise means for the support of the Episcopate in Pennsylvania, made a report; whereon it was resolved, to raise a permanent fund for the said object, by sermons preached and collections made in the several Churches. The moneys to be collected were to be securely vested, with whatever interest may accrue, until they shall reach a sum adequate to the support of a Bishop.

A Canon was passed, providing that on occasions of Presentments, when Lay Assessors cannot be obtained from the congregation of an accused party, consistently with security for impartiality, the Bishop, with the consent of the Council of Advice, may summon Lay Assessors from any other congregation or congregations of this Church.

The Rev. Joseph Clarkson having been appointed by the Bishop, Commissary to inquire concerning the irregularities stated to the last Convention to exist in the Church in Yorktown, had made report to the Bishop, which he now laid before this Convention. From the report, it appears that the Rev. Joseph Clarkson, having repaired to Yorktown and procured a meeting with him of both parties, and having conversed with members of the congregation generally, had found that the Presentment was totally informal, and that the charges could not be substantiated, so as to bring the Rev. John Armstrong into any disrepute.

There was appointed a Committee to arrange the Canons, Regulations and Rules of Order, to propose such amendments and addition as they may think expedient, and to report the same to the next

Convention, with the view of their being inserted with the Act of Association on the Journal. It was resolved, that at the opening of every annual Convention, there shall be a sermon by a Clergyman previously appointed, except when the Bishop shall deliver a Charge.

It was recorded as the opinion of the Convention, that it will not be decorous in any Clergyman to cause his sermon to be printed unless requested by two thirds of the Convention. It was ordered, that the Pastoral Addresses which may hereafter be sent from the General Convention, shall be read to every congregation in this Diocese.

It was resolved, that the Churches in this Diocese shall contribute each of them an annual sum for defraying the expenses of the Convention, and of Deputies to the General Convention. And a ratio of assessment was prescribed.

A Committee was appointed to make out a list of the Clergy and the Congregations in the State, to be entered on the Journal of the next Convention.

There was a renewal of the resolve of the Convention of 1792, requiring the Secretary of the Standing Committee and Council of Advice, to lay the minutes of the preceding year's business before the Convention.

It was ordered, that the Sermons for the Episcopal fund be delivered between Easter and Whitsuntide.

Dr. Glentworth was appointed Treasurer to the Convention.

It was resolved, that the parochial reports shall hereafter be read before the Convention.

There was passed a Canon, providing that Presentments may be made, not only as specified in the 1st Canon of 1795, but by any three communicants of this Church, pledging themselves to support the exhibited charge or charges; provided it be not rejected by the Bishop, with the concurrence of the Council of Advice, as either futile or unsupported by evidence; and the Presenters, if the trial proceed, to be at liberty to bring further evidence.

The Secretary laid before the Convention a proposal for publishing a Hebrew Bible.

Deputies to the General Convention, and the Standing Committee and Council of Advice, were chosen. The returns of Baptisms, Marriages, Funerals, and Communicants, were read.

The 29th Annual Convention.—It was held in Christ Church, Philadelphia, on the 15th day of June, 1813. There were present, besides the Bishop, 12 Clergymen and 27 Lay Deputies. After Prayers read by the Rev. John Ward, and a Sermon delivered by the Rev. Dr. Pilmore, the Rev. Jackson Kemper was chosen Secretary. The Bishop, as usual, delivered an Address, relating his acts in the Episcopacy during the last year.

Information was given, concerning the money received for the Episcopate, from the estate of the late Andrew Doz, Esq., that of the money reported to be in hand at the Convention of 1811, there had been purchased a ground rent of $24 per annum, which cost $336.

The Parochial Reports were read. The Committee appointed to arrange the Canons, and to make out an accurate list of the Clergy and the congregations, being not ready to report, owing to the decease of their Chairman, a Committee was again appointed.

A Message was received from the Trustees of the Society for the Advancement of Christianity in Pennsylvania, inviting the attendance of the members of the Convention at a meeting to be held in the evening. The members promised to attend.

Deputies to the General Convention, and a Standing Committee and Council of Advice, were chosen.

It was resolved, that the next Convention be held in St. James' Church, Philadelphia.

The remainder of Bishop White's manuscript will be published in next Number.

The following sketch of the early history of the Church in Ohio, deserves preservation. It will be read with interest.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE CHURCH IN OHIO.

ASHTABULA, Ohio, June 23d, 1840.

REV. FRANCIS L. HAWKS, D. D.

DEAR SIR,—The following sketch of the early history of the Church in the Northern part of Ohio, commonly called "New Connecticut," or "the Connecticut Western Reserve," is at *your* service, if it may be of *any* service, in compiling your history of the Church in this Diocese. This section of the State is about equal in extent to the Diocese of Connecticut. It was principally, although not exclusively, the field of labor of that first zealous and indefatigable Missionary of the Protestant Episcopal Church, who visited this section of the West with the view of organizing the dispersed members of our Church into parishes, preparatory to the organization of a Diocese west of the Alleghany Mountains, the Rev. Roger Searle. It was to him not only a field of arduous and painful labors in the Gospel, which God has been pleased to bless to the spiritual benefit of thousands, dead and living, and still (we trust) to be born; but it was a scene of privations and sufferings to himself and family, which none but Church and Gospel pioneers can appreciate, and none can tell. Of many of the labors and privations of the Rev. Mr. Searle and his family during the infancy of the Church in Ohio, has the writer of this sketch been an eye-witness, and in enough of them a sharer, to know how to appreciate them. For a considerable time previous to A. D. 1817, the Clergy of Connecticut, with the Bishops of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, had become interested in the destitute condition of the members and friends of our Church, who had emigrated to the States and Terri-

tories west of the Alleghanies. In Connecticut especially, whence a large proportion of those emigrants had gone and scattered themselves over this western country, the Clergy, in their Convocations, and in their more private interviews, were making the great subject of supplying the spiritual wants matter of conversation and interest. The Rev. Mr. Searle, then Rector of St. Peter's, Plymouth, in Connecticut, in consideration of his extensive acquaintance with the New England emigrants, and other qualifications for a missionary among them, was selected and solicited by his clerical brethren to go and gather and organize into parishes the dispersed members of the Church in the western wilderness. In this project the venerable Bishops White, Kemp, Croes, and Hobart, took a deep interest, and added their solicitations, that the Rev. Mr. Searle would undertake the tour of the West. When the Rev. Mr. Searle had consented to go, he penned the following as among his inducements to make the tour of Ohio in particular.

"The population of the now flourishing State of Ohio, was, in 1800, about 45,000; in 1810, about 231,000; and the present population [January, 1817] is estimated at 400,000.* Such an unexampled emigration to one particular tract of country is indeed astonishing! The thousands who are continually planting themselves in the State of Ohio, carry with them not only property and habits of industry, by which the wilderness is almost instantaneously converted into fruitful fields, but, in very many instances, that intelligence, weight of character, and moral worth, which, in all countries, form the proper basis of good order and the best interests of society. By many intelligent persons now resident in Ohio, it is estimated that not less than one eighth of the present population of that State are Episcopalian emigrants from the Atlantic States and from Europe. As many of them were from this State, to the clergy of the Episcopal Church in this State, they have, since the close of the late war, particularly made known their great need of clerical assistance. They represent to us, that though numerous they have not a parish regularly formed, nor a Clergyman of the Episcopal Church, resident in that State. They plead with Christian ardor for clerical services according to the Order in which they were educated, and have given satisfactory assurances of a liberal remuneration of such services.† After due deliberation on the part of the Clergy of the Episcopal Church in this State, it is deemed highly proper that those members of our Church be visited, with a view to a regular organization, promotive of their own and the general interests of society. Having an extensive personal acquaintance with gentlemen planted in that country, I am particularly solicited to perform that service. It is determined that I set off this month; that I go direct to Ashtabula, by Buffalo—spend about two months in passing through the Western Reserve—thence pass on to the Scioto—thence across the Little

* Estimated population (1850) 2,051,994. † These assurances he never realized.

and Great Miami—and thence up the Ohio, and by the way of Pittsburg and Philadelphia to New York in May next. Having been appointed a member from this State to the next General Convention of the Episcopal Church in the United States, to be held at New York on the 20th of May next, it will be important that I then make due representation of the situation of our now scattered members in the West."

He took his departure accordingly. As there were no funds to be obtained to carry him on his way, but by individual contributions, the expenses of his tour were provided for in that manner, by the munificence of members of the Church in New York, Philadelphia, and other places in the East, and by persons friendly to his undertaking, who contributed to him in the course of his journey. He arrived, after a cold and tedious journey, at Ashtabula, in the county of Ashtabula, and State of Ohio, on the morning of Quinquagesima Sunday, February 16th, 1817, bringing with him letters of credence and recommendation from the aforementioned Bishops, and many other respectable members of the Church, both Clergy and laity. In crossing the eastern line of Ohio, he withdrew a little from the road, knelt in the snow, and was heard, in a low tone by his companion, to put up a prayer to Almighty God for the success of the contemplated Christian researches and labors, and that he might be made an instrument in God's hand, of building up the kingdom of the Redeemer, in the wide field which he was now entering, the greater part of which had, to that time, remained untrodden by the foot of any Clergymen of the Church. He proceeded immediately to visit the members and friends of the Church in Ashtabula, most of whom had recently been members of his congregation in Connecticut. He found that, in pursuance of circular instructions previously sent to the Episcopalians in Ohio, those in this place had formed an association, preparatory to being duly organized and recognized as a parish of the Protestant Episcopal Church. On Ash-Wednesday, February 19th, 1817, he called them together and informed them, that his object in visiting Ohio was to collect and organize the members of the Church in this State into parishes, preparatory to the organization of a Diocese. By request, he then took the chair. The members of this association having chosen, at the time of their associating in September of the previous year, a board of parish officers, and now unanimously adopting the Constitution and Canons of the Church in the United States of America, were recognized as a parish of the same, and received from the Rev. Mr. Searle the name of "The Parish of St. Peter's Church, Ashtabula." In pursuance of a resolution suggested by the Rev. Chairman, the parish elected two delegates to represent this parish in a provisional Convention, to be holden at some time and place to be fixed on, previously to the first of May next, preliminary to the organization of a Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in this State. Thus was the organization of this parish completed.

It is believed that this was the first parish duly organized in the State of Ohio. It is certain that it was the first thus organized in the Western Reserve. He then proceeded up Lake Erie 60 miles, to Cleveland, the seat of justice of Cuyahoga county, where he found an association of Episcopalians formed like that at Ashtabula, whose organization being completed in the same form and manner, it became a parish by the name of "The Parish of Trinity Church, Cleveland." This parish also appointed two delegates to the proposed provisional Convention. He then proceeded 30 miles through the wilderness to Liverpool, in Medina county, where he organized "The Parish of St. John's Church, Liverpool," which also chose two delegates to the provisional Convention. He then turned back seven miles to Columbia in Cuyahoga county, where he found an association of Episcopalians, whom he organized into "The Parish of St. Mark's Church, Columbia," which also chose two delegates to the provisional Convention. From Columbia he went 20 miles to Medina, the county seat of Medina county, where he organized "The Parish of St. Paul's Church, Medina," which elected two delegates to the provisional Convention. This was the place where the Rev. Mr. Searle located himself and family the next year, in a dense forest. From Medina he proceeded to Ravenna, the county seat of Portage county, where he organized "The Parish of St. Luke's Church, Ravenna," about 40 miles southeasterly from Medina. This parish elected a delegate to the provisional Convention. From Ravenna, the Rev. Mr. Searle proceeded to Boardman, Trumbull county, in the southeast corner of the Western Reserve, about 40 miles from Ravenna. Here he found an association of Episcopalians which had been formed about eight years. He organized them into "The Parish of St. James' Church, Boardman." This parish appointed three delegates to the provisional Convention. There were also found at Middlebury, in Portage county, several Episcopalians, with whom incipient steps were taken toward the organizing of "The Parish of Christ Church," and also at Parkman in Geauga county, where similar steps were taken toward the organization of "Grace Church." The Rev. Mr. Searle had now, from February 16th to March 23d, 1817, traversed six counties and organized seven parishes in the Western Reserve, Ohio. Besides organizing these parishes, he had performed the service of the Church, preached, and baptized in them and very many intermediate places, a great number of times. From Boardman he proceeded to the northward through Trumbull county, performing clerical services in his way, 44 miles, to Windsor, in the southwest corner of Ashtabula county. He had notified the delegates of the parishes organized to meet in Convention at Windsor, April 2d, 1817. He arrived here on or about March 31st. On his arrival, he was happily surprised to meet the Rev. Philander Chase, recently arrived from Hartford, Connecticut. This was a happy and very opportune meeting of the two Rev. gentlemen, who were destined, with the as-

sistance of many worthy laymen and a few clerical brethren who soon joined them, to lay the foundation of the Church in the infant State of Ohio. These gentlemen may truly be considered Apostles of the Church, the one in the northern, and the other in the southern and central divisions of the State. The Rev. Mr. Chase soon had those indefatigable and excellent ministers as coadjutors in his extensive section, the Rev. Intrepid Morse, the Rev. Samuel Johnston, and the Rev. Philander Chase, Jr., and it is truly surprising what an amount of service they performed, as heralds of the Gospel and pioneers of the Church, not only in the more flourishing towns, but along the almost impassable ways and wildernesses. In respect to clerical associates, the Rev. Mr. Searle, in his section, was less fortunate, having none, but sustaining the care of the parishes in the Reserve, alone, for the first five years. On the day previous to the arrival of the Rev. Mr. Searle, the Rev. Mr. Chase had organized the association of Episcopalians at Windsor, into "The Parish of Christ Church, Windsor." These two Rev. gentlemen then set about preparations for the approaching provisional Convention. The journal of this Convention, which is not known by the writer to be in print, is as follows:

"At a meeting of a provisional Convention of the deputies from such parishes on the Reserve lands, in the State of Ohio, as have, by the Divine blessing on the pious zeal and active exertions of the Rev. Roger Searle, Rector of St. Peter's Church, Plymouth, State of Connecticut, formed themselves into organized bodies, and adopted the Constitution of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, at the house of the Hon. Solomon Griswold in the township of Windsor, county of Ashtabula, State of Ohio, on the 2d day of April, A. D. 1817. Divine service was performed according to the Liturgy of the Church, prayers being read by the Rev. P. Chase, late Rector of Christ Church, in the city of Hartford, State of Connecticut. A sermon was preached by the Rev. Mr. Searle.

On motion of the Rev. Mr. Chase, the Rev. Mr. Searle was called to the chair.

On motion of the Hon. Solomon Griswold, the Rev. Mr. Chase was appointed Secretary.

The following persons presented their certificates, and took their seats in the Convention, viz.: from St. Peter's Church, township of Ashtabula, Mr. Warner Mann; from St. John's Church, township of Liverpool, Mr. Justus Warner; from St. Luke's Church, township of Ravenna, William Tappan, Esq.; from St. James' Church, township of Boardman, Mr. Joseph Platt, Mr. Tryal Tanner; from Christ Church, township of Windsor, Hon. Solomon Griswold, Mr. Jesse Cook. A statement of the views of the provisional Convention was made by the Rev. Mr. Searle, whereupon,

1. Resolved unanimously, That it is the object of this provisional Convention to consult the welfare of the Church of Christ, accord-

ing to the Constitution and Canons of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America; and we do now in a body, as we have done in the parishes separately, adopt, and own ourselves bound by, the same.

2. Resolved unanimously, That we, the members of this provisional Convention, are sincerely desirous to unite ourselves, and cooperate, with all other parishes of this State of Ohio, who are found to have adopted the Constitution of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in order to concert measures and further the organization of the Church in this State, by appointing and meeting in, a State Convention for the formation of a Constitution, at any time and place which may be thought most convenient.

3. Resolved unanimously, That in the meantime, and for the present, it is our ardent desire to be known and represented in the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, to meet in the month of May next in the city of New York; and that the Rev. Roger Searle, Rector of St. Peter's Church, Plymouth, State of Connecticut, who, under God, has been so usefully instrumental in our formation, be, and he is hereby appointed and authorized to represent us, and to solicit from that Right Rev., Rev. and Hon. body, the fostering care and assistance which we so greatly need.

4. Resolved, That the Rev. Mr. Searle be respectfully desired to give a statistical account of the parishes lately formed on the Reserve; by which it appears that St. Peter's in Ashtabula, consists of about 16 families, and 16 communicants; Trinity Church in Cleveland, consists of about 30 families, and 10 communicants; St. John's in Liverpool, consists of about 12 families, and 8 communicants; St. Mark's in Columbia, consists of about 14 families, and 5 communicants; St. Paul's in Medina, consists of about 10, but the Holy Communion has not as yet been administered in this parish; St. Luke's in Ravenna, consists of about 12, but the Holy Communion has not been administered in this parish; St. James' in Boardman, consists of about 22 families, and 7 communicants; Christ Church in Windsor, consists of about 30 families, and about 17 communicants. All of which parishes were formed by the Rev. Mr. Searle since his arrival on the Reserve, in the month of February last, except Christ Church, Windsor, which was organized by the Rev. P. Chase, from Hartford, Connecticut, lately arrived. The reasons why so few among the parishes have attended this Convention, are evident; viz., their great distance from the place of meeting, and the extreme badness of the roads.

5. Resolved, That although this provisional Convention assumes no right of appointing the time and place of the State Convention of Ohio, yet, with the view of bringing to pass so desirable an object as the union of the whole interests of the Protestant Episcopal Church of this State, we now declare our willingness to meet, and that we will meet, our brethren of the Church by delegation, at Columbus, in the month of January next, the fifth day, being the first

Monday in January, A. D. 1818, there and then to carry into effect the spirit of the second resolve of this meeting; and that the Rev. Philander Chase and Alfred Kelley, Esq., of Cleveland, be, and they are hereby appointed a committee of correspondence on the subject matter of this resolution.

6. Resolved, That the committee of correspondence, viz., the Rev. P. Chase and A. Kelley, Esq., with the addition of the following gentlemen, viz., Mr. Noah M. Bronson of Ashtabula, the Hon. Solomon Griswold of Windsor, and Mr. Joseph Platt of Boardman, be, and they are hereby appointed delegates to represent the Episcopal parishes on the Reserve, in the State Convention of Ohio, to meet in Columbus on the first Monday in January, 1818.

7. Resolved, That this Convention do adjourn till to-morrow morning, at nine o'clock.

April 3d, 1817.—The Convention met agreeably to adjournment—present as in Convention yesterday.

8. Resolved, That this Convention, anxiously desirous to promote the glory of God and their own spiritual interests and welfare, through the regular and authorized administration of the ordinances of our Holy Church, on the Reserve, do earnestly recommend it to the several parishes thereof, to set on foot, as soon as may be, a subscription to be as widely diffused as possible, for the raising of money to remunerate an Episcopal Clergyman who may come among us duly recommended and approved, whose services are to be distributed or apportioned, in a ratio of the sums respectively subscribed by the parishes.

9. Resolved, That the Rev. P. Chase, now present, most respectfully present to the Rev. R. Searle the thanks of this Convention, for his pious and active exertions in establishing and promoting the welfare of our Primitive Church in this Western country, and that he assure him of our affectionate regards, and our ardent prayers for his temporal and eternal welfare.

10. Resolved, That the thanks of this provisional Convention be presented by the President to the Rev. Mr. Chase, for his very able services in council, and as Secretary of this Convention.

11. Resolved, That this provisional Convention adjourn without day.

Signed, R. Searle, *President.*
P. Chase, *Secretary.*"

After the adjournment of the Convention, the Rev. Mr. Chase proceeded to his arduous and active labors in the central and southern parts of the State. The accounts of his important services as a parochial Clergyman, and subsequently as the Bishop of the Diocese of Ohio, are so much before the public, that, highly as I appreciate them, I pass them over and proceed to what comes within the scope of my present design, the account of the progress of the Church in the Western Reserve, through the instrumentality of the

Rev. Mr. Searle, and of his primary tour of Ohio. I leave the general history of the Church in this State to abler hands.

After the rising of the provisional Convention, the Rev. Mr. Searle revisited several of the parishes which he had organized, and then in pursuance of his original design passed down into the valley of the Scioto. At Berkshire, Delaware county, 22 miles north of Columbus, he organized "The Parish of Grace Church," which elected a delegate to the State Convention, to be held at Columbus in January, 1818.

He went next to Worthington, where he found an association of Episcopalians, who had early emigrated in a body from Connecticut, with the Rev. James Kilbourn, deacon, who had for 13 years or more officiated, so far as a deacon could, in this place and parts adjacent. The Rev. Mr. Searle assisted them essentially in "setting in order many things that were wanting." He then passed on by the way of Columbus, to Chillicothe, where he organized "The Parish of St. Paul's Church." He next visited the Miami country, Dayton, Cincinnati, and many other places. He then turned his course up the Ohio to the mouth of the Scioto, visiting Portsmouth and other places. Thence he proceeded to the valley of the Muskingum, and visited Marietta, Zanesville, and many other places in this part of the State. He then proceeded on across the State to Pittsburg, and from Pittsburg by Philadelphia, to New York, to attend the General Convention, and report to that body his discoveries and proceedings, in reference to the Church in Ohio. I refer you to the Journal of the General Convention of 1817, page 14, Art. *List of Parishes;* page 31, Art. *Western States;* page 41, Art. *A Canon*, &c.; page 51, *Same Canon*, for the effects produced by his report, in reference to the Church in the West.

After the Convention in New York, the Rev. Mr. Searle returned to his family and parish in Connecticut, and entered upon preparations to return and locate himself and family in Ohio. In July of the same year, he offered his resignation of pastoral care of the parish of St. Peter's, Plymouth, which, in the ensuing autumn, was accepted. He had, at the time of the General Convention at New York, partially engaged to go out to Ohio again, and occupy a portion of his time in the service, and under the direction and patronage of the Episcopal Missionary Society of Philadelphia. On this subject, the Rev. Jackson Kemper wrote him a letter, dated Philadelphia, July 14th, 1817, from which the following is an extract. "The Episcopal Missionary Society of Philadelphia is delighted with the prospect of having you settled in Ohio. We will do every thing in our power—but our funds upon my return from the General Convention were exhausted. Suppose we place the subject in a point of view somewhat different from that upon which we agreed in New York. You settle with your family in a certain town in Ohio, where there is an Episcopal congregation, which offers you a certain sum for a certain portion of your time. The remainder of your time you

are willing to devote to Missionary purposes, under the directions of our Society. We offer you a salary of so much a year—but deduct from it all the Sundays you spend in the town where your family resides. Now at what rate per year should this salary be?" It appears that the Rev. Mr. Searle accepted this proposal, and received some salary from said Society, otherwise he could not have sustained himself and family in the service of the infant Church in Ohio. He arrived in this State with his family in November, 1817. Exhausted with fatigue, and visited with sickness, in the long tedious journey by the way of Pittsburg and Wheeling, they were obliged to stop on their way up the Muskingum, at Zanesville, to recover health and strength to proceed to the Reserve. Meanwhile he visited many places in this part of the State, and performed much service. In 1818, we find his family residing at Canfield in Trumbull county, within the bounds of the Parish of St. James' Church, Boardman; and the next year we find them located in the wilderness of Medina. From these places he visited the eight parishes of the Reserve, his Rectorship of which continued for five years from the date of their organization, without any clerical assistant. Excessive labors, a stinted salary, and consequent privations, much sickness, and a broken constitution, oppositions from the enemies of the Church, the want of those consoling sympathies which none within his cure were qualified to impart, and agonies of mind for the sufferings of his family, together with anxieties for the fate of the infant Church, and "besides that which came upon him daily, the care of all the churches," caused him to realize what our blessed Saviour predicted to his *first* ministers, "In the world ye shall have tribulation." In June, 1822, Mr. John Hall of Ashtabula, was admitted to the Holy Order of Deacons, and became in fact, though not in name, the Assistant Minister to the Rev. Mr. Searle in most of his parishes, but chiefly in the parishes in Ashtabula county, whose number was increased in 1825, by the organization by Rev. Mr. Searle, of St. Michael's Church, Unionville. It is proper here to state that the Rev. Mr. Searle's cure was extended, in 1821, to Huron county, in all parts of which he had for several previous years officiated; and those labors resulted in the organization of St. Paul's, Norwalk, January 21st, 1821. He also organized, in 1825, "The Parish of St. James' Church, Batavia," in Geauga county. This was the last parish organized by him in Ohio. He, at some time, organized one parish not mentioned above, in some section of the State, it is presumed south of the Reserve. The record of this organization I cannot find, but it is alluded to in his papers. The Rev. Mr. Hall being admitted to the Holy Order of Priests, in August, 1823, in March, 1824, the Rev. Mr. Searle resigned the Parish of St. Peter's, Ashtabula, to him. Of the Parish of St. Michael's Church, Unionville, the Rev. Mr. Hall was elected Minister at the time of its organization. Of all the other parishes in the Western Reserve, excepting Trinity, Cleveland, the Rev. Mr. Searle retained the pastoral care

until within a few months of his death, which took place at the house of the writer, September 6th, 1826, in Ashtabula. At Ashtabula he commenced his labors in Ohio, and, being on a visit to his friends at Ashtabula, he died and ended those labors in the Lord. His remains lie buried in Ashtabula, where his faithful labors are gratefully remembered. For this simple statement of facts, with very little of note or comment, my authorities are original papers, and my own recollections. In reference to the facts founded on the latter authority, there may be (I think not however) some unessential inaccuracies. You can, Rev. Sir, make such use of this sketch as your judgment may dictate. You will be so kind as to excuse all inaccuracies in composition, and want of neatness in this rough draft, since pressing domestic cares and parochial duties allow me no time to copy. For the progress of the Church since the pioneer or infant stage, I refer you to the Journals of our Conventions, and to the Rev. Ethan Allen of Dayton, Ohio, who, I am told, is collecting the history of the Church in this Diocese. You are at full liberty to use your own language, in incorporating the above facts into your Church History.

Yours in Christ,

JOHN HALL,

Minister of St. Peter's, Ashtabula.

Art. VII.—BOOK NOTICES.

Notes on the Miracles of our Lord. By Richard Chenevix Trench, M. A., Professor of Divinity, King's College, London, &c. &c. Reprinted entire from the last London edition. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1850. 8vo. pp. 376. New Haven: A. C. Heitmann.

The republication in this country of such a work as Trench on the Miracles is a hopeful sign. It indicates an activity of Christian scholarship, and that that scholarship is exerted in a right direction. It shows that there are Christian teachers who are qualifying themselves to bring out of their treasures things new and old. In this day of mental activity, the preacher of the Gospel cannot command the respect and attention of his hearers, by setting off the itching ears of the Athenians against his own stereotyped dullness and insipidity. He must be a workman that needeth not to be ashamed. And no theme is so rich and exhaustless as his. The English edition of the above work is already in the hands of some of our clergy; and the American publishers have now furnished it in an attractive form and at a moderate price. It contains, besides the Notes on the Miracles, a Preliminary Essay of over 80 pages, which is worth many times the cost of the book. In this, the author examines the Names of the Miracles; their Nature; their Authority; the Evangelical compared with the other Cycles of Miracles; the Assaults on Miracles, Jewish, Heathen, and Infidel; the claim of any modern Church to this power, which he denies, both as to the fact and its desirableness; and the apologetic Worth of Miracles. In his examination of the Miracles themselves, he has enriched his own reflections, both in the text and in copious notes, with the testimony or opinions of the Fathers, and of ancient and modern writers. No author of prominence seems to have escaped him. It may be called a Catholic exposition of the Miracles, and often bears effectively against erroneous modern interpretations. We might quote the "Healing of the Paralytic" in evidence of this. As an instance of the deeply instructive character of Christ's Miracles, and an illustration of the author's beautiful style, we might allude to his Notes on "The Walking on the Sea," and the "Raising of Lazarus." Another feature of this work is its practical and devotional character. Christ Himself is never spoken of but with the most affectionate reverence; and incentives are everywhere presented to faith, love, constancy, and obedience. We are sure of making good our claim to the gratitude of our readers, especially of the clergy, in inviting their attention to one of the most valuable productions of modern scholarship.

Expository Lectures on the Epistle to the Ephesians. By the Rev. Robert J. McGhee, A. M., M. R. T. A.; late Minister of Harold's Cross Church, Dublin; Rector of Holywell, Cum Needingworth, Hunts. New York: Carter & Brothers, 1849. 8vo. pp. 640. New Haven: T. H. Pease.

The author of these Lectures is a Presbyter of the Established Church of England and Ireland. He was formerly Minister of a Parish in Dublin, and has now a Cure in the North of Wales. Being prevented by ill health, for many years, from performing active parochial duty, he delivered, extemporaneously, a course of weekly Lectures, before a public school in Bray, a seaport-town a little distance south of Dublin. After his restoration to more active service, he carefully wrote out these Lectures, and gave them to the public. They were delivered in 1837, and published ten years afterward. They do not exhibit great critical acumen, or philological attainment; they are rather of an expository and practical character. There is one view in which they deserve, as we think, special attention. They present the true method, certainly so far as we know, the only successful method, of addressing a population deeply pervaded by the spirt of the Romish

religion; and by such a population he was surrounded. The present movement in Ireland, which promises, almost for the first time, to make a serious inroad upon Papal delusion, is based upon this same main idea. And this is not *merely* to attack Popery, and expose its unscriptural and superstitious dogmas, as the Papal Supremacy, Purgatory, Transubstantiation, &c. &c. All this is necessary. And yet, who ever heard of the conversion of a Romanist by such arguments? The true method is to preach, distinctly and faithfully, JESUS CHRIST and Him crucified; it is to point to the BLOOD of the CROSS, blotting out the handwriting of ordinances that was against us. The whole system of Popery is practically but a substitution for this doctrine, and will fall when this takes its proper place. It makes, indeed, but little matter what it is that the human heart substitutes for the Cross, whether it be the labyrinths of Popish superstition, or the bald impiety of Socinianism; the disease is one—self-righteousness; and the remedy is one—CHRIST'S righteousness. Asceticism, whether heathenish or Christian, (and the former is by far the most potent,) can never become the righteousness of CHRIST.

And here we cannot but say, that amid errors of *another* kind, which beset us as American Churchmen, there is danger of a similar character. It is what the Rev. Edward Monro, an English divine so well known among us, in his late sermon, calls a "tendency of the clergy to a hollow æstheticism." In this day of fierce war against every thing that is objective, outward, ceremonial, and symbolical, we are in danger of forgetting our true vocation, and of becoming mere symbolists and ceremonialists, when we should be laboring to bring souls to CHRIST. So far as this excessive tendency exists, it may produce an outward beauty; but it is the beauty of a sepulchre. There is no life, no warmth, and no true growth. The Church, like every other living thing, grows healthily only from within, not from without.

It will be inferred from what has been said, that the Lectures of Mr. McGhee are eminently practical. They are written in a simple and earnest style, and cannot fail to awaken thoughtful attention. He exhibits a firm attachment to the English Church, and rebukes with keen severity the mongrel charity and strange amalgamations which he sees leagued against the national Church.

WHAT IS CHURCH HISTORY? A Vindication of the idea of Historical Development. By Philip Schaf. 12mo. pp. 128. J. B. Lippincott, Philadelphia, 1846.

This little work is valuable in many respects. The first part contains a brief account of the present state of theological learning in Germany; concerning which very little is known in this country. What we have known, has come mainly through writers of the Rationalistic school, or those super-naturalists who eventually fell over to the same side, through defect of scientific apprehension of the truths they undertook to defend. But there is, at this time, a school of theologians in that country, who have surmounted most of the difficulties which beset the defenders of the old Orthodoxy, and who, though not always trustworthy, have done immense service to the cause of theological learning, in its several departments. The second part gives a succinct account of the different methods of writing Church History pursued by different schools of theology, especially the older Orthodox, the Roman Catholic, the Rationalistic, and the modern methods. The work before us is an account and defence of the last, called by our author, the method of "Historical Development." What is meant by this is well explained in the work before us. This method of writing history is becoming exceedingly popular at the present day, and is no doubt the true one, *if* the person is properly prepared to execute the task. But it requires learning, judgment, and piety, such as fall to the lot of no common man, to do the subject justice. The leading thought,—that all history is the development of GOD'S plan of moral government, should ever be borne in mind by the historian. But when he attempts to describe *the motives* by which men were actuated thousands of years ago, he has attempted a difficult and perilous task. The third part is devoted to a consideration of "the practical importance of a right view of Church History," and is full of deep import and interest. We commend the

work to the attention of our readers, especially the concluding section; from which we make the following significant and truthful extract.

"Unbelieving Rationalism and believing Puritanism alike, with their revolutionary attitude towards history, have properly no right whatever to expect that they shall be regarded and loved by those who shall come after them. *He that despises his spiritual ancestry, should reckon upon no grateful posterity.*"—p. 119.

AURICULAR CONFESSION in the Protestant Episcopal Church; considered in a Series of Letters addressed to a friend in North Carolina. By a Protestant Episcopalian. New York: Geo. P. Putnam. 1850. 12mo. pp. 132.

It is not, we believe, without a most merciful design, to our branch of the Church, that God has been pleased to cause this whole subject of Auricular Confession and Absolution to be agitated and reëxamined. Auricular Confession, as held and taught in the Romish Church, is unscriptural, uncatholic, mischievous, and abominable; and so a thorough discussion will show. The author of the Letters before us, has done enough to settle this whole question with candid minds. He has presented the Romish authorized doctrine of Absolution; her juggling division of sins, into mortal and venial; her forced imposition of Auricular Confession; her blasphemous figment of a human atonement; her frauds upon the Fathers by mutilating and falsifying them to prove her own lying corruptions; the Romish falsifications of the Holy Scriptures, especially in the Bordeaux Testament of 1686, published by the Royal printer, and with the Archbishop's *imprimatur;* he then examines our own standards, and shows most clearly the mind of the compilers of our Prayer Book; he appeals to the early Bishops of our Church, White, Griswold, Hobart, and Ravenscroft; he then compares the teachings of the Bishop of North Carolina with Rome and with the Prayer Book; and finally examines the question of Episcopal rights and prerogatives under our Constitution and Canons.

Upon this latter point, the present pamphlet furnishes occasion to say a single word. There is not, then, in our branch of the Church, the smallest particle of irresponsible power. The Church in the United States is a Church of Law and Order. This is one distinguishing feature between the Church and the sects of all sorts. From the highest functionary to the humblest layman who kneels at our altars, the Constitution throws its ægis around the *Rights* of each. We yield to none, in reverence for the divine gifts of the sacred Office, and in obedience to Authority; but we, in common with every true Churchman, will contend to the last breath against usurpation, whether of a Hildebrand or a Cromwell, of a tyrant or the head of a faction. This principle is just as broad as it is long; it is a weapon both of offense and defense; it is a security as well as a protection. To say, therefore, that we may not discuss the question, *what is rightful authority*, is to rob the Church of a birthright which she hath obtained at a great sum, and it is to miscalculate entirely as to the method of securing loyalty and true submission.

The work before us is written with masterly ability; and is one of the most effective presentations of the Romish controversy upon the points in question, which we have seen.

THE CHRISTIAN YEAR: Thoughts in verse for the Sundays and Holydays throughout the year. By the Rev. John Keble, Prof. of Poetry in the University of Oxford. A new American edition; edited, with an Introduction, by the Rt. Rev. George W. Doane, Bishop of New Jersey. New York: Stanford & Swords, 1850. 24mo. pp. 334.

Had not this work a reputation already, to which nothing that we can say can add, and from which the bitterness of sectarian criticism (which we are pained to see) cannot detract, we would summon, if we might, the choicest talent in the Church in its behalf. But to gild the rainbow, or paint the lily, or echo strains of music almost seraphic, for the blind and the deaf, is not our task. The fine poetical taste of Bishop Doane has been employed, in copious accompanying notes scattered through the volume, which is also enriched by extracts from one of our

own sweetest and truest poets. We observe that this work has in England already reached the *thirty-sixth* edition.

THE EAST: SKETCHES OF TRAVEL IN EGYPT AND THE HOLY LAND. By the Rev. J. A. Spencer, M. A. Elegantly illustrated from original engravings. New York: Geo. P. Putnam, 1850. 8vo. pp. 504. New Haven: S. Babcock.

As this delightful volume of Mr. Spencer will form the subject of a paper in our next number, from one of the ablest writers in this country, we can do little more now than announce its publication. It is a work full of interest, beautifully illustrated, and will be sure to find readers.

THE MISCELLANEOUS WORKS OF OLIVER GOLDSMITH, M. B., including a variety of pieces now first collected. By James Prior. In four volumes. Vols. I and II. New York: George P. Putnam, 1850. 12mo. pp. 586, 558.

Goldsmith's writings seem to lose little or none of their power to charm, with the lapse of time. His quiet and yet caustic good humor, his unaffected naturalness, his sympathy with our innermost consciousness, his simple, truthful narrative, his freedom from the pert conceitedness of the Carlyle, Headley, and Cheever schools of the present day, who are perpetually straining after effect, nay, many of his very foibles, conspire to make him a favorite with readers whose taste has not been perverted by our modern quacks. As a novelist, Goldsmith wrote just enough to show that he was capable of writing well; as a dramatist, with all his defects, he was successful; as a historian, he bore away the palm from those who doubted whether he could write at all; but as an essayist, he ranks among the very highest in our language. If in some respects he is inferior to Johnson and Addison, in others he surpasses them both. Mr. Putnam's edition will be an ornament and a treasure in any library.

MAHOMET AND HIS SUCCESSORS. By Washington Irving. In two Volumes. Vol. I. New York: Geo. P. Putnam, 1850. 12mo. pp. 374. New Haven: T. H. Pease.

This is the twelfth volume of Mr. Putnam's uniform edition of Mr. Irving's works. The edition is issued under his own immediate supervision, and we doubt not his exquisite taste is gratified at the neat, chaste dress in which his offspring are presented to the public. A well known writer recently returned from the East, promises an early review of this work for our pages, when the second volume shall have appeared.

MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF THOMAS CHALMERS, D. D., LL. D. By his Son-in-Law, Rev. William Hanna, LL. D. In three Volumes. Vol. I. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1850. 12mo. pp. 514.

Dr. Chalmers was one of those few really great men who leave their mark upon their age. The history of such a man deserves careful study. The present volume covers the first thirty-four years of his life; his early training; his education at the University of St. Andrews; his Professorship of Mathematics in that University; his ministry at Kilmany; his election to Tron Church, Glasgow; and more than all, the change in his religious character, from a philosophical, heartless moralist, to a childlike disciple of the Cross of Christ. From his earlier skeptical tendencies he had been driven by that matchless work, "Butler's Analogy." It is the plan of the Editor to let Dr. Chalmers appear as his own biographer, for which the materials are abundant. It is an admirable specimen of biographical labor.

A VIEW OF THE ORGANIZATION AND ORDER OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH, &c. &c., to the end of the Second Century. By Rev. A. B. Chapin, M. A. New Haven: S. Babcock, 1850. 12mo. pp. 432.

Mr. Babcock has just published a new and neat edition of this well-known work, and at about one half the price of the former edition. We regard this book of Mr. Chapin's as the best presentation of the Order, Rites, and Worship of the Church of the first two centuries which is extant. It may be confidently

and satisfactorily appealed to, on almost all questions of doubt or dispute pertaining to those early times.

THE DEFINITIONS OF FAITH, AND CANONS OF DISCIPLINE, *of the Six Œcumenical Councils, with the remaining Canons of the Code of the Universal Church.* Translated, with Notes. Together with the Apostolical Canons. By the Rev. William Andrew Hammond, M. A., of Christ Church, Oxford. To which are added, Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical of the Church of England, and of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. New York: Stanford & Swords, 1849. 18mo. pp. 356.

The above transcript of the title of this volume, is the best description we can give of its contents. The translation of the Canons is made from the *Synodicon* of Bishop Beveridge, a standard authority; and of the other documents, from the commonly received originals. Such a Manual as this, is valuable, we might say indispensable, to the well-informed Churchman, in his examination of ancient heresies; which, with hardly an exception, are the prototypes of those with which the Church has now to contend.

CHRISTIAN OFFICES, for Families and Individuals, from the Liturgy and various Authors; with Selections of Scripture and a Calendar for every day in the year. Third edition. By William Edward Wyatt, D. D., Rector of St. Paul's Parish, Baltimore. New York: Stanford & Swords, 1850. 18mo. pp. 498.

The success of this work indicates its adaptation to the wants of the Church. The present revised and enlarged edition is, we think, the fullest collection of devotional offices, for families and individuals, which has been published.

THE NEIGHBORS: a Story of Every-day life. By Frederika Bremer. Translated from the Swedish, by Mary Howitt. Author's edition, with a new Preface. New York: Geo. P. Putnam, 1850. 12mo. pp. 440.

We remember distinctly the impression which was made upon our reading community, when Miss Bremer's works were first introduced among us; and if we mistake not, the present complete and elegant edition of Mr. Putnam will be received with avidity. As a writer, possessing true genius; as a delineator of domestic life, and especially of Swedish life and manners; as an artist, portraying Scandinavian character; and an illustration of, and an agent in producing the change in the whole tone and bearing of modern fiction; her writings deserve and will repay the closest attention. The opening volume of Mr. Putnam's series, "The Neighbors," was the work upon which her early reputation among us was principally based; and is a fair specimen of her ability.

QUESTIONS *illustrating the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England; with proofs from Scripture, and the Primitive Church.* By the Rev. Edward Bickersteth, M. A., Curate of Holy Cross and St. Giles, Shrewsbury. Philadelphia: H. Hooker, 1845. 12mo. pp. 182.

We doubt if this work has been known in this country as it deserves. It was designed to be a text-book for Church Schools; not profound and learned enough for Theological Seminaries; but brief and comprehensive enough for ordinary learners. The Latin version of the Articles is given with the English, and the "proofs," from the Bible and ancient authors, though few in number, are pertinent and decided. The Thirty-Nine Articles, as well as the English Reformation of which they were the fruit, have, we think, been regarded too exclusively in their *Protestant* and *negative*, and not enough in their *Catholic* and *positive* character. It is on this latter and higher ground that our Church in modern times is to plant herself, and where her true strength will be developed. She is truly Catholic, and *therefore* strongly protestant. She might be, like multitudes at the present day, strongly protestant, and yet not Catholic at all. It is an arch-device of Rome, to have it understood as a conceded point, that the issue between us and her is simply that of *Protestantism* against *Catholicism*. It is rather that of Catholic truth against Romish corruptions. This is an issue which they are cunning enough to steadily avoid.

THE GOSPEL NARRATIVE OF OUR LORD'S PASSION, HARMONIZED, WITH REFLECTIONS. By the Rev. Isaac Williams, B. D., late Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford. From the third London edition. New York: Stanford & Swords, 1849. 8vo. pp. 182.

In these times of petty wrangling and wars of words about the existence of, and boundary between, the human and Divine Natures of our Blessed LORD, a miserable strife, in which an unchastened ambition and presumptuous self-will do but show their own impotence, while they grieve and sadden the pious and devout heart, it is refreshing and soothing to turn to a work of simple, confiding, earnest Faith, and hold communion with our adorable SAVIOUR in the mysterious scenes of His Passion. The early Christians found a deep significance in all that our Lord said, and did, and suffered. And even if some of their conceptions may be thought fanciful, there was a reality in their love, a power in their Faith, a depth in their devotion, and a victory in their struggles, which mock the boasted intelligence of our age. Dr. Williams enters fully into the spirit of the primitive Church. He quotes continually from its writings, while he follows step by step the suffering Son of God, until he enters with Him into the cold and silent tomb. As a work for private and family reading, it is truly admirable.

PROGRESS, A SATIRICAL POEM, by J. G. Saxe. New York: John Allen. Boston: Jordan & Wiley, 1846. pp. 32.
POEMS, by Charles G. Eastman. Montpelier: Eastman & Danforth. pp. 208.

These books are the productions of Vermont genius, and have been before the public a sufficient time to be to some extent known, the former having already gone through a second edition. A book of Poems from Vermont is so much of a rare bird, as to be in itself alone somewhat more of a prodigy than a black swan. While it is no doubt true, that any literary effort is less likely to be estimated at its just value, which originates in a section remote from the fountains of learning and taste, of Apollo and the Muses, it is also true, that a book of decided worth, produced under these disadvantages, is the more likely to be admired, when once fairly introduced to the public favor.

The production of Mr. Saxe is a happy effort at burlesque and ridicule, with somewhat of the air of the extravaganza, but with no such broad caricature as to be offensive, or in any degree to lose its force. It has more of the playful humor of Horace, than of the ferocious severity of Juvenal. The Poem originated, we believe, in an address before the Alumni of Middlebury College, and is now published under the patronage of O. W. Holmes, of many of whose productions it forms a happy parallel, without being in any sense an imitation. The conceits are queer, the illustrations oftentimes homely, and in some instances, perhaps, somewhat obnoxious to the charge of being far-fetched; but nevertheless always apt and striking, and in good taste, and possess a freshness and force that are almost charming. It is as difficult to give a full specimen of a poem by a selection, as of a house by a single stone, carried about in the hand, after the manner of σχολαστικος. But we would not be surprised if this Poem should prove a lasting memorial of the author's genius. The author's hit upon fashionable religion is perhaps as clever a thing as he gives us. Speaking of Fashion, he says,

> "She desecrates religion's sacred cause,
> Shows how the 'narrow road' is easiest trod,
> And how genteelest worms may worship God;
> How sacred rites may bear a worldly grace,
> And self-abasement wear a haughty face;
> How sinners, long in Folly's mazes whirled,
> With pomp and splendor, may 'renounce the world,'
> How 'with all saints hereafter to appear,'
> Yet quite escape the vulgar portion here."

The Poems of Mr. Eastman deserve, we know, a more extended consideration than either our time or our space will allow us to give them. In most respects, there is nothing uncommon in this volume. But in one very important particular,

it is uncommon, for this age and this country. We refer to its perfect originality, both in thought and illustration. And we predict that this feature alone will some day render this little volume a favorite. But we feel that in uttering such an opinion, we incur no small hazard. It is almost impossible to foretel, in regard to poetry, what will be its fate; or to assign any adequate reason why some is so much admired, and all else sinks so noiselessly into oblivion. Why, it may be asked, is Dr. Muhlenbergh's hymn, "I would not live alway," a familiar household companion, not only with all Churchmen, but wherever the English tongue is spoken? The same inquiry might be made in regard to some of the hymns of Lord Glenely, as, for instance,

> "When gathering clouds around I view,
> And days are dark, and friends are few;"

or that exquisite versification of the Litany, found in the hymns of the Common Prayer.

So also of many of Mr. Eastman's odes, it might be difficult to say precisely wherein their great beauty consists; but when we find all hearts alike affected by them, and even little children shedding tears over their simple incidents, there can be little doubt they are destined to survive the ink and paper upon which they are inscribed. We have only space for a single one, and that perhaps not the most beautiful, but truly original and truthful.

THE TOWN PAUPER'S BURIAL

Bury him there—
No matter where!
Hustle him out of the way!
Trouble enough
We have with such stuff—
Taxes and money to pay.

Bury him there—
No matter where!
Off in some corner, at best!
There is no need of stones,
Above his old bones—
Nobody 'll ask where they rest.

Bury him there—
No matter where!
None by his death are bereft;
Stopping to pray!
Shovel away!
We still have enough of them left.

Bury him there—
No matter where!
Anywhere, out of the way!
Trouble enough
We have with such stuff—
Taxes and money to pay.

We regret that we have not space for more extended extracts. We trust the author will, in some future day, find a call for another edition of his book. We should be glad to see it in a somewhat more expensive dress. The present edition of the work is certainly a creditable specimen of Vermont bookmaking, but inferior, in some respects, we think, to its literary merits. Done up in proper taste, it would make a most appropriate gift-book. It is emphatically a book of humanity, neither too humble for the highest, nor yet too lowly for the most exalted in station, or the most cultivated, in all the elegant refinements of study and learning.

THE KING OF THE HURONS. By the Author of "the First of the Knickerbockers," and "the Young Patroon." New York: Geo. P. Putnam, 1850. 12mo. pp. 320. New Haven: T. H. Pease.

This is a historical novel of the earlier part of the eighteenth century. Its prominent characters are the Baron Montaigne, Commander of a French Castle in Canada, and his daughter Blanche, Father Ledra, a Romish priest, Lord Cornbury, the English Governor of New York, Henrich Huntington, the successful lover of Blanche, Major St. George Glover, a rival lover, Miss Roselle, niece of the Baron, and several other personages who figure more or less conspicuously. The novel is attributed to Mr. Myers, whose other works we have not read. The story before us is ingeniously constructed, and its interest well sustained; its moral tone is unexceptionable, and it contains many passages finely written, indicating descriptive talent of a high order.

SAINT LEGER; OR THE THREADS OF LIFE. New York: Geo. P. Putnam. 12mo. pp. 384, 1850. New Haven: T. H. Pease.

What was the object of the Author in writing this book? Was it to while away a few hours of dreamy consciousness? Was it to present life as a theatre of vanity, where passion, and pride, and superstition, and philosophy, and boasted progress, each chase their airy bubbles across the stage and then expire? Was it to make a mockery of human pursuits, as they might be supposed to appear to a mere observer? Was it to point men to a higher wisdom? Whoever may be the writer, and whatever his object, he is a man of reflection and thoughtfulness; of deep communings with the heart as it revolves the mysteries of its present position; he appreciates the miserable sham and patchwork and unreality which sum up the existence of so many men and women around us. He is a fine writer, a man of scholarship, of sentiment, and of sensibility; and he will, we hope, in the sequel, trace the "threads of life" far beyond the point where he has now left them.

JAMES MONTJOY; OR, I'VE BEEN THINKING. By A. S. Roe. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1850. 12mo. pp. 328. New Haven: T. H. Pease.

This is a practical tale of every-day life. The humble position of the heroes who introduce the story, and the extreme simplicity of the style, do not, in the outset, promise any very great amount of interest or gratification. The reader however is soon taken captive, the plot begins to embrace a great variety of characters, and he will hardly be able to lay aside the story till he has seen its end. Industry, enterprise, heroism, and piety are finally rewarded; and Providence is vindicated in confounding the designs of the wicked. The story is thoroughly American. The book is sure to be popular and its influence healthful. For ourselves we have seen the originals of nearly a dozen of the portraits here drawn, and can vouch for their life-like accuracy.

HISTORY OF THE AFRICAN MISSION of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. With Memoirs of deceased Missionaries, and Notices of Native Customs. By Mrs. E. F. Hening. New York: Stanford & Swords, 1850. 12mo. pp. 300.

It is not perhaps generally known that the first impulse toward the formation of a Missionary Organization in our Church was received from the Mother Church of England. The difficulties encountered in our incipient missionary efforts, can even now be scarcely appreciated, and a debt of gratitude is due to the Authoress of the present volume, for incidentally reminding the Church how much has already been accomplished. The details of which the volume is mostly composed, are mainly taken from the "Spirit of Missions." They are chronologically arranged, with such observations as are necessary to give continuity and harmony to the work. The African Mission has a strong hold upon the heart of the Church, and this modest and carefully prepared sketch will be received with much satisfaction. Mrs. Hening has just returned with her husband to that field of promise and of sacrifice. She, and such as she, are the truest and noblest of earth's heroines.

THE PRACTICE OF THE CHRISTIAN GRACES; OR THE WHOLE DUTY OF MAN. First published 1658. A new Edition, with a Preface by the Rev. William Bentinck Hawkins, M. A., F. R. S., of Exeter College, Oxford. New York: Stanford & Swords, 1850. 12mo. pp. 336.

Who wrote "The Whole Duty of Man?" Dean Prideaux thought Bishop Fell wrote it. The "*Biographia Brittannica*" says Bishop Chappel was the author. The "*Gentleman's Magazine*" of 1772, attributes it to Archbishop Sterne, a man who was imprisoned and mercilesaly abused by Cromwell and his creatures. Southey declares that "no inquiries have been able to ascertain" the name of the author. For ourselves, we think the probabilities are in favor of Archbishop Sterne. Whoever was its author, for about a century it was a standard work on practical piety, and was translated into the Latin, French, and

Welch languages. Bishop Bull made it a part of the devotional reading of his family. Bishop Sanderson used its devotions in his family every evening. Dr. Sterne was the chaplain of Archbishop Laud, and attended him at the last upon the scaffold. The work is curious, as showing the character of a treatise which, at that day, had in the English Church a surprising popularity, and it will, we believe, be read with grateful acknowledgments by many of the faithful in our own day. It is indeed a treasury of holy precepts, pertaining to all the duties of life, and is not inaptly named, "The Whole Duty of Man."

A Philosophical Essay on Credulity and Superstition; *and also on Animal Fascination, or Charming.* By Rufus Blakeman, M. D. New York: D. Appleton & Co. New Haven: S. Babcock, 1849. 12mo. pp. 206.

A fine subject for a serviceable work. To grapple with the difficulties of such a theme, however, to present the phases of credulity and superstition with the dignity, clearness, and force of a "*philosopher*," is no common task, and demands no ordinary endowments and attainments. Whether the present author has brought to his effort such preparation, we shall not attempt to determine; we simply quote the opening sentence of the volume: "The remark of Lord Bacon, that 'it were better to have no opinion of God at all, than such opinion as is unworthy of Him,' is most appropriate in its application to the various superstitious beliefs, *that have, and still, in a degree, sway mankind.*"

The Fathers of New England. Dr. Horace Bushnell's Oration before the New England Society of New York, Dec. 21, 1849. New York: Geo. P. Putnam, 1850. 12mo. pp. 44. New Haven: T. H. Pease.

The final result of Puritanism in the new world, according to Dr. Bushnell, will be a final dissolution of "the old unity of orders and authorities," and the crystallization of Christendom "into a unity, probably not of form, but of *practical assent and love*, a Commonwealth of the Spirit," a sublimed coalescence of Church and State, in which neither Church nor State shall exist; and in which men, and women, and children, having thrown off "the unity of form," shall bask together "a world-wide brotherhood," "under moral ideas." Of course, in this great heathenish Phalanstery, such old-fashioned things as the Family, the Church, and the State, will be looked back upon, as antiquated relics of a barbarous age. It seems, then, that Dr. Bushnell is a Socialist as well as a Pantheist; and yet the setter forth of such abominable stuff, is not only the orator to commemorate "the Fathers of New England," but he carries in his pocket a fresh *imprimatur* as an orthodox preacher of the Gospel.

Family Pictures from the Bible. By Mrs. Ellet, Author of "the Women of the American Revolution." New York: George P. Putnam, 1849. 12mo. pp. 224. New Haven: T. H. Pease.

The plan of this book is novel, but the conception is a very beautiful one. It is to illustrate domestic character and duties, by a Gallery of Portraits all taken from the Bible. It is a series of pictures, not of individuals, but of family groups; of Patriarchs in the primitive age, surrounded by their numerous tribes, to whom they were at once both Priests and Lawgivers; and of Families in the Christian Dispensation still bound together by the cords of love in this Divine Institution. The greater number of these "pictures" are by the hand of Mrs. Ellet, who is known as a pleasing and graceful writer. The "family of Abraham" and the "family of David" are sketched with much skill and faithfulness; and the whole work may be safely recommended as attractive and instructive.

New England School Edition of Pope's Essay on Man. With Notes, Grammatical and Explanatory. By Josiah Swett, M. A., Prof. of Moral Philosophy in the Norwich University, &c. Claremont, N. H., 1848. 18mo. pp. 72.

Mr. Swett, the Annotator, thinks that "with certain restrictions, and such, perhaps as Pope himself intended to lay upon them, the doctrines of the Essay will not appear to be opposed to the truths of the Christian religion," and that in the fourth Epistle "the highest degree of virtue and Christian benevolence is incul-

cated." We, on the contrary, regard Pope's "Essay on Man" as rank deism, and as radically, and designedly, opposed to the whole supernatural system of Christianity. We would as soon think of feeding children with prussic acid, or any other deadly poison, as of teaching them such a sentiment as this:—

"For modes of faith, let graceless zealots fight;
His can 't be wrong, whose life is in the right."

AN APOLOGY FOR NOT JOINING THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH. A Tract published by the Presbyterian Board of Publication.

This is a small pamphlet, ingeniously written, and, as we learn, is hawked about in some portions of the country by *Colporteurs*. We see notices of its extensive circulation in *Virginia* and *Ohio*. As to such attacks upon the Church, we give the following as the result of our own observation. So long as we will waive every Church principle, and go into a system of *fraternisation* with the denominations around us, so long we shall be spoken well of. "*This is such sort of Episcopacy as I like*," is the compliment which they pay us. And well they may, for the Church invariably dwindles, or acquires no hold upon that increasing portion of their people who are thoughtful, and inquiring, and dissatisfied. But the moment we take the position, that *there are differences* between us and them, and that those differences are, with us, matters of principle and conscience; and the moment we commence the work of vigorous extension of those principles, however meekly or prudently, that moment the hue and cry of exclusiveness, bigotry, uncharitableness, Puseyism, monarchy, and Popery, is raised.

WHISPER TO A BRIDE. By Mrs. L. H. Sigourney. Hartford: H. S. Parsons & Co. 1850. 12mo. pp. 48.

An elegant little volume, written in a neat, chaste style, and pervaded by that delicate sentiment and singular discretion which characterize all Mrs. Sigourney's productions.

A SKETCH OF THE RISE AND PROGRESS of the Church of England in the British North American Provinces. By Thos. Beamish Akins, Esq. Halifax, N. S. 1849. 12mo. pp. 154.

This is a very unpretending work in its appearance, but it is one of the most interesting compilations of Church History that we have ever seen. It contains in small compass, the leading facts in the early planting and the growth of the Church in the British Provinces. It is to be regretted, that we know so little of the vigor and prosperity of a Body, so near us, and speaking the same language, worshiping in the same Liturgy, having the same Faith and Ministry with ourselves. We think the work would find a sale among Churchmen in the United States.

THE CHRISTIAN LIFE a Fight of Faith. By Rev. H. Hooker, Author of "Portion of the Soul," "Uses of Adversity," "Thoughts and Maxims," etc., etc. Philadelphia: H. Hooker, 1848. 18mo. pp. 178.

This is one of those books which deserves commendation for the unambitious directness with which the author writes. His themes are, the prevalence of Sense; the foes of the Christian life; the encouragements in "the fight of Faith," as the methods and aids of Grace, examples, promises, &c. In proportion as true, deep, earnest piety prevails, will there be a demand for such works as "the Christian Life."

STEPS TO THE ALTAR. A Manual of Devotions and Meditations for the Blessed Eucharist. Compiled by a Parish Priest. Sixth Edition. New York: Stanford & Swords, 1850. 18mo. pp. 126.

That the sixth edition of this valuable little Manual has already been called for, is proof, that that deep, humble, earnest piety, which the Church tends to promote, is living and growing in the hearts of the members of our Communion.

THE VAST ARMY. An Allegory. By the Rev. Edward Monro. New York: Stanford & Swords. 18mo. pp. 145.

A new edition of an entertaining and instructive little work for the young.

THOUGHTS AND MAXIMS, illustrating Moral and Religious Subjects. By Rev. H. Hooker. Philadelphia: H. Hooker, 1847. 24mo. pp. 126.

Without the sententiousness of Colton, or the oracular authority and mysterious depth of Coleridge, these "thoughts and maxims" are true to our inmost consciousness, our experience, and our observation. One of the truest is this, "If you would know the depth of a man's capacity for contempt, sound it by the measure of his generosity, and you will find them equal."

THE CHURCHMAN'S HEAVENLY HOURS, or Daily Approaches to GOD; in a Series of Prayers, Meditations, and Hymns. Selected from the most eminent Divines. New York: Stanford & Swords, 1850. 24mo. pp. 160.

This beautiful little Manual contains Prayers and Meditations from a variety of sources, adapted to almost every conceivable condition of life. The appropriation to one's self of the devout aspirations and holy thoughts of the eminently pious, is commended by the most evident propriety, and by the known practice of the brightest examples of holy living.

THE REVELLERS, THE MIDNIGHT SEA, AND THE WANDERER. Three Allegories. By the Rev. Edward A. Monro, M. A. From the London Edition, with original Engravings. pp. 154.

THE DOVE, an Example of Attachment to Home. From the London Edition, with Engravings. pp. 68.

CAMERON MASTEN, or The Testament in the Little Coffin, an American Story. pp. 62.

HARRY AND ARCHIE; or the First and Last Communion. From the London Edition, revised, with Engravings from designs by Boyd. pp. 98.

A CHRISTMAS CAROL. By a Lady. With original Illustrations by T. C. Boyd. pp. 16.

These five books have just been issued by the General Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union. The publications of this Society are acquiring a wide reputation for their elegance of execution, their high order of talent, and their special adaptedness to the tastes of children.

ALWAYS HAPPY, or Anecdotes, &c. A Story written for her Children, by a Mother. Fifth American, from the fifteenth London Edition. New York: Stanford & Swords, 1849. 18mo. pp. 172.

An uncommonly successful effort to mingle instruction with amusement for juvenile readers. The great number of editions already sold, shows the estimation in which it is held among those for whose sake it was especially prepared.

COME, FOR ALL THINGS ARE READY; or an Answer to Excuses for not coming to the Holy Communion, with Prayers and Meditations. By Archbishop Synge. With a Preface and Sermon by the Rev. M. A. De Wolfe Howe. Philadelphia: H. Hooker, 1849. 24mo. pp. 118.

A neat little miniature, true to its title, and well calculated to remove those conscientious scruples which so often deter from coming to the Holy Communion.

HISTORY OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR. By Jacob Abbott. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1850. 18mo. pp. 292. New Haven: S. Babcock.

We have here a picturesque view of the life of one of the most distinguished personages in English history, in the neat, chaste style of one of our most popular writers. The more prominent events in the career of the Conqueror are so graphically described that they can hardly fail to make a permanent impression upon the minds of youthful readers. The "Crossing the Channel," the "Battle of Hastings," and the concluding chapter, are exceedingly well done. The illustrations, and the mechanical execution generally, are excellent.

AN ADDRESS TO THE DISCIPLES' CHURCH, sometimes called the Reformers, &c. By Arthur Crihfield. Covington, Ky., 1850. 8vo. pp. 80.

The author having occupied a leading position among the Campbellites, and having abandoned the system, and entered into communion with the Church, vindicates himself in this Series of Letters. His exposure of the miserable delusion which he has escaped, and his argument for the Ministry of the Church, are strongly expressed. He is now a candidate for Deacon's Orders in the Diocese of Kentucky.

KEEPER'S TRAVELS IN SEARCH OF HIS MASTER. Hartford: H. S. Parsons & Co., 1850. 18mo. pp. 120.

A reprint of a popular English story, illustrating the remarkable instinct and fidelity of the dog. It is an attractive juvenile book.

The following Pamphlets have been received.

Journal of the *Sixty-fifth* Annual Convention of the Diocese of New York.

Journal of the *Fifty-ninth* Annual Convention of the Diocese of Vermont.

Journal of the *Twelfth* Annual Convention of the Diocese of Western New York.

Journal of the *Eleventh* Annual Convention of the Diocese of Louisiana.

Rt. Rev. Bishop Hopkins' Address on the case of the Rev. Mr. Gorham vs. the Bishop of Exeter. This Address is characterized by the learning and ability of its author; and has been quoted in part in the English Journals.

The Right of the Clergy to temporal Support. Bishop Henshaw's Sermon before the Massachusetts Society for the relief of the Widows and Orphans of deceased Clergymen. An able presentation of a much neglected subject.

Rt. Rev. Bishop De Lancey's Charge on "Religious Training." This Charge has been copied by several of our Church papers, and has made a strong and healthful impression upon the Church.

Rt. Rev. Bishop Potter's Charge on "Ministerial Duties." A production marked by the manly style, sound sense, and vigorous intellect, of its accomplished Author.

Rt. Rev. Bishop McIlvaine's First Annual Sermon before the Evangelical Knowledge Society.

Bishop McIlvaine's Sermon at the Consecration of Bishop Upfold.

Rev. Prof. Turner's Matriculation Discourses before the Students of the General Theological Seminary, on "God's Word the Source of Divine Light," with a beautiful and well deserved Dedication to Prof. C. C. Moore, LL. D. These Discourses are a masterly vindication of the Holy Scriptures as the Source of Light and Rule of Faith, and afford incidental proof of the vagueness of tradition. The distinction between the Church, as the Witness and Keeper of the Faith, and the Originator of the Faith, is clearly drawn. There is no uncertain sound in the teaching at the Seminary.

The Rural Pastor. Rev. A. C. Coxe's Sermon at the Funeral of the Rev. Frederick Miller. A beautiful and just tribute to the memory of one of the best of "Pastors."

Rev. Dr. Stone's Sermon on Christian Toleration.

Rev. Dr. Tyng's Pastoral Letter, on the case of Brittain L. Woolley.

Rev. President Williams' Inaugural Discourse.

Rev. Ralph Hoyt's Poem on the True Life.

Rev. W. H. Hill's Sermon on the 300th Anniversary of the Prayer Book.

Rev. T. P. Tyler's Sermon on the National Fast day.

Rev. Josiah Swett's Pastoral.

Dr. John H. Smith's Remarks in New York Convention.

Rev. Dr. Bethel Judd's Examination of the Papal Supremacy. This is a clear, though brief presentation of an unanswerable argument.

Rev. James Mackay's (Scotland) Thoughts for the Thoughtful.

Catalogue of Theological Seminary of Kenyon College, Ohio, 1849.

Catalogue of Gen. Theological Seminary, 1849–50.

ART. VIII.—LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

AMERICAN.

The Puritans in England, by the Rev. W. H. Stowell, and *The Pilgrim Fathers of New England*, by D. Wilson, have been published, in one volume 12mo. *Mornings among the Jesuits at Rome*, &c., by Rev. Hobart Seymour, is a work highly commended by a portion of the religious press, and contains some things worthy of attention. It is to be regretted, however, that the author obtained his information through a species of dissimulation of which no clergyman should be guilty. *The English Pulpit*, being a collection of Sermons by the most eminent living divines of England, mostly of the evangelical school, has been republished; as also Bogue's *Theological Lectures*, a popular work of a Dissenting Minister of England, edited by Rev. J. S. C. F. Frey. Dr. Chalmers' *Discourses and Sermons* have been republished in two octavo volumes. They are worthy of perusal, even by those who differ from him in all their theological views. *Heaven's Antidote to the Curse of Labor;* or the temporal advantages of the Sabbath, considered in relation to the working classes, by John Allen Quinton, has been recently republished. This work, the production of a journeyman printer of Ipswich, England, received the first prize offered by Mr. Henderson of Scotland for essays on that subject. McCries' translation of Pascal's *Provincial Letters* has been republished. It is spoken of as being well translated, and edited with ability. An auto-biography of Rev. Ashbel Green, D. D., has been issued from the press. The *Philosophy of the Beautiful*, by Victor Cousin, has been presented to the American public, in the translation of Daniel. The works of *Bishop England*, late Roman Catholic Bishop of Charleston, have been published in five octavo volumes, edited by his successor, Bishop Reynolds. The Rev. C. C. Pise, another writer of the same communion, has also published a work entitled, *Christianity and the Church*, in one volume octavo. We have, also, the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius Loyola, Liguori's *Preparation for Death*, books of the same School. *Pastoral Reminiscences*, by S. K. Kollock, and Lake's *Mourner Comforted*, are works of precisely the opposite school. A new and revised edition of Junkin *On Justification by Faith*, has been published. Leask's *Footsteps of the Messiah*, and Nevin's *Summary of Biblical Antiquities*, are also among the recent works of interest. We have also McFarlan's *Mountains of the Bible*, Wainwright's *Women of the Bible*, and Sprague's *Women of the Old and New Testament*, and are soon to be presented with Houghton's *Children of the Bible.*

Mr. Otis Clapp, of Boston, has recently presented the American public with a series of works by Emmanuel Swedenborg, in a neat, and to those desirous of knowing what the doctrines of Swedenborg were, attractive form. The *Biography of Swedenborg*, by J. J. G. Wilkinson, is an interesting, and we should judge an impartial work, which we commend to those who desire to know more of that extraordinary man. Other works published by Mr. Clapp, on this subject, which we have seen, are *Divine Love and Divine Wisdom, Heaven and Hell*, and *Divine Providence*, neat 18mo. works, with *The Doctrine of the New Jerusalem concerning the* LORD,—*The Sacred Scripture*,—*Faith*,—*Life*,—*Soul and Body*,—*White Horse mentioned in the Apocalypse*,—*The New Jerusalem and its Heavenly Doctrine*, *Canons of the entire Theology of the New Church*, in pamphlet form, for distribution. We may speak of some of these again. In connection with these we may mention a pamphlet by W. B. Hayden, dedicated to Dr. Bushnell, in commendation of part, and in condemnation of part, of his "God in Christ," showing that what of truth Dr. B. holds is essentially Swedenborgian, though without giving it that name.

Messrs. Gould, Kendall & Lincoln, of Boston, have recently published the fol-

lowing interesting and valuable works:—Pascal's *Thoughts*, with a Memoir; Prof. Gammel's *History of the American Baptist Missions* in Asia, Africa, Europe, and North America; Prof. Ripley's *Sacred Rhetoric*, or Composition and Delivery of Sermons, to which is added Dr. Ware's Hints on Extemporaneous Preaching and Sartorius' *Person and Work of Christ*, translated by O. S. Stearns. These are all works of value, but that of Sartorius is of especial interest, as indicating the present course of popular theology among the more orthodox Germans of the present day. Not having seen the original, we cannot judge of the faithfulness of the translation, but we are strongly impressed with the feeling that the precise thought of the original has not been accurately preserved in some sentences, and we have to regret the omission of the chapter on the Sacraments.

Thompson's *Memoir of David Hale* is a work of considerable interest. Mrs. Sigourney's *Poems of the Sea* and *Whisper to a Bride* are also among the interesting works that have recently appeared. Rev. J. Murphy has published a work entitled *Creation*, or the Bible and Geology consistent, together with the moral design of the Mosaic History. A *History of the Confessional*, by Bishop Hopkins, of Vermont, is announced.

Mr. Perkins of Philadelphia, has announced a translation of Hase's *Manual of Church History*, and recent catalogues inform us that a translation of Guericke's *Manual* on the same subject, is to form part of the series of Bohn's standard library. Guericke is a Lutheran, but Hase belongs to the latitudinarian school. The *Manual* of Jacobi, mentioned under another head, will give us the Neandrian view of history, so that we shall have three *Manuals of Church History* from the German, by three authors of acknowledged ability, representing the three prominent schools of German Theology.

Mr. Babcock of this city, publishes Croswell's *Family Prayers*, a work which we give the preference to any we have employed, especially for its following the seasons of the Church, thus keeping the mind of the family on the mind of the Church. He also publishes *Rudiments of the Church*, by the same author, which is a valuable little work; with a great variety of other religious, miscellaneous, and school books.

H. Longstreth of Philadelphia, has republished Forster's *Observations*, etc., on Macaulay's charges against Penn, and a more complete and thorough refutation could not be desired. If Mr. Macaulay's other statements are not better founded than those exposed by Mr. Forster, his "History of England" is no history, not even a historical romance, but a wilful, or careless caricature.

The Annual of Scientific Discovery for 1850, containing an account of the most important discoveries and improvements in Mechanics, Useful Arts, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Astronomy, Meteorology, Zoology, Botany, Mineralogy, Geology, Geography, and Antiquities, during the past year, just published by Gould, Kendall & Lincoln of Boston, is a work well conceived and well executed; precisely adapted to the wants of those who wish to keep up with the progress of science, and want time or means to consult the various scientific journals of the day. Persons sending one dollar to the publishers, post paid, will receive a copy by mail, free of expense.

Bangs, Platt & Co. of New York, keep constantly on hand Bohn's Library Series, including his *Standard*, *Scientific*, *Antiquarian*, *Classical*, and *Illustrated* Libraries. Among these are the works of Schiller, Sismondi, Schlegel, Neander, Goethe, Ranke, and other foreign writers of importance. The antiquarian department is worthy of especial attention. Bede's Ecclesiastical History, and the Anglo Saxon Chronicle, may here be had for *one dollar*, while the first work alone formerly cost *three dollars and a half*; and Roger of Wendover's Flowers of History, which a few years since cost *fourteen dollars* in the original, is here published for *two dollars* in an English translation, and other works in proportion. The last volume of the *Scientific Library* contains a translation of Humboldt's *Views of Nature*, a work of deep interest, abounding in extraordinary and wonderful facts in nature.

FOREIGN (ENGLAND.)

William Cunninghame, Esq., has recently published *The Certain Truth, the Science and Authority of the Scriptural Chronology*, a large octavo of four hundred pages. England has been especially active of late, in the department of Scriptural Chronology. Clinton's *Fasti Hellenici*, the third volume of which is devoted to Biblical Chronology; Greswell's *Dissertations on the Harmony of the Gospels*, in four volumes; Brown's *Ordo Sæclorum, or Chronology of the Holy Scriptures*, and Dr. Jarvis's *Chronological Introduction*, have all been published in England within a few years. We see it announced also that a translation of Wieseler's *Chronology of the Apostolic Age*, by Thomas Gorden, will soon be published. The Chevalier Bunsen is also publishing a work on Egypt, in English and German, a portion of which is devoted to the subject of Chronology. The Chronological portion has already appeared in Germany. A mass of the private correspondence of John Calvin is said to have been discovered in one of the French Colleges, and is about to be given to the public. Rev. William Goode has published a work on the *Doctrine of the Church of England as to the Effects of Baptism*, in the case of infants. Rev. J. S. M. Anderson has recently published the second volume of his *History of the Church of England in the Colonies and Foreign Dependencies of the British Empire*. The first volume was published in 1845. The Church Missionary Society, founded 1799, has issued a work entitled the *Jubilee Volume* of the C. M. S. A new work has been published *On the Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, by a Mr. Smith, who appears to have spent a large portion of his life in preparing for and elucidating the two last chapters of the *Acts*. He spent a winter in Malta examining the coast of the island, the make of the shore, and the character of the currents which beat upon it, and also searched the libraries of Florence, Naples, Lausanne, Paris, and London, for any information that might aid his investigation. The result has been the confirmation of the apostolic history in its minutest details, even to the *place where two seas meet*. Hone's *Lives of Eminent Christians* has passed to a second edition. Vol. I. contains the lives of Archbishop Ussher, Rev. Dr. Hammond, John Evelyn, and Bishop Wilson. Vol. II. of Bernard Gilpin, Philip de Mornay, Bishop Bedell, and Anthony Horneck. Vol. III. of Bishop Ridley, Bishop Hall, and Robert Boyle. Vol. IV. of John Bradford, Archbishop Grindal, and Judge Hale. The celebrated Protestant Discussion between the Rev. John Cumming, D. D., and Daniel French, Esq., held at Hammersmith in 1839, has been issued in a cheap form for general circulation. A new edition has also been issued of *An Apology for Anglicanism*, or Jesuitism in the Church, in which it is shown that low, or loose Church principles, has ever been the vantage ground of Rome and infidelity. *A Life of Bishop Shirley* has been recently published, edited by Thomas Hill, B. D. The first volume of Landon's (Rev. Edward H.) *New General Ecclesiastical Dictionary* has been published by Rivingtons. This work is designed to include an account of the Sees, Patriarchates, Religious Foundations and Brotherhoods, together with a list of the Archbishops and Bishops throughout Christendom from the earliest times; also a History of Sects; an Explanation of Rites and Ceremonies, and of Ecclesiastical and Ecclesiological terms, and a copious Biographical Dictionary of eminent Ecclesiastical persons, with lists of their writings. The first volume contains 724 duodecimo pages. The work is to be completed in six duodecimo volumes. Wordsworth's (Rev. C.) *Letters to M. Gonden* on the destructive character of the Church of Rome, both in religion and policy, have gone to a third edition.

H. Bailey has published *Rituale Anglo-Catholicum*, or the testimony of the Catholic Church to the Book of Common Prayer, as exhibited in quotations from Ancient Fathers, Councils, Liturgies, and Rituals—likely to become a standard work in the libraries of the clergy. Archdeacon Wilberforce, the Author of the work on The Incarnation, has published a work on the *Doctrine of Holy Baptism*, with remarks on the Rev. W. Goode's account of the effects of infant

baptism. A reply has also been made to the charges against William Penn in Macaulay's History, by W. E. Forster, and has been republished in this country.

Sir Gardiner Wilkinson, favorably known to the public by his Topography of Ancient Thebes, Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians, 5 vols. 8vo. and his Modern Egypt and Thebes, 2 vols. 8vo., has issued the prospectus of a new work on *Egyptian Architecture*. It will contain 18 large plates, and about one hundred pages of letter press. Only one hundred and twenty-five copies will be published, price two guineas, ($10.50.) Subscriptions will be forwarded from this office, if sent to the care of the editor. Mr. Gliddon has republished in England a synopsis of his Lectures on Egypt, with the title *Otia Ægyptiaca*, sustained by copious notes and references. These furnish a convenient index to the most recent publications on Egypt, English, French, German, Italian, and American. It is in some respects his best work, though one cannot but smile at the modesty of the claim, and the certainty of a science whose epoch is "still oscillating between the 36th and 58th century, B. C." (p. 39).

Major Rawlinson, who has devoted many years to the study of the cuneiform inscriptions of the East, read a paper before the Royal Asiatic Society, London, January 19th, on the Assyrian Inscriptions of Nimroud and its vicinity, an account of which was given in our Review of Layard's Nineveh. Major R. supposes he has been able to identify the name of the city, the ruins of which bear the name of Nimroud, and that it was *Khala*, or *Sala*, and he imagines it to have been the *Calneh* of the Scripture, and one of the cities to which Jonah was sent. The names of six kings have been identified, and the date of the oldest palace yet discovered, he imagines to have been nearly coeval with the entrance of Israel into Canaan. The language of the Ninevite inscriptions he considers Semitic in its character, closely allied to the Hebrew and Chaldee in its pronouns and prenominal affixes, but otherwise more nearly related to the African languages. Thomson's Select Monuments of Doctrine and Worship of the Catholic Church in England before the Norman conquest, has just appeared.

GERMANY.

Dr Wette, *Wilhelm Martin Leberecht*, the celebrated Commentator, and Prof. of theology at Basle, died a few months since, in his 70th year; just forty years after his appointment to the Professorship of Theology in the University of Heidleberg. A very decided rationalistic tone runs through all his earlier publications, which has been greatly modified in later years, as the Friesian philosophy lost its hold upon him, to which Rev. Dr. Pusey, twenty years ago, attributed the obscuration of his Christian faith. A work has recently been published by a Romish Professor in the Gymnasium of Treves, (Prof. Myers,) intended to show that the Apostle's Creed was of Apostolic origin, except the articles affirming the descent of Christ into hell, and the Communion of the Saints. The work is entitled, *De Symboli Apostolici Titulo, Origine et Antiquissimis Ecclesiæ temporibus auctoritate, etc.* Prof. J. H. Petermann, of Berlin, has published a volume containing the Epistles of Ignatius in Greek, Syriac, Armenian and Latin, with a preliminary dissertation and notes, in which he claims to have shown, that the conclusions of Mr. Cureton, in regard to these Epistles, are without sufficient foundation, that the Armenian version, made probably in the fifth century, and which corresponds closely with the shorter Greek recension, heretofore received as the true text, was evidently made from the Syriac, and consequently that the Epistles of Ignatius, *as we now have them in the Greek*, must have existed in Syria thus early. Hence he concludes that the version which Mr. Cureton regards as the true text, is only an abridgment of an earlier and truer text. Prof. T. L. Jacobi, a pupil and admirer of Neander, has published a Manual of Church History, embodying the theological and historical views of Neander, approved by him as such. It is being translated, and will be published in London and New York.

ECCLESIASTICAL REGISTER.

SUMMARY OF HOME INTELLIGENCE.

CONSECRATION OF BISHOPS.

Rev. George Upfold, D. D., Bishop of Indiana, Christ Church, Indianapolis, Dec. 16th, 1849, by Rt. Rev. Benjamin Bosworth Smith, Kentucky.
" Charles Petit McIlvaine, Ohio.
" Cicero Stephens Hawks, Missouri.
" Jackson Kemper, Miss., Bp. N. W. Territory.

ORDINATIONS.

DEACONS.

Name.	*Bishop.*	*Time.*	*Church.*	*Place.*
Elmendorf, John J.,	Chase, N. H.,	Feb. 24, 1850.	Christ,	N. Y. City.
Hyde, Mercer F.,	Doane,	Dec. 23, 1849.	St. Mary's,	Burlington, N. J.
Russell, Lorenzo L.,	Whittingham,	Feb. 24, 1850.	St. James', Coll. Chapel,	Md.
Jacocks, James G.,	Ives,	Jan. 27, 1850.	St. Matthew's,	Hillsborough,
Potter, Collis J.	Brownell,	Dec. 21, 1849.	Christ,	Hartford, Conn. [N.C.
Swope, Cornelius E.,	Whittingham,	Feb. 24, 1850.	St. James', Coll. Chapel,	Md.
Weller, Reginald H.,	Otey,	Nov. 21, 1849.	Calvary,	Memphis, Tenn.
Windsor, Henry John,	Whittingham,	Feb. 24, 1850.	St. James', Coll. Chapel,	Md.

PRIESTS.

Name.	*Bishop.*	*Time.*	*Church.*	*Place.*
Rev. Applegate, Thos.,	Chase, N. H.	Feb. 24, 1850.	Christ,	N. Y. City.
" Bishop, Theo. M.,	Delancy,	Feb. 24, 1850.	Zion,	Fulton, W. N. Y.
" Capron, Alex.,	Brownell,	Feb. 24, 1850.	St. Mark's,	New Britain, Conn.
" Donnelly, J. B.,	Ives,	Jan. 27, 1850.	St. Matthew's,	Hillsboro', N.C.
" Douglass, Ben. I.,	Potter,	Jan. 6, 1850.	St. Matthew's,	Francisville, Pa.
" Gadsden, C. P.,	Gadsden,	Dec. 16, 1849.	St. Stephen's,	Pineville, S. C.
" Garfield, L. N.,	Brownell,	Dec. 21, 1849.	Christ,	Hartford, Conn.
" Johnson, R. P.	Johns,	Nov. 4, 1849.	———,	Bruton, Vir.
" Le Baron, Jas. F.,	Chase, N. H.	Feb. 24, 1850.	Christ,	N. Y. City. [S. C.
" Logan, E. C.,	Gadsden,	Oct. 26, 1849.	St. Paul's,	Radcliff borough,
" Murphy, Edwin W.,	Burgess,	Nov. 23, 1849.	Christ,	Gardiner, Me.
" Phelps, Josiah,	Upfold,	Feb. 26, 1850.	St. Mary's,	Delphi, Ind.
" Reynolds, Charles,	Chase, N. H.	Dec. 6, 1849.	Christ,	N. Brooklyn, N. Y.
" Robbins, Chandler,	McIlvaine,	Dec. 2, 1849.	Christ,	Springfield, Ohio.
" Rodman, Wash.,	Chase, N. H.	Feb. 24, 1850.	Christ,	N. Y. City.
" Ticknor, Jas. H.,	Cobbs,	Oct. 14, 1849.	St. Andrew's,	Prairieville, Ala.

REMOVALS.

	Name.	*Church.*	*Place.*
Rev.	Adams, James,	St. John's,	Cohoes, N. Y.
"	Bent, Nathaniel T.,	All Saints',	Worcester, Mass.
"	Britton, J. B.,	Christ,	Dayton, Ohio.
"	Canfield, E. H.,	St. Peter's,	N. Y. City.
"	Chipman, Tapping R.,	St. George's,	Astoria, N. Y.
"	Clark, John W.,	Calvary,	Brooklyn, N. Y.
"	Cole, A. D.,	St. Luke's,	Racine, Wisconsin.
"	Cook, E. R. T.,	St. Thomas',	Ravenswood, L. I.
"	Cooper, Charles D.,	St. Phillip's,	Philadelphia, Penn.
"	Coxe, Samuel Hanson,	St. Paul's,	Oxford, W. N. Y.
"	Dashiell, Erastus F.,	Christ,	Calvert Co., Md.
"	Fackler, David M.,	Episcopal Institute,	Staten Island, N. Y.
"	Field, Justin,	St. James',	Great Barrington, Mass.
"	Freeman, Andrew F.,	———	Little Rock, Ark.
"	Freeman, Lyman N.,	St. Paul's,	Chillicothe, Ohio.
"	Green, William,	———	Mt. Savage Works, N. J.
"	Harrold, Hiram H.,	———	New Castle Co., Del.
"	Hill, Horace,	Mariner's Church,	Detroit, Mich.
"	Hager, E. W.,	———	Moravia, etc., W. N. Y.
"	Hyland, William L.,	Christ,	Wellsburg, near Wheeling, Va.
"	Jenks, William Alfred,	St. Luke's,	Chelsea, Mass.
"	Jones, Alexander, D. D.,	St. Paul's,	Richmond, Va.
"	Judd, Bethel, D. D.,	———	Sodus, etc., W. N. Y.
"	Magee, Edward,	Grace,	Mt. Clemens, Mich.
"	Mallaby, Thomas,	St. Michael's,	Geneseo, W. N. Y.
"	McIlvaine, Joseph W.,	Grace,	South Oyster Bay, N. Y.
"	Michell, Tobias M., M.D.,	St. Peter's,	Paris, Ken.
"	Morgan, R. U., D. D.,	Trinity,	New Rochelle, N. Y.
"	Mulcahey, James,	St. Stephen's,	Middlebury, Vt.
"	Parvin, Robert J.,	Trinity,	Rochester, W. N. Y.
"	Potter, Collis J.,	St. Matthew's.	East Plymouth, Conn.
"	Putnam, E. F.,	Christ,	Montpelier, Vt.
"	Richards, E.,	Christ,	Oyster Bay, L. I., N. Y.
"	Roberts, Edmund,	St. Peter's,	Westfield, N. Y.
"	Roberts, G. Lamb,	St. James', [Hagne.	Vincennes, Ind.
"	Rumney, Theodore S.,	Cople Parish, near	Westmoreland, Va.
"	Savage, Thos. S., M.D.,	Trinity,	Pass-Christian, Miss.
"	Shackleford, John W.,	St. Mary's,	Brooklyn, N. Y.
"	Shield, C. H.,	———	Woodville, etc., Va.
"	Smith, Richard,	———	Waterford, Penn.
"	Starkey, Orlando F.,	Christ,	Lockport, W. N. Y.
"	Taylor, B. F.,	St. Luke's,	Rossville, Staten Island, N. Y.
"	Thompson, George,	St. John's College,	Cincinnati, Ohio.
"	Ticknor, J. H.,	Trinity,	Columbus, Geo.
"	Vaux, William,	St. Paul's,	New Albany, Ind.
"	Ward, Henry Dana,	St. Jude's,	New York City.
"	Waters, George,	St. John's,	Kingston, N. Y.
"	Whipple, Henry B.,	Zion,	Rome, N. Y.
"	Whittingham, Rich'd, Jr.	St. Andrew's,	New Berlin, W. N. Y.
"	Zimmer, William L.,	St. Phillip's,	Atalanta, Geo.

CONSECRATION OF CHURCHES.

Church.	*Place.*	*Bishop.*	*Time.*
All Angels',	N. Y. City.	Chase, N. H.,	Dec. 1, 1849.
A Chapel,	Coventry Parish, Md.	Whittingham,	Dec. 13, 1849.
—— ——,	Leetown, Vir.	Meade,	Nov. 6, 1849.
Calvary,	Charleston, S. C.	Gadsden,	Dec. 23, 1849.
Christ,	Madison, Ind.	Upfold,	Feb. 7, 1850.
Christ (Free Mission,)	Newark, N. J.	Doane,	Feb. 2, 1850.
Christ,	North Brooklyn, N. Y.	Chase, N. H.,	Dec. 6, 1849.
Mariner's,	Detroit, Mich.	McCoskry,	Dec. 23, 1849.
Nativity,	Huntsville, Ala.	Cobbs,	Nov. 4, 1849.
St. Andrew's,	Meriden, Conn.	Brownell,	Feb. 6, 1850.
St. George's,	N. Y. City,	Chase, N. H.,	Dec. 4, 1849.
St. James',	Pulaski, W. N. Y.	DeLancey,	Feb. 27, 1850.
St. Mark's,	Millsboro', Del.	Lee,	Oct. 26, 1849.
St. Mark's,	Islip, N. Y.	Chase, N. H.,	Nov. 23, 1849.
St. Matthew's, (in the Forest,)	Worcester Co., Md.	Whittingham,	Dec. 11, 1849.
St. Paul's,	Richmond, Ind.	Upfold,	Dec. 20, 1849.
St. Peter's,	Poolesville, Md.	Whittingham,	Feb. 28, 1850.

DIOCESAN INTELLIGENCE.

Western New York.—We have received the Journal of the late Convention, which makes a neatly printed pamphlet of 112 pages. It is happily furnished with an abstract which shows a prosperous state of the Diocese.

Summary.—Clergymen canonically residing in the Diocese, 113; Organized Congregations in Union with the Convention, 127. Ordinations—Deacons, 10; Priests, 3—13; Institutions, 2; Clergymen received into the Diocese, 6; Clergymen transferred to other Dioceses, 10; Candidates for Orders—(Received 2, Admitted 9,) Present number, 20; Churches Consecrated, 3; Present at the Convention—Clergymen entitled to seats, 82; Clergymen admitted to sittings, 10; Lay Members representing 46 parishes, 74; Clergymen entitled to seats, who were not present at the Convention, 28.

Statistics from the Parochial Reports.—Number of Families, (from 90 reports,) 5,062; Number of individuals (from 90 reports,) 20,384; Baptisms, (from 61 reports, adults 250; from 81 reports, infants 951,) 1,201; Communicants added, (from 78 reports,) 909; Communicants removed or died, (from 78 reports,) 460; Communicants, present number (from 99 reports,) 6,301; Marriages, (from 78 reports,) 387; Burials, (from 90 reports,) 607; Public Services, (from 91 reports), 9,605; Sunday School Teachers, (from 64 reports,) 571; Sunday School Pupils, (from 64 reports,) 3,575; Children Catechised, (from 53 reports,) number of times, 727.

Monthly Collections—Christmas Fund, (from 71 reports,) $1,042 99; Foreign Missions, (from 35 reports,) 520 88; Domestic Missions, (from 50 reports,) 1,067 19; Parochial Objects, (from 62 reports,) 11,388 53; Diocesan Missions, (from 60 reports,) 4,333 90; General Fund, (from 31 reports,) 1,721 74; Other Objects, (from 42 reports,) 3,721 08.

Ohio.—The *thirty-second* Annual Convention of this Diocese met at St. Paul's Church, Mt. Vernon, on the 11th and 12th of October. There were 44 Clergymen and Delegates from 34 Parishes present at the Convention. There are 75 Clergymen canonically resident in the Diocese, and 85 Parishes in union with the Convention. The Report of the Missionary and Education Committee, read by Prof. Smith, states that $1,225 00 have been appropriated during the year to 11 Missionaries and 4 Beneficiaries. The Domestic Committee of the General Society have withdrawn the aid hitherto extended. The proceedings of the Convention were characterized by courtesy and harmony.

LOUISIANA.—The *eleventh* Annual Convention of this Diocese was held in Christ Church, New Orleans, April 18th and 19th, 1849. The Journal presents the following condition of the Diocese. 20 Parishes, 26 Ministers, 669 Baptisms during the Conventional year, 112 persons Confirmed, 909 Communicants, 191 Marriages, 372 Burials, $3,687 95 contributed to Church objects.

The Committee on the state of the Church reports, that "New churches have been erected, new parishes formed, new fields of labor opened, and additional laborers have entered upon the work;" that "the attention of the Clergy and others has been directed with much interest and success to the religious instruction of the colored portion of the population," and that the Diocese is united in opinion and feeling, and in steadfast attachment to the distinctive features of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

DEPOSITIONS FROM THE MINISTRY.

The Standing Committee of the Diocese of New York having received communications from the Rev. R. C. Shimeall, the Rev. Dr. Forbes, and the Rev. Mr. Preston, which were deemed sufficient to warrant proceedings, according to the usage of the Diocese, under Canon XXXVIII, of 1832, Orders were passed for the record of their declarations respectively, and for their displacement from the Ministry. The Bishop of New Hampshire has pronounced the sentence. Mr. Shimeall has joined the Presbyterians, Messrs. Forbes and Preston have given their adhesion to the Romanists. The Rev. Thomas S. Brittan, of the same Diocese, has been degraded from the same office.

The Bishop of Tennessee has announced that he has displaced from the Ministry the Rev. Samuel Sherwell, Deacon.

The Bishop of South Carolina has announced that Jedidiah Huntington, M. D., a Presbyter of his Diocese, having made known to him his renunciation of the Protestant Episcopal Church, notice has been given that he has been displaced from the Ministry. Dr. H. is one of the Romish perverts, and is the reputed author of the infamous tract on the Sacrament of Penance.

We see by the foreign papers, that Rev. Mr. McLeod, the author of a scandalous tract on Confession, has joined the Church of Rome in Switzerland. Drs. Forbes and Huntington, Messrs. Preston and McLeod, are some of the principal persons had in view by the *Calendar*, when it declared, a year ago, that there was a clique in New York, teaching the identical errors of Romanism.

Bishop Delancey has published the following notice, couched in terms which we deem called for in every similar case. *Apostacy* should never be let off as having done nothing "affecting moral character."

"Robert Beverly Tillotson, admitted a Candidate for Holy Orders in this Diocese, in 1847, and compelled by sickness to relinquish his studies and go abroad, having, while in Europe, apostatized from the true faith of the Holy Catholic Church, as held by our branch of the same, by making vows of eternal obedience to the Church of Rome, I hereby give notice to the Diocese, that I have displaced him, for such heinous apostacy and sin, from the list of Candidates for Holy Orders."

OBITUARY.

Died, at Geneva, W. N. York, on Sunday, Oct. 21st, 1849, DAVID B. DOUGLASS, LL. D., Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in Geneva College. Professor Douglass was born in Pompton, N. J., March 21st, 1790. He gave early indications of an ardent and enterprising spirit, and was graduated at Yale College in 1813. Immediately thereupon he repaired to Sackett's Harbor, where he sought and obtained a commission as second lieutenant in the corps of U. S. Engineers. From hence he went to West Point in the same year, where he continued until the spring of 1814. He was then ordered to join the Niagara army, under Gen. Brown, which he did, taking a personal and active part in the operations of that campaign, and sharing in the actions of Lundy's Lane and of Erie. For "distinguished and meritorious services in that compaign, and particularly"

during the siege of Fort Erie, he was promoted to a first lieutenancy, and brevetted captain on the same day, Sept. 17, 1814. In 1815, he was Assistant Professor of Philosophy at West Point. In 1820, he was appointed Professor of Mathematics at the same institution, in the place of his father-in-law, Andrew Ellicott, who died at this time, after many years of faithful public service. In May, 1823, he was appointed to the Professorship of Civil and Military Engineering. In February, 1831, he resigned, and moved to Brooklyn, having been connected for sixteen years with the Military Academy, and having taken an active part in the organization of the system since pursued there. During the same period, he was also engaged in various important operations for the Government. He acted as aid to Gov. Cass in his expedition to negotiate treaties with the tribes of North Western Indians. After leaving West Point, he engaged in several other important public works. In 1832, he was appointed to make the requisite surveys, examinations, and estimates, for supplying the city of New York with water. By October, 1836, having planned and digested all the details for this great work, he was superseded in his office, but his plans and estimates were retained. In 1838, he laid out the Greenwood Cemetery, near New York City, which owes to his genius its original conception, its location, and the tasteful arrangement of its grounds. In 1840, he was called to the Presidency of Kenyon College. In 1845–6, he located and laid out the Quebec Protestant Cemetery. In the same year, he was called to the Professorship of Mathematics in Geneva College. Several months of declining health succeeded a life of great physical and mental activity, and on October 21st, 1849, he departed to his rest. In his character, energy and gentleness, courage and magnanimity, learning and piety, were beautifully mingled. He lived and died a sincere and earnest Christian, leading many to a knowledge of the truth, and contending zealously and yet charitably for the faith as it is in Jesus.

Died, in Weathersfield, Wyoming Co., W. N. Y., on Sunday, the 21st of October, 1849, Rev. Thomas Meachem, aged 54 years. Mr. M. was a native of England, where for some years he officiated as a preacher in the Methodist connection. In 1831, he emigrated to this country, and soon after became a Candidate for Orders in the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of New York. In due time he was admitted by the Bishop of that Diocese to the Diaconate and the Priesthood. After officiating temporarily in several places, he took charge, as Missionary, of St. Mark's Church, Hunt's Hollow, where he continued about three years, laboring even beyond the measure of his robust constitution. He next officiated as Missionary at Trinity Church, Centerfield, Ontario County, where his ministry was marked by the same self-sacrificing industry. Afterwards, he had charge, for a time, of St. Paul's Church, Allen's Hill. The last five years of his ministry were devoted to St. Clement's Church, Weathersfield, Wyoming County; and the day on which he died was to have commenced his sixth year of labor in that Parish. Although his health had been so feeble, for a long time, as to render him unable to perform the full services of a clergyman, he continued his public ministrations until the second Sunday previous to his decease. During his final illness, though he was fully aware of the extreme doubtfulness of his recovery, his mind was singularly calm and peaceful. Some hours before his death, being visited by several of his parishioners, he gave them his last pastoral counsel; at the conclusion of which, with an energy almost startling, he extended his hands, and pronounced his final benediction, in the affecting words of the Apostle: "And now, brethren, I commend you to God, and to the word of His grace, which is able to build you up, and to give you an inheritance among all them which are sanctified!" His life was that of an exemplary Christian, and his death was literally "perfect peace."

Died, at Tinmouth, Vermont, July 27th, 1849, Rev. Caleb S. Ives, aged 41 years. He was born at Tinmouth, in Sept. 1798, and was brought up in the tenets of the Congregationalists, among whom he was a communicant. Being engaged in the business of teaching school, and brought to reside temporarily in a Church family, he was led to examine the doctrines of the Episcopal Church. Convinced of the truth of the doctrine of the Unity of the Church, and of the Apostolic

Succession of the Priesthood, he became an Episcopalian. His circumstances rendering it necessary for him to depend upon his own exertions for the means of acquiring an education, and feeling that he was called to exercise the holy offices of the ministry of Christ, he, by industry and economy, and by the labor of his hands, procured the necessary means for that object, and was graduated at Trinity College, Hartford, Conn., in 1830. He pursued his theological studies at the General Seminary. After receiving Holy Orders, he removed to Alabama in 1832, where he organized and had charge of, for nearly two years, the parishes of Trinity Church, Demopolis, of St. Paul's, Greensboro', and of St. John's, in the Prairie, Greene County. In 1835, he settled at Mobile, where he was associated with Mr. Norman Pinney, in the care of a school for the young, and acquired the love and respect of all who knew him. In 1838, at the request of the citizens of Matagorda, Texas, Mr. Ives removed to that city, and organized the parish of Christ Church, and established a school for the young. This step was taken by him at a great sacrifice of worldly interest, he giving up a lucrative situation in Mobile, for one that presented only the prospect of a bare support, solely influenced by the conviction that he could be more useful, and serve the cause of Christ more effectually, in the latter situation than in the former. At that time there was no organized society of Episcopalians in Texas, nor of Protestants of any sect in that country. When Christ Church was organized, it was the most western Protestant Episcopal parish in North America; the Rev. Mr. Ives, as its Rector, standing as a sentinel upon the outward wall of protestant civilization; and zealously did he perform his duties as such. Those of his parishioners who were then residents of Matagorda, bear witness to the immediate salutary influence upon the tone of society exerted by the regular and constant ministration of the Gospel, and the facilities for educating the young, afforded by the school established by him. For more than ten years did this estimable man devote his undivided labor and attention to the double occupation of pastor and school-teacher; zealous and untiring in the performance of all his duties, meek and uncomplaining in difficulties, seeking controversy with none, and gaining the esteem of all. At last, exhausted with labor, he went home to his own native place to die. He sweetly fell asleep in Jesus. He rests from his labors and his works do follow him.

Died, Sept. 2d, at Humphreysville, Conn., Rev. JOHN D. SMITH, late Rector of Union Church in that village, aged 45 years. Mr. Smith was born in Derby, February 21, 1804. His parents were of the Methodist persuasion, and in that belief he was carefully nurtured. From early youth he evinced a fondness for reading, but chiefly of a desultory character; at an early age he commenced the study of the Greek and Latin classics, under the supervision of the Rector of the Episcopal Church in his native town, supporting himself by teaching school during the winter months. By this means he became somewhat acquainted with the doctrines and usages of the Episcopal Church, and first an occasional, and afterwards a constant attendant on her stated services. In 1830, he was presented by his Rector, a candidate for confirmation, and soon after entered the General Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church. It is highly creditable to him that notwithstanding his scanty means and opportunities for instruction, he passed a satisfactory examination in the branches of classical learning, required by the terms of admission into that Seminary. Here he completed the usual course of theological training, received a diploma, and was admitted to Deacon's Orders by the Rt. Rev. Bishop Brownell, in Christ Church, Hartford, July 7th, 1833, and on the 22d of September, 1834, he was ordained Priest in Union Church, Humphreysville. In this parish the greater part of his ministerial labors were performed. Mr. Smith was a man of considerable mental activity and shrewdness; somewhat eccentric in manner, of strict integrity, and of a peaceful and placable temper. He evinced little taste for what is termed, strictly speaking, theological discussion; his sermons were almost wholly of a moral and practical character. The full attendance on the funeral services in inclement weather, showed that he had a firm hold on the affections of the people among whom the greater portion of his official life was spent.

Died, on Sunday morning, Dec. 2d, 1849, at Caldwell, Lake George, N. Y., the Rev. AMOS PARDEE, in his 80th year—one of the few of the clergy educated and commissioned during the last century. He was born at East Haven, Connecticut, A. D. 1770; was graduated at Yale College in 1793, ordained a Deacon by Bishop Bass, 1795, and a Presbyter by Bishop Jarvis, 1799. After officiating as a Missionary for a few years in Vermont, he was chosen Rector of St. Luke's Church, Lanesboro', in 1802, and continued in the faithful discharge of the duties of his station until 1818, when he resigned that parish. Since that time, Mr. Pardee has been in the employment, at various places, of the Missionary Society of the Diocese of New York, until obliged by increasing years and infirmities to retire altogether from public services. The few last years of his life have been spent at Lanesboro' and Caldwell, the residence of his daughters, at which last named place, he calmly resigned his soul to God who gave it. Reserved and dignified in his manner, amiable in his disposition, and exemplary in his life and conversation, he recommended the Gospel of Christ by his illustration of its fruits in his daily walk. Well read in the best works of the old Divines, his sermons were replete with sound theology and useful instruction.

Died, at Portsmouth, N. H., at the residence of his brother, the Rev. HENRY W. SWEETZER, of New York city, aged 40 years. Having a strong desire to enter the ministry, he relinquished his secular pursuits for that profession, and devoted himself to study. He entered Dartmouth College at the age of 22, was graduated in 1835, and afterwards passed three years at the Theological Seminary in the city of New York. He was ordained in that city on the 27th of September, in 1838, and immediately afterwards accepted the Rectorship of St. Andrew's Church, in Walden, Orange county, in the State of New York, where he remained more than three years. He then accepted the invitation to be Assistant Minister at St. George's Church, in Astoria, L. I., where he continued till about two years since, when he took charge of a Parochial school in the city of New York. While engaged in the duties of that school his health declined, and about the middle of last November he went to Portland to pass a few days to recruit his health. Every day after his arrival his prostration increased. On the 29th of December last he expired, full of faith, resignation, and hope.

Died, at Stonington, Conn., Jan. 26th, Rev. CHARLES E. BENNETT, Assistant to the Rector of Calvary Church of that place. Mr. Bennett was born in Rhode Island, and had been until within a few years engaged in secular pursuits, chiefly as a teacher of music, to which he was enthusiastically devoted, and in which he attained uncommon skill and proficiency. He was ordained by Bishop Henshaw, under the provisions of Canon V, of 1847. He had previously been a regular candidate for Orders, and it was his intention, at some future time, to complete his preparatory studies and seek admission to the Priesthood. After his ordination he went to Crompton Mills, under the direction of the R. I. Convocation, and there labored for the Church zealously and indefatigably, and with a good measure of success. Finding however his remuneration insufficient for the support of his family, the last spring he removed to Stonington, where, relying on the profit of his labor as a teacher of music for support, he rendered his aid to the Rector of the parish gratuitously. That aid has been to this infant parish highly serviceable and important, and the loss of it will be long and deeply felt. He was its Organist, and the superintendent of its Sunday School, and in both capacities united uncommon qualifications with earnest zeal and untiring assiduity. He occasionally also preached for the Rector and neighboring ministers, and officiated in such other offices of the ministry as pertained to his Order. Thus he "used the office of a Deacon well;" but the "good degree" which he had thus purchased to himself was not to be reached by him in this world. He was seized about three weeks before his death with typhus fever, brought on, or at least aggravated, by exertions and exposure in fulfilling his engagements. Human help was of no avail, and after struggling with the disease till nature was exhausted he fell asleep. During his sickness he enjoyed transient gleams of reason and consciousness; but he left behind him the testimony of a well spent life, more satisfactory to survivors than the mere expressions of a death bed.

Died, at Chicago, Ill., Feb. 24th, after a short illness, Rev. WILLIAM BARLOW, formerly pastor of St. Paul's Church in Syracuse, and subsequently of Ogdensburgh.

We have also to record the sudden death of the Rev. GEORGE JOHNSON, of St. Peter's Church, Delaware, Ohio, killed by the accidental discharge of a gun. We are not now able to give the particulars of his life.

SUMMARY OF FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND.

CONSECRATION OF THE BISHOPS OF NORWICH, LLANDAFF, AND MADRAS.—Advent Sunday was appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury for the consecration of the Right Rev. Dr. Samuel Hinds to the Bishopric of Norwich, vacant by the decease of Dr. Stanley—the Right Rev. Dr. Alfred Ollivant to the Bishopric of Llandaff, vacant by the decease of Dr. Coplestone—and the Right Rev. Dr. Thomas Dealtry to the Bishopric of Madras, vacant by the resignation of Dr. George Trevor Spencer. The consecrations took place in the private Chapel of Lambeth Palace, and excited considerable interest, so large a number of Bishops never having been consecrated at one time during the present century, with the exception of 1842 and 1847, in the former of which years five colonial Bishops, and in the latter, four, were consecrated. The usual prayers of the Church, and those especially appointed for the occasion, were offered by the Rev. John Thomas, M. A., and the Sermon was preached by the Rev. R. Moore Booltbee, B. D., Rector of All Saints', Barnwell, near Oundle, and Chaplain to Lord Montagu. At the close of the Sermon, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Right Rev. Prelates appointed to assist him, viz., the Bishops of London, Lincoln, Carlisle, Hereford, and Manchester, took their seats within the altar rails, and the newly-elected Bishops, vested in their rochets, were presented to his Grace by the Bishops of Lincoln and Carlisle, with these words: "Most Rev. Father in God, we present unto you these Godly and well-learned persons to be ordained and consecrated Bishops." The Queen's mandates for the consecrations were read aloud by Mr. H. Dyke, and the newly-elected Bishops put on the full episcopal habit. They were then admitted, by imposition of hands, Bishops of the Church of England, and, the Holy Communion being administered, the services of the day were brought to a close. The Right Rev. Bishop Dealtry was to leave for his distant Diocese immediately after Christmas.

ORDINATIONS.

On Sunday, December 23d, being one of the stated times for Ordination, the following number of persons were admitted to the Orders of Deacons and Priests:

By the Archbishop of Canterbury, 8 Deacons and 10 Priests.
By the Archbishop of York, 11 Deacons and 6 Priests.
By the Bishop of London, 20 Deacons and 12 Priests.
By the Bishop of Durham, 9 Deacons and 10 Priests.
By the Bishop of Winchester, 10 Deacons and 17 Priests.
By the Bishop of Bath and Wells, 5 Deacons and 6 Priests.
By the Bishop of Carlisle, 2 Deacons and 1 Priest.
By the Bishop of Chichester, 11 Deacons and 7 Priests.
By the Bishop of Ely, 12 Deacons and 8 Priests.
By the Bishop of Exeter, 6 Deacons and 2 Priests.
By the Bishop of Gloucester, 13 Deacons and 9 Priests.

By the Bishop of Hereford, 2 Deacons and 6 Priests.
By the Bishop of Lichfield, 7 Deacons and 20 Priests.
By the Bishop of Lincoln, 6 Deacons and 3 Priests.
By the Bishop of Oxford, 18 Deacons and 16 Priests.
By the Bishop of Ripon, 8 Deacons and 8 Priests.
By the Bishop of Salisbury, 12 Deacons and 6 Priests.
By the Bishop of St. Asaph, 3 Deacons and 1 Priest.
By the Bishop of St. David's, 11 Deacons and 9 Priests.
By the Bishop of Sodor and Man, 1 Deacon.
By the Bishop of Armagh, 5 Deacons and 2 Priests.
By the Bishop of Derry, 3 Deacons and 3 Priests.
By the Bishop of Killaloe, 2 Deacons and 4 Priests.
By the Bishop of Limerick, 3 Deacons and 2 Priests.
By the Bishop of Meath, 2 Deacons and 2 Priests.
By the Bishop of Ossory, 3 Deacons and 2 Priests.
TOTAL, by 27 Bishops, 206 Deacons, and 201 Priests.

DEATH OF BISHOP COLERIDGE.—The Right Rev. William Hart Coleridge, D. D., died at Ottery, St. Mary, Devonshire, on Friday, December 21, in the 60th year of his age. He was appointed to the See of Barbadoes at its erection in 1824, and resigned the Bishopric in 1841. Upon the establishment of St. Augustine's College, Canterbury, he was chosen as its first Warden, possessing eminent talent for the education of Missionaries. He was an excellent scholar and sound divine. He died very suddenly, of disease of the heart. The appointment of successor in the Wardenship, which was vested in the two Archbishops and the Bishop of London, has been conferred upon the Rev. Henry Bailey, B. D., Fellow and Hebrew Lecturer of St. John's College, Cambridge.

DEATH OF THE QUEEN DOWAGER.—Queen Adelaide, relict of the late King William IV, uncle to Her Majesty Queen Victoria, died at the village of Stanmore, December 11, 1849, aged 58 years. The deceased Queen Dowager Adelaide Louisa Theresa Caroline Amelia was the eldest daughter of George Frederick Charles, the late reigning Duke of Saxe Meiningen, and the Princess Louisa Eleanor, daughter of Christian Albert, Prince of Hohenlohe Langenberg. She was born on the 13th of August, 1792. She was married to the Duke of Clarence, July 11, 1818, and became the mother of two children, both of whom died in infancy. By the death of George IV, the Duke of Clarence was called to the throne in 1830, and reigned seven years. At his death, his Queen passed again into retirement upon a pension of £100,000 a year. More than £20,000 annually she has bestowed in charities. She was buried on the 13th of December, in St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle, by the side of her royal consort, and by her own desire without any pomp or state. None but her own relations were allowed to be present. The Archbishop of Canterbury performed the burial service. In her last Will she declared that she died in peace, full of gratitude, and "in full reliance on the mercy of our Saviour Jesus Christ." Her history is one of great beauty; other Queens have shared more largely in the idolatry of the British people, but not one has possessed more national affection and gratitude.

SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS.

The Report of this venerable Society, for 1849, (sent to us by the Rev. T. H. Horne, B. D.,) contains an account of its operations for the last year. This Society is recognizing in its efforts the existence of the Church principle; forming its Missionary fields into Dioceses, dividing those which are too large, and placing over each its Bishop; thus, in the language of the Report, securing "local permanency, and the principle of reproduction, and new life." The attention of the Society is also now specially directed to the vast bodies of emigrants who are every year leaving the old country for the United States or the British Colonies. 251,834 persons emigrated to the United States and the Canadas in 1847. In

1848, 73 ships sailed for the port of Australia, carrying, on an average, 250 emigrants each. The receipts of the Society for 1849, were over 77,000 pounds, or almost 400,000 dollars. There are now within the fields of its operations 20 Dioceses and 423 Missionaries, as follows.—The tables have been prepared with some labor and great care.

Diocese of Nova Scotia—embracing the Colonies of Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, and Prince Edward's Island. *Bishop*, Rt. Rev. John Inglis, D. D. Consecrated 1825, with 48 Missionaries. The reports from this Diocese exhibit great self-denial on the part of the Clergy, and the most gratifying advances in the progress of the Church. An increase to the number of Missionaries is urgently demanded.

Diocese of Fredericton—embracing New Brunswick. *Bishop*, Rt. Rev. John Medley, D. D. Consecrated 1845, with 40 Missionaries. This Colony is now suffering great pecuniary embarrassment. The Bishop says, "the poverty of this country is now so terrible, that hundreds have left it, and many are bankrupt, or on the eve of bankruptcy." Yet, by the energy of a Diocesan Church Society, the funds for Church objects are but little diminished. This Society embraces in its operation, the various methods of Church extension and perpetuation, as Missionary visits, Divinity Scholarships, Sunday Schools, building Churches and Parsonages, and the dissemination of Church books and principles, &c.

Diocese of Quebec—comprising Canada East. *Bishop*, Rt. Rev. George J. Mountain, D. D. Consecrated 1836, with 54 Missionaries. This Diocese, comprehending 200,000 square miles, a territory equal to the whole of France, is about to be divided, by the erection of the separate Diocese of Montreal, for which funds are already provided. The Theological Institution of Lennoxville, is a promising institution. Considerable hostility to the Church is reported, and yet the Bishop says he had, in 1848, overtures from *ten* ministers of non-Episcopal bodies, to be admitted as Candidates for Holy Orders.

Diocese of Toronto—comprising Canada West. *Bishop*, Rt. Rev. John Strachan, D. D. Consecrated 1839, with 101 Missionaries. Important resources are available from the income from the "Clergy Reserve" lands. The population of this Colony is increasing with great rapidity, and the Bishop says, "we ought to open, if possible, eight or ten new Missions annually for some years to come." 200,000 souls are reported as belonging to the Church in this Diocese. The Cathedral in Toronto was destroyed by fire in 1849. Several of the Missionaries report the most encouraging success as crowning their labors. The plan of a new Church University at Toronto is in agitation. The perversion of the charter of Kings College was a high-handed act of sacrilege. The noble bearing of the Bishop at this instance of injustice, is worthy of all admiration.

Diocese of Newfoundland—comprising Newfoundland, the Bermudas, and Labrador. *Bishop*, Rt. Rev. Edward Field, D. D. Consecrated 1844, with 35 Missionaries. In Newfoundland, the people are suffering greatly from the partial failure of the fishery and of the potato crop, and as a consequence, the Clergy are reduced to privations. The Bishop has recently returned from a visit to the Labrador Coast, where he has stationed three Missionaries, each of whom must visit nearly 100 miles of coast. The Church in Bermuda is reported to be in a prosperous condition. With a white population of 5,000, there are 10 Churches, about 1,000 white Communicants, and nearly 700 colored Communicants.

Diocese of Jamaica, including Jamaica and the Bahamas. *Bishop*, Rt. Rev. A. G. Spencer, D. D. Consecrated 1843, with 15 Missionaries. In the beautiful Island of Jamaica, the Church of England is firmly planted. There are in the Diocese, 4 Archdeacons, 27 Rectors, 50 Perpetual Curates, 3 Colonial Chaplains, and 29 Stipendiary Curates or Missionaries; in all, 114 Clergy of the English Church. Bishop Spencer's connection with this See, dating back only six years, has witnessed an increase of the Clergy by nearly one fifth. Not less than 10,000 persons were confirmed at his second visitation. Church Schools are ex-

tensively established, numbering 110, and including 7,500 children. The want of a Colonial College is deeply felt.

The Bahama Islands, numbering about 500 in the group, are sparsely settled by an indigent population, but who are yet strongly attached to the Church of England. In 12 of the Bahama Islands, there are 4 Missionaries, 9 Parishes, 27 Stations, 11,081 people, 923 Church members.

Diocese of Barbadoes. *Bishop*, Rt. Rev. Thomas Parry, D. D. Consecrated 1842, with 4 Missionaries. The general Missionary operations of the Society in this Diocese are at an end; the Society acting upon its settled principle of *planting* the Colonial Church, and then placing it on the footing of self-support. Though the resources of the Islands are greatly reduced, the Church will doubtless maintain its efficiency. The ecclesiastical establishment of the Diocese numbers 73 Clergymen, including the Bishop. Codrington College and Grammar School and Estate Schools, founded by Colonel Codrington, who died in 1710, are in a flourishing condition. An income of £3000 sterling annually, was bequeathed to the Society, by their munificent founder, for the support of these institutions. The course of study in the College embraces theology, the classics, logic and mathematics.

Diocese of Antigua. *Bishop*, Rt. Rev. D. G. Davis, D. D. Consecrated 1842, with 8 Missionaries. This Diocese includes the Virgin Islands, and the Danish Colonies of Sta. Cruz and St. Thomas; the English Church in those Islands being placed by the King of Denmark under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Antigua. The parishes have suffered severely from the devastating effects of a hurricane which levelled to the ground several churches.

Diocese of Guiana. *Bishop*, Rt. Rev. William P. Austin, D. D. Consecrated 1842, with 6 Missionaries. The last year has been one of great trial and perplexity to the Church in this Diocese, as the Local Legislature have refused the usual supplies. Thousands of East Indian Coolies and Africans have been imported into this Colony. The Society also extends its exertions in behalf of the Indian tribes of the interior.

Diocese of Calcutta, including Bengal. *Metropolitan*, Right Rev. Daniel Wilson, D. D. Consecrated 1832, with 16 Missionaries. The Rev. Dr. Withers, Principal of Bishop's College, has been compelled by ill health to resign his office, which has been conferred on the Rev. William Kay, M. A., of Lincoln College, Oxford. The fruits of this College are beginning to appear in raising up a native ministry accustomed to all the subleties of the Vedantists. A wonderful change has been produced, within a few years, upon the Hindoo community of Calcutta, by the influence of Missionary institutions.

Diocese of Madras, including Madras. *Bishop-elect*, Rev. Thomas Dealtry, with 24 Missionaries. The Right Rev. Dr. Spencer has been constrained by ill health to resign the Bishopric of Madras, and the Archdeacon of Calcutta has been nominated to the vacant See. During the year two important Diocesean Societies have been established for building new churches and for procuring additional clergy. There are Seminaries for the education of catechists and candidates for Holy Orders, at Sawyerpooram and Vediarpooram; the former having nearly 140, and the latter about 50 students. There are also several superior English schools in various mission districts. The missionaries say they are engaged in *consolidating* rather than *extending* the work begun. That the missions are planted on a solid basis is evinced by the large number of new churches erected, and the steady growth of the congregations. There are in this Diocese 26 mission districts, 149 native catechists and readers, 135 schoolmasters and schoolmistresses, 15,599 baptized persons, 519 baptisms during the last half year, 151 received from the Church of Rome during the half year, and an average attendance at the schools of 3,889. One missionary reports in his stations, 324 communicants.

Diocese of Bombay. *Bishop*, Right Rev. Thomas Carr, D. D. Consecrated 1837, with 3 Missionaries. This portion of the mission field is less vigorously cultivated than might be expected. A large proportion of the English population are members of the English Church, and the whole number of chaplains of the Church and of missionaries is 32; while the number of Protestant dissenting missionaries is 27.

Diocese of Colombo, including Ceylon. *Bishop*, the Right Rev. James Chapman, D. D. Consecrated 1845, with 6 Missionaries. A Theological Institution for Ceylon to train up a native ministry is in contemplation, to be called the "College of St. Thomas the Apostle of India." The English government have declined any assistance, and the plan rests with the Church at home. There are reported 6 missionaries, 30 catechists, 5 chief stations, 16 districts, 30 schools, and 1,500 scholars.

Diocese of Capetown, including the Cape of Good Hope, and St. Helena. *Bishop*, Right Rev. Robert Gray, D. D. Consecrated 1847, with 17 Missionaries. The entire strength of the English establishment, is 34 ordained ministers, and 11 catechists and candidates for Holy Orders. The Governor of the Colony has promised £900 annually, for 9 additional clergy, on condition of a similar sum being raised from other sources. There are three churches at Capetown, in one of which 70 adults have been baptized within 15 months, all colored, and all heathens, except three Mahometans. There has been recently established at Capetown, a Collegiate School, for the education of the youth of the colony. In the autumn of 1848 the Bishop made his first Visitation, in which he traveled 3,000 miles. At Melville he found a congregation of 130, 30 communicants and 27 candidates for confirmation, where but a few months before there were no means of grace. During the tour he confirmed near 900 candidates. To the rising settlement of Natal, where there is a population of 100,000 souls, three clergymen have just been sent. There are several Methodist and American missionaries there. The indefatigable Bishop has also just returned from a Visitation to St. Helena, of which he gives a glowing description. There are four clergymen on the island, and while there he confirmed 500 persons, about one tenth of the population; consecrated one church and five burial grounds. He also summoned a meeting of the inhabitants of the island, at which the Governor presided, at which measures were adopted for the more vigorous extension of the Church.

Diocese of Sydney, including New South Wales. *Bishop*, Right Rev. William G. Broughton, D. D. Consecrated 1836, with 17 Missionaries. This is the Metropolitical See, to which the Bishop was inducted January 27, 1848, the sixtieth anniversary of the foundation of the Colony. In the "squatting districts" so called, the population is rapidly increasing, and the state of religion deplorable. The Cathedral is advancing toward completion, and within the year several new churches have been finished. St. James' College has furnished four persons for Holy Orders. The Bishop says that of the many thousands added by emigration, there are not ten who can contribute toward the support of the Church.

Diocese of Newcastle, including North New South Wales. *Bishop*, Right Rev. William Tyrrell, D. D. Consecrated 1847, with 6 Missionaries. There are no recent reports from this Diocese. At the last dates the Bishop had traveled about 2,000 miles, mostly on horseback, meeting everywhere a kind reception, but with fearful destitution. He implores for men thoroughly educated, and of gentlemanly manners, and able to endure hardness as good soldiers. Three young men, settlers, have presented themselves as candidates for Holy Orders.

Diocese of Melbourne, including Port Philip. *Bishop*, Right Rev. Charles Perry, D. D. Consecrated 1847, with 5 Missionaries. In this Diocese are 15 districts, whole number of clergy 16, four churches. The Bishop has already set himself to work, and he reports that most important results in this colony, depend upon immediate exertions to give direction to the character of the population.

Diocese of Adelaide, including South and West Australia. *Bishop*, Right Rev. Augustus Short, D. D. Consecrated 1847, with 11 Missionaries. The Bishop has consecrated 10 churches, and 6 more are nearly ready. The colony is rapidly improving in its social character. A Collegiate School has been endowed, beautifully situated near Adelaide, and contains 41 pupils. The advance of religion among the colonists is very cheering, and the attendance upon the services of the Church more regular and full. In West Australia the population is 4,600, of which 2,700 are of the Church of England, yet the Romanists have a Bishop, several priests, and lay brothers, and four Sisters of Mercy.

Diocese of New Zealand. *Bishop*, Right Rev. George A. Selwyn, D. D. Consecrated 1841, with 7 Missionaries. St. John's College at Auckland is already yielding its fruits; eight students have been admitted to Deacon's Orders. The College lands consist of 850 acres, beautifully situated. There is no difficulty in procuring promising scholars. The Bishop believes in the possibility of civilizing the whole rising generation of the New Zealanders. In the Otaki settlement, a site has been selected for Trinity College, and it has been agreed that 500 or 600 acres shall be freely given to the Bishop for this purpose.

Diocese of Tasmania, including Van Dieman's Land. *Bishop*, Right Rev. Francis R. Nixon, D. D. Consecrated 1842, with 4 Missionaries. The whole number of the clergy in this Diocese is 50, and consists of Colonial and Missionary Chaplains. Besides these are many religious instructors maintained by the Crown for services in gaols and convict stations. Many of these are of the Church of Rome. The Bishop has, since 1848, held 11 Ordinations. Christ's College consists of a Warden, and three Fellows, all in Holy Orders; three lay Fellows, selected from candidates for Holy Orders, six scholars and 18 additional students. The Diocese suffers greatly from being the receptacle of expatriated felons of the British Empire. There are two large Grammar schools under the care of English clergymen; and parochial schools containing 1,500 children. The colony contains a population of 74,000 souls, which has been doubled within ten years.

We have thus given a very brief and imperfect abstract of the condition of the Missions of this venerable Society. We hope enough has been presented to induce the conviction, that the Church of England, taunted by her foes as a mere State Institution, accused of worldliness, and lethargy, and corruption, even by some of her own sons, is yet doing a great and marvelous work, by which she is standing foremost among all modern Christians in the Missionary cause. We cannot as American Churchmen survey her wide missionary fields blossoming for the harvest, without shame and humiliation at our own comparative supineness and barrenness.

It ought to be added that in many of the fields occupied by this Society, there are also missionaries sustained by other Societies of the English Church.

CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

For the last report of this Society we are indebted to the kindness of the Rev. T. H. Horne, B. D. We glean from it the following account of its operations during the year, the Fiftieth Year of its existence. The celebration of the Jubilee Year has been improved to give a new impetus to its operations. During the year, Her Majesty the Queen and Prince Albert have enrolled themselves as members of the Society, who also made a joint donation of one hundred pounds. The entire income for the year was £154,130 18*s.* 5*d.*, or about $770,000. During the year, three clergymen and three wives of clergymen have died; ten clergymen, one layman, and one female teacher have left their stations, chiefly on account of ill health; one African layman has come to England to prepare for Ordination; five additional clergymen and one female teacher have been sent out; and six clergymen, one European and one African layman, have returned to their labors. There are 184 laborers, exclusive of the wives of Missionaries, in connection with the Society, and 1327 native catechists and teachers.

MISSIONS.—West Africa Mission.—Established 1804; 15 ordained European Missionaries; 1 ordained country-born Missionary; 2 ordained native Missionaries at the Islington Institution; 2 European catechists; 1 European surgeon; 2 European female teachers; 6 native catechists; 46 native teachers; 9 native female teachers; 15 stations; 2018 communicants; 6910 attendants on public worship; 2 seminaries; 56 students; 41 schools; 5506 scholars. This Mission within the colony of Sierra-Leone is exceedingly promising. Several of the Churches will contain 800 or 1000 people, and are well filled, some of them crowded. There are about 2000 communicants, and as many more candidates. The system of education is extensive and thorough, and the ultimate employment of a vigorous native clergy is steadily aimed at.

Abbeokuta Mission.—Commenced 1845; 5 ordained European Missionaries; 1 native ordained Missionary; 5 native schoolmasters; 2 stations; 52 communicants; 720 attendants on public worship; 6 schools; 369 scholars. This Mission has already become highly prosperous. The reports from the Missionaries are of the most cheering character.

Mediterranean Mission.—Established in 1815. There are three stations. *Syra;* where there are 1 ordained European Missionary; 1 European teacher; 4 native teachers; 4 native female teachers; 9 communicants; 5 schools; 494 scholars. *Smyrna;* where there are 1 ordained European Missionary; 1 European lay assistant; 1 native assistant. *Cairo;* where there are 2 ordained European Missionaries; 1 European teacher; 1 native teacher; 1 native female teacher; 17 communicants; 1 school; 100 scholars. This Mission, for some cause, has been less successful than those among the heathen. A Coptic Institution, to raise up a Ministry for the Coptic Church, has failed and been closed. Two Romish Priests have lately renounced Romanism and embraced the true faith. An expulsion of Romish Missionaries from Abyssinia is reported. Applications are now made to the Society, from Bishop Gobat and others, to extend their efforts among the Greek and Chaldean Christians in Syria and Mesopotamia. The Society express a cautious policy, but will make inquiries with a view to ultimate labors.

East-African Mission.—Established 1844; 3 ordained European Missionaries; 1 Lay European Assistant; 1 school; 5 scholars. The efforts of these Missionaries have been mostly employed in exploring this new country, which is represented as affording Alpine scenery, and having a people most favorably situated for Christian exertion. No Christian can read the journal of Mr. *Rebmann*, without sharing in his hopes for that beautiful and benighted land.

Bombay and Western-India Mission.—Established 1820; 6 ordained European Missionaries; 1 European catechist; 3 East-Indian catechists; 1 East-Indian female teacher; 8 native catechists; 22 native schoolmasters; 4 stations; 29 communicants; 24 schools; 1267 scholars.

Calcutta and North-India Mission.—Established 1816; 29 ordained European Missionaries; 7 European catechists; 1 European female teacher; 6 East-Indian teachers; 1 East-Indian female teacher; 65 native catechists and readers; 93 native schoolmasters; 16 native female teachers; 20 stations; 1123 communicants; 3087 attendants on public worship; 83 schools; 5423 scholars.

Madras and South-India Mission.—Established 1814; 25 ordained European Missionaries; 3 East-Indian ordained Missionaries; 5 native ordained Missionaries; 2 European catechists; 1 European printer; 4 European female teachers; 8 East-Indian catechists and teachers; 97 native catechists; 386 native schoolmasters; 2 East-Indian schoolmistresses; 65 native schoolmistresses; 18 stations; 3552 communicants; 297 seminaries and schools; 8315 scholars.

By reference to the above statistics it will be seen that the Missions of the English Church in her East-India possessions are carried on upon a gigantic scale. We regret our want of room for particulars. At a single Confirmation, by Bishop Wilson, in the Cathedral Church at Calcutta, 160 native converts received that rite. The whole report shows that a solid foundation is laid for a great work in India.

CEYLON MISSION.—Established 1816; 10 ordained European Missionaries; 8 native ordained Missionaries; 28 native catechists; 60 native schoolmasters; 14 native schoolmistresses; 6 stations; 306 communicants; 3037 attendants on public worship; 3 seminaries; 46 seminarists; 69 schools; 2531 scholars.

The Missionaries report that they regard the education of *one* female equal in value to the education of *five* boys. At this mission, the former indifference of the heathens has given place to an active and vigorous opposition. An opposition heathen school has been started. The superstitions of Buddhism are deeply rooted in the minds of the heathens, yet the Christian congregations are large as ever.

CHINA MISSION.—Established in 1844; 4 ordained European Missionaries. This Mission is in its infancy. The erection of a Church, the establishment of a College, and the translation of Christian Books into Chinese, are among the contemplated labors.

NEW ZEALAND MISSION.—Established 1814; 17 ordained European Missionaries; 10 European catechists and teachers; 3 European female teachers; 311 native catechists and teachers; 47 native female teachers; 28 stations; 5012 communicants.

The Missionaries declare that "*a Training Institution for Native Teachers is the crowning work of a prosperous Mission.*" The conflicts between the settlers and the natives have retarded the missionary work, but a better feeling is returning. The number of communicants is increasing.

WEST-INDIES MISSION.—Established 1827. *British Guiana.*—2 ordained European Missionaries; 1 European teacher; 1 European female teacher; 2 country-born teachers; 1 station; 70 communicants; 200 attendants on public worship; 2 schools; 66 scholars. *Jamaica.*—1 ordained European Missionary; 1 European catechist; 2 stations; 700 communicants; 778 scholars.

NORTH-WEST AMERICA MISSION.—Established 1823; 4 ordained European Missionaries; 4 European schoolmasters; 5 country-born schoolmasters; 4 stations; 464 communicants; 1649 attendants on public worship; 17 schools; 602 scholars. This Mission is among the Indians in the British North American possessions. The self-denying Missionaries encounter the violent opposition of Romish priests.

We have thus given a summary of the operations of the Church Missionary Society. By comparing it with the report in our previous number, it will be seen that the Missions are, with few exceptions, steadily advancing. The committee close their encouraging report with an earnest appeal for more Missionaries and more money.

SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE.

The Report of this Society for 1849, for which we are indebted to the Rev. Thos. Hartwell Horne, indicates that the Society was never in a more vigorous condition than at the present time. It has just celebrated its 150th anniversary. It, at first, in 1698–9, numbered only five persons as members, of whom the Rev. Dr. Thomas Bray was especially active. He labored to promote Charity Schools, to plant the Church in the Colonies, and once crossed the Atlantic at his own cost; and to establish Lending Libraries in destitute districts. Dr. Bray was chiefly instrumental in establishing the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, in 1701, to which Society was committed the work of preaching the Gospel, and the Christian Knowledge Society adhered to its own more particular object. It will thus be seen that this Society is the parent of those Missionary operations in the Mother Church, which are the praise and hope of true Christianity. It now numbers 17,150 members; and it has recently voted £14,000 towards Colleges and Christian Schools, in seven Dioceses; viz. New Zealand, Adelaide, Melbourne, New Castle, Cape Town, Columbo, and Victoria. It has from the beginning, distributed upwards of 94,000,000 books and tracts in 21 different languages; and it has now almost a *million and a half* of scholars under its instruction. The

American Church was, in its early history, the recipient of the bounty of this Society; and it is believed that books with its imprint may now be found in many of our Parish Libraries. The receipts for the year past were £32,440 0s. 1*d.*, or about 160,000 dollars. There are in the kingdom of Great Britain 360 Diocesan and District Committees, who promote the interests of the parent Society by increasing its funds, by enlarging the sphere of its operations, by facilitating communication with its country members, and by scattering its publications. In the list of its "Foreign Translation Committee," we find the names of many of the most accomplished scholars of the age.

CONVERSION OF ROMANISTS.

We find in our English papers a notice of the following Society, established to labor directly for the conversion to the true Faith, of Romanists in Ireland. The details given in the Reports of the Missionaries are highly encouraging.

IRISH SOCIETY OF LONDON.—(Instituted in 1822.)—For Promoting the Education and Religious Instruction of the Native Irish, through the Medium of their own Language.

Vice-patron.—The Right Hon. and Most Rev. His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury.

President.—The Most Hon. the Marquis of Blandford.

Treasurer.—Captain the Hon. Francis Maude, R. N.

Bankers.—Messrs. Drummond and Co., Charing-cross.

Office of the Society, 32, Sackville-street, Piccadilly.

The field of labor of the Irish Society consists of all the Irish-speaking districts of Ireland, except Connemara and the parishes of Taghmaconnell and Rooveagh.

The Society labors in the native districts, where upwards of 3,000,000 of the population speak the Irish language.

Its operations are carried on in almost every county in Ireland.

Ten Irish-speaking Clergymen are in connection with it, who read the Liturgy and preach the Gospel in the native tongue. Two more will (D. V.) commence their labors within a few weeks.

Seventeen congregations of converts have been raised up, or are now ministered to, through the instrumentality of the Society.

Many Roman Catholics not included in those distinct congregations have been brought, through the blessing of Almighty God upon the Society's labors, to renounce the errors of Rome, and are now incorporated with old Protestant congregations.

Some groups of converts, who have been instructed by the Society, are asking for Irish Clergymen to be located amongst them.

The Bible in the Irish language is extensively circulated by means of the Society.

Several applications have been made for the Book of Common Prayer in the native tongue for the use of the more advanced converts.

There are now 800 Teachers connected with it, who instruct the native Irish in reading the Word of God. Since the commencement, 300,000 individuals, chiefly adults, have thus been taught to read the Scriptures, many of whom embraced the Protestant faith.

More than one hundred Scripture Readers are employed, who read the Irish Bible in the cabins, or to groups of the peasantry at work in their fields, or by the roadside.

The Rector of one of the parishes in Erris states that a large proportion of the population "sigh for an opportunity of casting off Popery for ever."

In one locality of this district, 343 heads of families have petitioned for a Protestant church and minister.

Many of the converts from Romanism, recently confirmed by the Bishop of Tuam, are the fruits of this Society.

IMPORTANT MOVEMENT.—*The London Union on Church Matters.* Several of the metropolitan and other clergy have united together to effect a most important change in the present relations of Church and State; not as it would appear to abolish the union now existing, but to restore to the Church certain sacred prerogatives which have been wrested from her, and especially to place the government of the Church in the hands of Convocation. The evil, however, as it seems to us, lies far deeper than this. The Church should never rest till she possesses the power to *elect* her own Bishops and her own Deans, for so long as this power is really vested in the prime Minister, the restoration of Convocation is not a single step taken in the way of reform. That there is a steady warfare going on in England against the Established Church, that one outpost after another has already been carried, that this spirit is gathering strength and boldness every year, and that every form and extreme of religion and irreligion will stand shoulder to shoulder against her, is absolutely certain. An attempt to appease and quiet such a spirit by compromise is madness. The sooner she takes her stand immovably the better. Her worst enemies are within her own fold.

REV. MR. GORHAM AND THE BISHOP OF EXETER.—This case, which has attracted the most serious attention in England, and, for several reasons, in this country also, was brought before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council on Tuesday, December 11th. There were present, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishop of London, the Marquis of Lansdowne, the Earl of Carlisle, (all of whom attended as Councillors simply, and by command of the Queen,) and Lord Campbell (a Presbyterian,) Lord Langdale, Mr. Baron Parke, Vice-Chancellor Knight Bruce, Dr. Lushington, Sir E. Ryan, and Mr. Pemberton Leigh. It was, to say the least, a singularly constituted Court. Mr. Turner and Dr. Bayford appeared for Mr. Gorham, and Dr. Addams and Mr. Baddeley for the Bishop of Exeter. Mr. Turner occupied the whole of Tuesday and a part of Wednesday in behalf of Mr. Gorham, contending mostly by an historical argument, for the admissibility of Mr. Gorham's view of Baptismal Regeneration. Dr. Addams commenced his speech in behalf of the Bishop on the 12th, and concluded on the 14th, when he was followed by Mr. Baddeley on the same side. The whole argument occupied five days. The great speech of the trial was that of Mr. Baddeley, who presented an historical argument exhibiting great research. Their Lordships delayed their judgment, and up to this hour it has not reached us.

PARLIAMENTARY NEWS.

CLERGY PROCEEDINGS BILL.—The Bishop of London, on the 5th of February, introduced a Bill in the House of Lords, for the erection of a *new* Court of Appeal in all suits against clergymen for heresy and false doctrine, and to take the place of the present "Judicial Committee of the Privy Council," before which was brought the case of Mr. Gorham and the Bishop of Exeter. We see it stated, that it is intended the new Court shall consist of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the three senior Bishops according to their dates of consecration, the Lord Chancellor, the Dean of the Court of Arches, the Judge of the Consistory Court of London, and the Regius and Margaret Professors of Divinity of Oxford and Cambridge.

ECCLESIASTICAL COMMISSION BILL.—On the 11th of February the Marquis of Lansdowne moved the second reading of a bill with the above title. Its object is to place the management of the Church revenues in the hands of three Commissioners; one to be named by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and two by the Crown; also to consolidate the Episcopal and common funds; to secure fixed incomes to Archbishops and Bishops appointed after January 1, 1848, and to limit the incomes of the future Deans of York to £2,500; of the present Deans of Salisbury and Wells to £1,500; and of the future Deans of Chichester, Exeter, Hereford, Lichfield, Salisbury and Wells, to £1,000. The Commission was first appointed in 1835, and consisted of 13 members; in 1840 it was enlarged to 49, including the whole number of Bishops. The general fund is estimated to amount to £300,000.

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CHURCH REVIEW.

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ROMISH AND ANGLICAN TEACHINGS UPON JUSTIFICATION, COMPARED.

ART. I.—*Moehler's Symbolism, Chapters II and III.*

Concilii Tridentini Canones et Decreta, Sess. 5 *et* 6. *Mechliniae. Cum approbatione,* 1826.

Book of Homilies of English and American Churches.

Articles of Religion of English and American Churches. Specialim Articles, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14.

THE circumstances of the Church, in the middle ages of Christianity, brought about the great discussions of the subject of Justification and its kindred and connected subjects, which characterized the sixteenth century, and which resulted in the separation of the reformed bodies from the communion of the See of Rome. The theology of the Schoolmen, magnifying, as it did, the native power of fallen man, and asserting the reality of human merit as a ground of acceptance with God, had taken possession of the Western Church; and in the corrupt practice of that Church, external observances, such as mere attendance upon the worship and sacraments of the Church, and pilgrimages, and payments for Indulgences, and a resort to relics and superstitious charms, were relied

upon as the grounds of Justification, as the means of working out salvation. Earnest men in the Church gave themselves to the examination, from the foundation, of this whole structure of corrupted Christianity; and as the result of the examination, they pronounced the very foundation unsound. They acknowledged that there had been a strange forgetfulness of the true nature and grounds and mode of our Justification by Christ, and they revived what seemed to them the true Scriptural and Primitive Doctrine of Justification.

Such was the course pursued by men who lived and died in the communion of the Romish Church, and in high places of honor in that Church. At the head of this class of men was the celebrated Gasper Contarini, of whom Cardinal Pole said, "that nothing was unknown to him, which the human mind had discovered by its own powers of investigation, or which God's grace had imparted to it." He wrote a tract on Justification, in which he advocated that doctrine of Justification, which Luther, at that time, was bringing forward as the very basis of his great movement. Of this tract of Contarini's, Pole says, writing to Contarini, "Thou hast brought to light that jewel which the Church kept half buried." "These convictions," says Prof. Ranke, "spread just like a literary opinion or tendency, over a great part of Italy."

With the maintenance of this doctrine in the Romish Church, was connected an attempt, urged forward with zeal by Contarini, to effect a reformation of the abuses of the Papacy. This remarkable man was, at one time, possessed with the belief, suggested by ardent hope, that desired reform would take place, and that the Romish Church would settle itself formally and positively upon the old foundations of the Christian faith. The nearest approach which was made to a union between the Romish Church and the Protestants, was at the Conference of Ratisbon, in the year 1541. The most moderate as well as intelligent theologians, Gropper, Julius Pflug, Bucer, Melancthon, were selected, on both sides, to manage this discussion, and Contarini was appointed the Papal Legate for the occasion. They came to an agreement, in this Conference, on the four points of Human Nature, Original Sin, Redemption, and Justification. This result, by good men in the Church, was hailed with expressions of the deepest delight. But, alas! other influences were at work to disturb and rend asunder this promised, almost realized, unity. Political jealousy in France, in Germany, and at Rome, prevented the acceptance of the theological concord, which had been effected at Ratisbon, and Contarini returned

to Italy to mourn over the rejection of his project, and the blasting of his most dearly cherished hopes for the welfare and unity of the Church.

The two great parties which then divided Western Christendom never afterwards came together. The Protestants, on the one hand, and the Romish Church on the other, developed separately their respective systems, and unfortunately that development was one, which fastened upon the Romish Church a rejection of the old ground of the Primitive Catholic Church, and of the Scriptural and primitive doctrine of Justification.

In the discussions of the Council of Trent, there was no opportunity for a fair hearing of that view of Justification, in which Contarini and Melancthon had been willing to concur. These discussions were conducted, while the Emperor, in concert with the Pope, was subduing the Protestants of Germany by force of arms; and opinions approximating to those of the Protestants could hardly have expected, as they did not receive candid consideration or respectful attention in the Romish Council, whose policy was the same with that which led to the reduction of the Protestants by the sword. The advocates of views like those of the Protestants, in the Council of Trent, found that in entreating the Council "not to reject an opinion for no other reason than because it was maintained by Luther," they were speaking to the wind; and Pole and the Archbishop of Siena, in despair of a candid hearing for what they deemed the truth, left the Council. Mendoza, the Spanish Ambassador, wrote to the Emperor, "The English Cardinal has done himself hurt by his language respecting Justification." It is not strange, if a doctrine, thus suppressed and overborne, should attract the sympathy of the lovers of truth and fair discussion; and judging from the external history of the controversy, one would be very much prepossessed by the presumption that the truth lay with Melancthon and Contarini and Pole, and not with Caraffa and the Jesuits, who were clearly in close alliance with the prevailing political powers of the time.

But laying aside mere presumptions, and leaving the above sketch of the history of the discussion to speak for itself, we proceed to consider what were the results on this great subject of Justification, which were reached by the Council of Trent on the one hand, and what, on the other hand, was the teaching opposed to that of Trent, as it was embodied especially in the definitions of the English Church that were drawn up after the decrees of the Council of Trent upon Justification.

The Council of Trent followed, in its doctrinal decrees, the outlines of the theological teachings of the Schoolmen, though it certainly modified some of the extreme views, which the Schoolmen had been accustomed to advocate. Justification, according to the teaching of the Council,* is "a translation from that state in which man is born the son of the first Adam, into the state of grace, and adoption of sons of God, by the second Adam, Jesus Christ, our Saviour." It declares the necessity of preventing grace in adults, to prepare and move them to Justification before God. From this preventing grace, if men receive it and act upon its impulses, proceed belief† that "those things are true which have been divinely revealed and promised;" elevation from "fear of divine justice" to "hope" of divine mercy; the beginning of love to God as the source of all righteousness; "hatred and detestation" of sin "through that repentance which must be exercised before baptism;" and last of all, "resolution to undertake baptism, to begin a new life, and to keep the divine commandments." "This‡ disposition or preparation is followed by Justification itself," and this is "not only remission of sins, but also sanctification and renewing of the inner man by the voluntary reception of grace and of gifts, whence a just man is made of an unjust, and a friend of an enemy, that he may be an heir according to the hope of eternal life. Of this Justification the causes are:—the final cause, the glory of God and of Christ, and eternal life; the efficient cause, the merciful God, who gratuitously washes and sanctifies, signing and anointing with the Holy Spirit of Promise, which is the pledge of our inheritance; the meritorious cause, his most beloved, only begotten, our Lord Jesus Christ, who, when we were enemies, on account of His abounding love, with which He loved us by His own most holy Passion on the wood of the Cross, merited Justification for us, and satisfied for us, to God the Father; the instrumental cause, the sacrament of baptism, which is the sacrament of faith, without which Justification never happened to any one; finally, the only formal cause is the righteousness of God, *not that by which He Himself is just, but that by which He makes us just, with which being presented by Him, we are renewed in the spirit of our mind, and are not only accounted, but are truly named and are just, receiving righteousness in ourselves, each one according to his measure, which the Holy Spirit distributes to each as He will, and according to each man's disposition and coöperation.*"

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* Sess. VI, Cap. iv. † Cap. vi. ‡ Cap. viii.

Here, in this definition of the formal cause of Justification, is the grand peculiarity of the Trentine doctrine of Justification. The Council anathematizes* those who say, that "*men are formally justified by the righteousness of Christ.*" It declares Justification the act of making just by a quality infused, and not accounting just for the righteousness of Christ. Moehler, no unfair interpreter of the Council of Trent certainly, says, in explaining the doctrine of the Council,† "In other words, Justification is considered to be sanctification and forgiveness of sins, as the latter is involved in the former, and the former in the latter; it is considered an infusion of the love of God into our hearts, through the Holy Spirit; and the interior state of justified man is regarded as holy feeling; as a sanctified inclination of the will; as habitual pleasure and joy in the divine law; as a decided and active disposition to fulfill the same in all the occurrences of life; in short, as a way of feeling, which is, in itself, acceptable and well pleasing in the sight of God. When God declares man to be just and well pleasing to Him, he really is so." Again, (p. 189,) "As little can be disputed, that the words, 'justify,' 'rechtfertigen,' 'δικαιοῦν,' 'justificare,' signify also to acquit. This signification is used when we speak of just or innocent men, who have been acquitted by their judges of the charges brought against them; who, after inquiry instituted, had been pronounced to be what they are—guiltless. This sense, in the matter under consideration, is inadmissible, because the question is not about just and innocent men, who have been wickedly brought before the judical tribunal, but about men really and truly guilty and unrighteous. Here we see the real signification of the Greek word above adduced, and of the corresponding Hebrew and Latin words, namely, "to make just." And so he says expressly, (p. 220,) "This confidence is itself only one phase in the history of love. Accordingly our sins are not, in the first place, forgiven us; so that, in consequence of this consciousness, we love, *but because we confidingly love and lovingly confide, they are forgiven. In our interior life,* forgiveness of sins and sanctification are simultaneous, or, as St. Thomas Aquinas excellently expresses it, the infusion of grace and the remission of sins, like the illumination of any space, and the dispersion of darkness, are one and the same thing." "Faith," in the Romish system,‡ "is the beginning of human salvation, the foundation and root of all justification, without which it is impossible to please God

* Sess. VI, Can. x. † Page 188. ‡ Sess. VI, Cap, viii.

and attain to the fellowship of His sons." And, since Justification is an inherent quality of the soul, which is, in itself, acceptable to God; since, in other words, its essence is the true righteousness of the soul itself, and not that of Christ our Lord, the Council of Trent maintains* the progressive character of Justification, declaring that the justified, 'by observance of the commands of God and the Church, increase in that righteousness which is accepted through the grace of Christ, faith coöperating with good works, and are more justified." The Council also teaches† most distinctly, the true merit of the good works of the justified, and that of these good works, heaven is the meritorious reward.

Connected with the Romish doctrine of Justification, is the teaching of Trent concerning the manner in which the grace of Justification, when lost, is again acquired by the sacrament of penance. In this sacrament,‡ the eternal punishment of sin, together with the fault, is remitted; but there yet remains a load of temporal punishment, by the endurance of which, or by indulgences from which, men make satisfaction for sins; and to make these satisfactions, becomes the great object of the justified man, in working out his salvation under the guidance of the Church.

Such are the great features of the Romish doctrine of Justification. In representing the doctrine which was opposed to this, in the days of Trent, by those who then separated from the Romish communion, as well as by men of distinction in that communion, Romish controversialists are strangely unfair, or incapable of seeing the doctrine which they oppose, as it really is. We know not where to find a more complete caricature of the truth, than is to be found, for example, in the representations which Moehler gives, in the third chapter of his work, of the Lutheran doctrine of Justification. He argues against this doctrine in a way which shows that he either apprehends not, or chooses not to recognize, its fundamental principles. The sense in which the Lutheran teachers rejected good works, meaning simply to reject their merit before God, he leaves out of view, and argues as if they did not maintain the necessity of holiness in the soul of the justified, or the necessity of good works as the fruits of the faith by which man is justified. He argues, (p. 215,) also against the Lutheran notion of Justification by faith, as if the peculiarity of it consisted in representing faith

* Cap. x. † Cap. xvi, et Can. xxxii.

‡ Sess. XIV, Can. xiii et xv, et Cap. viii, Cf. etiam Sess. VI, Caput xiv, Cf. etiam Sess. xxv, Decret. de Indulgentiis.

as in itself a quality so acceptable to God, that by its inherent supereminent excellence we are justified; when such a notion is one which the Lutherans utterly repudiated, and simply represented faith as the means of connexion with that righteousness of Christ which is the true and only ground of our Justification.

We have merely adverted, in passing, to this fallacious mode of argumentation employed by Moehler, it not being our object to expose in detail his misstatements of Lutheran teaching. We desire rather to oppose to the teaching of Rome on the subject of Justification, that of the Anglican Church. This teaching is, that our Justification is the act of God, in which He accounts the sinners whom he justifies, righteous "only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by faith." The merit of Christ is the merit of our Justification; the essence of our Justification is such application of this merit to those who are justified, that for the sake of it, they are accounted righteous—that is, their sins are remitted, and they are admitted to the favor of God, to be children and heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ. By faith, they trust in the merit of Christ for forgiveness and acceptance, and the Justification which is accorded to this faith, is sealed and conveyed through the "one baptism for the remission of sins."* The faith by which we are justified is a lively faith; it is a real devotion of ourselves to the Saviour of mankind; and "good works," (Art. 12,) are "the fruits of faith," which "spring out necessarily of a true and lively faith; insomuch that by them a lively faith may be as evidently known, as a tree discerned by the fruit." Justification is conferred upon none, but such as are united with Christ by a faith appropriating His grace, and by the power of His Spirit, so that they are in Him, and thus in the energy of His holy life, walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit. The Spirit, which conveys to individuals the grace of Justification, is also the Spirit of sanctification, who prepares the justified, in the progressive work of holiness, for the inheritance, to which "only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ," they receive a title in the great act of their Justification; and as the priv-

* Compare in addition to Nicene Creed, Homily on salvation. "Infants being *baptized* and dying in their infancy, are by this sacrifice, washed from their sins, brought to God's favor, and made his children and inheritors of his kingdom of heaven." Same Homily, part 3, "after that we are *baptized* or *justified*." Same Homily, part 2, "to obtain thereby God's grace and remission, as well of our original sin *in baptism*, as of all actual sin committed by us after our baptism, if we truly repent," &c. Compare also with each other Art. 13 and 16, and their titles.

ilege of those who, by Justification, have become the children of God, the sanctifying influences of the Holy Spirit of Christ, the fountain and sole ground of our Justification, are conferred upon them. The expression "by faith only," as applied to our Justification, is meant, according to the clear explanation of the Homily on salvation, to exclude any *merits* of our own works or religious dispositions, any merits but those of Christ, as the procuring cause of our Justification, and is not meant, as the same Homily declares, to exclude the presence of all right religious dispositions with faith in the soul of the justified. On the other hand, the necessity of these religious dispositions to continuance in a state of grace, is expressly and fully declared in the Articles and Homilies of the Church.

The differences between Romish and Anglican teaching on the subject of Justification, which are most worthy of note, are the following. They differ in the causes of Justification, which they respectively assign. The Council of Trent* expressly anathematizes the assertion, that "men are formally justified by the righteousness of Christ," and asserts† our own inherent righteousness to be the formal cause of Justification. Now the English Church makes that very assertion, which the Council of Trent anathematizes, and declares the righteousness of Christ to be the formal cause of our Justification, since it is that for which those are "accounted righteous," who otherwise would be treated as sinners. Moehler, (p. 227, note,) in commenting upon this peculiarity of the Protestant doctrine of Justification, is betrayed into one of those mere verbal reductiones in absurdum of his opponents' views, into which his hair-splitting subtilty often leads him. He says, "Chemnitius desires the obedience of Christ should be also the *causa formalis*, that is to say, should become our own, without ourselves being obliged to be obedient; it is to become subjective without becoming subjective!!" The answer to this sophism of Moehler is plainly and simply this:— The righteousness of Christ is the formal cause of our Justification, not because it is *in us*, but because it is *in that act of Justification, by which God justifies us*, as its essential, moving, actuating, forming principle. That act terminates upon the justified man as its object, and of it he derives the fruit and advantage, and he is put in possession of it by the Spirit of God taking up its residence in him, and shedding abroad through his whole nature, as through a holy temple, its sanctifying influence. This statement causes to disappear at once

* Sess. VI, Can. x. † Sess. VI, Cap. vii.

that absurdity which Moehler attributes to the Protestant view of Justification, as if by declaring the righteousness of Christ to be the formal cause of Justification, it asserted that to be our own, which it also says is not our own, that to become subjective, which at the same time does not become subjective.

Another point of difference between the Romish and Anglican standards on the subject of Justification, is in the views which are given of the value of good works. No writings can be more express and full than the standards of the English and American Churches in asserting the necessity of good works in the justified man, to continuance in his state of Justification, and to the attainment of the rewards of Heaven; but they deny that works which are performed by the powerful energy and assistance of divine grace, are truly deserving of Heaven, so that by them we merit our own salvation. In opposition to this, the Council of Trent expressly teaches,* "We must not believe that any thing is wanting to those who are justified, but that they may be counted *to have fully satisfied the divine law*, according to the state of this life, by those works which have been wrought in God, and *to have truly merited* eternal life to be obtained in its own season, if so be that they depart this life in grace." This proud odious doctrine of human merit, is therefore most distinctly recognized by the Romish Church, as it is most plainly denied by the Anglican Church.

There is a difference too, in the place which they respectively assign to faith in the great work of Justification. The English Church represents faith as the means or principle within us, by which we accept the grace of Justification, and attach ourselves to Christ the Justifier, and rely upon his merits for Justification. The Council of Trent† says, that "we are said to be justified by faith, because faith is the *beginning* of human salvation; *the foundation and root* of all Justification, without which it is impossible to please God and attain to the fellowship of His sons." That is, since inward religious dispositions, which "satisfy the divine law," (cap. xvi,) are the essence or the "formal cause" of our Justification, faith which is the root from which these dispositions spring, may be said to be the principle of our Justification; a principle, however, which is itself meritorious, and not one which simply, according to the teaching of the Anglican Church, connects us with the meritoriousness of Christ.

Another great difference between the two classes of doc-

* Sess. VI, Cap. xvi. † Sess. VI, Cap. viii.

trine, which we are contrasting, is in the statements, which they respectively make, of the efficacy of repentance. The Romish Church has most unwarrantably imposed upon its members, in the name of Christ, the sacrament of penance, though this piece of her presumption, it does not fall in with our immediate object particularly to consider. She teaches, however, that absolution of sins after baptism is only partial, covering only the eternal penalty and the guilt of sin, and leaving satisfactions for sin to be made, by the sinner thus absolved, under the name of temporal penalties of transgression. This invention of man the English Church utterly repudiates; and she maintains that when God forgives the sinner, He entirely forgives him for the sake of Christ, that the satisfaction of Christ is fully adequate and fully applied to all the purposes for which remission is needed, or for which it has been provided in the Gospel.

The points of difference which have been noticed, are the principal ones which distinguish Anglican from Romish teaching on the subject of Justification, and we proceed to investigate these systems, as they are tested by Scripture and Catholic antiquity, and also as they develop themselves in their respective fruits and consequences. The controversies of days which succeeded the Apostolic, till the sixteenth century, did not lead to such precise definitions of the doctrine of Justification, as those which were made in that century; and it was a noticeable ordinance of the Providence of God, that when the occasion called for a true and accurate definition of this great Christian doctrine, such a definition, accompanied by a full and clear exposition, had been already prepared and laid up for the emergencies of the Church, in the writings of St. Paul. The controversies which led to his exposition, made under the guidance of Inspiration, were similar in their principles to those which arose in the sixteenth century, and all that the lovers of truth had to do was to fall back upon his statements, and to adduce and enforce them as most suitable to the exigency which then existed.

In his Epistles to the Romans and to the Galatians, St. Paul discusses this subject and declares the truth concerning it. In the opening chapters of the Epistle to the Romans, he sets forth the condition of the Gentile and the Jewish world, that he may show all men to be violators of the law of God, and consequently sinners before Him, and justly abiding under His condemnation. He shows that justification for sinners is impossible by a system of law, since all men have transgressed the law which has been delivered to them, and cannot, of

course, obtain that Justification, which comes from a strict observance of the requisitions of law. He does not oppose Justification by Christ, simply to that Justification which the Jews sought by observance of the ceremonial law, but chiefly to that legal Justification which it was impossible for Jews and Gentiles to obtain from the moral law, because they had broken it and thus failed to furnish the ground of Justification which the Law demanded. Under these circumstances, legal Justification was out of the question for all men, "for *all* have sinned," and an entirely different ground of Justification must be laid, and that has been furnished "freely by his grace through the Redemption that is in Christ Jesus." Him "hath God set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood," and this is "the righteousness" which he hath "declared" "for the remission of sins that are past," "that he might be just and the Justifier of him which believeth in Jesus." The propitiation of Christ is thus clearly represented by the Apostle as *the ground* on which God extends to the believer in Christ, the free grace of Justification; and "faith in his blood," *the means* by which we appropriate the Justification, which is offered to us. And the conclusion is couched in the words of the Apostle himself:—"Therefore we conclude that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of law." Now if we are justified by our own inherent righteousness, no matter whence derived, this conclusion would not be true; for such inherent righteousness, though it were produced in us by the operation of the Spirit of God, would nevertheless be a performance of the requirements of law, and if such righteousness were our justification, we should be justified by the deeds of law, and the conclusion of the Apostle would not stand. A righteousness which justifies men, which would procure for them the rewards of Heaven, under a dispensation of law, would nevertheless be the offspring of the grace of God. Such *was* the righteousness of our first parents before the fall. If then the Gospel restores to us this righteousness which has been lost, to be *the ground* of evangelical Justification, there would not be that difference between legal and evangelical Justification, which appears from the statements of St. Paul.

The representations of the Apostle then are clearly in accordance with the teaching of the Anglican, and not in agreement with that of the Romish Church, so far as the ground of our Justification is concerned. And faith is also represented by the Apostle as the principle by which we connect ourselves with that righteousness of Christ which is the ground of our Justification, and not as the root or beginning of an inherent righteousness which is our Justification. He

says, our Justification "is of *faith*, that it might be by *grace*." He says, still more expressly, that "faith is counted for righteousness to him that *worketh not*, but *believeth* on Him that justifieth the ungodly." Here the Apostle unequivocally opposes Justification by faith to Justification by works, and explicitly declares the office of faith to be, to attach us to Him who justifieth the ungodly, or, in other words, to rely upon and accept the free grace of divine Justification; an office very different from that—utterly inconsistent with that—of being the root and fountain of a righteousness within us, which is our justification. Such a righteousness would be a Justification by works; and to this, the Apostle declares, Justification by faith is opposed. Here again the accordance of Scripture with Anglican Doctrine, and its disagreement with the teaching of Trent, are most plainly seen.

The assertion of St. James, that we are justified by works, is only in *apparent* discrepancy with the teaching of St. Paul. Both Apostles speak of the same Justification, even that which Abraham, the Father of the faithful, received. Both refer to his case. St. James, however, is not setting forth that righteousness, which is the ground and procuring cause of our Justification, but the nature of that Faith, which accepts this justifying righteousness. Of this he says, that faith without works is dead; that such a faith cannot be accepted of God; that to such a faith He will not apply the righteousness of Christ for the Justification of the sinner. Since, then, a lively faith—a faith which is fruitful in good works—is required for Justification, it may be truly said that we are justified by works, because we are justified by a faith which is fruitful in good works; but yet the ground of that Justification is the meritorious work of Christ, as St. Paul tells us; and the statements of St. James are not inconsistent with those of St. Paul; for St. Paul charges those who believe in God, that they be careful to maintain good works, and sets forth the faith, by which we are justified, as a faith which works by love. Neither he or St. James, however, declare the good works of faith to be the ground or the essence of our Justification. St. Paul most fully declares that those who are justified by faith in Christ, are in Christ united to Him by the power of that Spirit, who has sealed and conveyed to us the free grace of Justification; and of that union, of the indwelling of that Spirit, a holy life is the direct result; and the faith by which we are justified, gladly follows and obeys the suggestions of this indwelling, sanctifying Spirit of Him who justifies us. Thus a life and works of holiness are the direct offspring of that free Justification,

which is offered through the redemption of Christ, and appropriated by a living faith; and sanctification becomes the evidence of Justification, just as a stream bears witness to the fountain from which it flows, according to the statement of St. Paul:—"There is, therefore, now no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit." How, there is no condemnation, the Apostle has previously shown, in setting forth the great work of Christ as the ground and cause of that Justification, which is our deliverance from condemnation, and then he shows that those who are thus justified, being *in* Christ, and having His Spirit, and, by faith, yielding to the guidance of that Spirit, "walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit." Justification and Sanctification are thus exhibited by the Apostle, in their distinctness, and, at the same time, in their relation to each other; and with these representations, that confusion of Justification with Sanctification, which is made in the decrees of Trent, is utterly inconsistent. And we remark, by the way, that such an objection, as was raised by perverse men to the Justification taught by St. Paul, "What shall we say then? Shall we continue in sin, that grace may abound?" could never have been thought of against the Trentine scheme of Justification; for that is not a remission of sin to the ungodly, but an "extirpation" of sin in the very act of Justification, to use a favorite word and mode of representation of Moehler, the zealous advocate of the Trentine system.

We have shown above that the Council of Trent asserts the *true deserving* of the good works of the justified, while the English Church sets forth eternal life as a reward of *free grace* to those who are justified and sanctified by the Spirit, which takes possession of them at the time of their Justification. We need only appeal to the representations of St. Paul already referred to, to decide which of these views is in accordance with Scripture. And we simply adduce, in addition, that verse of the Epistle to the Romans, in which the Apostle utterly repudiates all idea of amalgamation between human merit and the grace of God. "And if by grace," he says, "then it is no more of works; otherwise grace is no more grace. But if it be of works, then is it no more grace; otherwise work is no more work." We know not how any expressions could be more pointedly aimed at that incongruous mixture of divine grace and human merit, which is seen in the Trentine scheme of Justification.

And equally does this opposition, which St. Paul sets forth between grace and works, disprove that strange combination

of the satisfaction of the temporal penalties of sin by man, with his deliverance from its eternal penalty and its guilt by the satisfaction of Christ, which the Council of Trent imposes upon the belief of the conscience-stricken sinner, who seeks that deliverance through Christ, which the Scriptures reveal as a *complete* deliverance effected by that one only "name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved;" also declaring, "Neither is there salvation in any other." How irreconcilable this teaching of Trent is with the scriptural doctrine of the fullness and sufficiency of Christ, we have no need to make apparent.

St. Paul explains clearly the nature of that Justification, which he teaches. It is the opposite of condemnation and of accusation. (Romans viii, 33, 34. Romans v, 16, 18.) It is synonymous with reconciliation with God. (Romans v, 9, 10.) It is reconciliation to God by the non-imputation of sin. (2 Cor. v, 19.) It is remission of sins, and that through the redemption of Christ. (Rom. v, 24, 25, 26. Cf. Acts x, 43; ii, 38; iii, 19; xxii, 16. Luke xxiv, 47.) It is in addition to remission, and besides remission, and, we may add, as a consequence of remission, admission to be heirs of God, the bestowal of a title to life eternal. (Tit. iii, 7.) In Rom. v, 18, it is expressly called "Justification of life." This remission of sin and bestowal of a title to life, which is Justification, as represented by St. Paul, is also declared to be complete, when it is conferred, and not progressive. Rom. v, 1: "*Being justified* by faith," v, 9, "being now justified by his blood." So Tit. iii, 7; 1 Cor. vi, 11. This Justification, the Apostle declares, we receive from grace, because, by sin, we "have come short of the glory of God;" and by obedience to the law, therefore, we cannot secure eternal life. This grace places those whom it embraces, according to the reasoning and statements of the Apostle, in a state of Justification, that is, a state of remission, of reconciliation with God, of heirship with heaven. From this grace proceed the good works of the Christian life, and they surely are not our Justification, or the ground of our Justification, when they are the fruits of the grace which *has justified* us, when they are actions of the man, whom the Apostle, in the expressions above quoted, speaks of as "being" already, or "now justified by His blood." It is not the *righteous*, but the *ungodly*, who is justified, ("that justifieth the ungodly," Rom. iv, 5,) and the *grace of his Justification* is the fountain of his godly living after his Justification. Such godly living, therefore, flowing from Justification, and coming *after* Justification, is not *itself Justifica-*

tion. "For by grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves, it is the gift of God. Not of works, lest any man should boast. For we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God hath before ordained that we should walk in them." Here, then, is the clear assertion, that we cannot boast even of our Christian good works, because they are the offspring of the workmanship of divine grace in our Justification, of that indwelling Spirit, which is the gift of God at the time of our Justification.

There are three passages of St. Paul's Epistles, in which he appears to indicate, most directly, the ground of human Justification. The first is Phil. iii, 9. "And be found in him, not having mine own righteousness, which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith." The obvious interpretation of this passage is, that no legal righteousness of our own, that is, no observance of the law by us, is the ground of our Justification, but a righteousness which God has furnished for us, and which we appropriate by faith. And this was the interpretation of St. Basil,* "for this is perfect and entire glorying in God, when any one is not inflated on account of his own righteousness, but knows himself to be destitute indeed of true righteousness, and that he has been justified by faith only in Christ; and Paul boasts of despising his own righteousness and seeking that which is through Christ, to know him and the power of his resurrection," &c. The next passage is Rom. iv, 6: "Even as David also describeth the blessedness of the man, unto whom God imputeth righteousness without works." The passage of David, which the Apostle quotes to substantiate this assertion, is this: "Blessed is the man to whom the Lord will not impute sin." The non-imputation of sin, or the forgiveness, or the covering of it, (for all these expressions are used by David,) is the same thing with the imputation of righteousness, because it is the accounting as righteous, and treating as righteous, the sinners who are forgiven. Here is the very Justification of the Anglican Article, and of that passage of Philippians, in which the Apostle says he has another righteousness than his own, even that which is from God through Christ. The last passage is 2 Cor. v, 21: "For he hath made him to be sin for us, who knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him," that is, according to St. Augustine's explanation:† "Being justified, therefore, by faith, we have peace towards God through our Lord Jesus Christ, but justified freely by his

* Hom. de Humil. 3. † Alypii et Augustini ad Paulinum, Ep. Sec. 9.

grace, lest faith itself should be proud," made the righteousness of God, not our own, that He alone may lay the foundation, in the propitiation of his Son, which supports the structure of our Justification, and then reckon this righteousness to believers as the ground of their Justification. These passages mutually support each other, and, in different modes of expression, bring out the same idea; the very idea, which is brought out argumentatively in the third chapter of Romans, where the Apostle sets forth the propitiation of Christ as the ground of our Justification, and concludes that we are "justified by faith without the deeds of law." And truly, if our own righteousness, produced by the grace of God, were the ground of our Justification, we cannot see why the propitiation of Christ was needful; and if, on the other hand, it were needful, then must it be the all-sufficing ground of our reconciliation, or forgiveness, or acceptance to the favor of God, in one word, of our Justification. St. Augustine quotes the passage, "Even as David also describeth the blessedness of the man unto whom God imputeth righteousness without works," and adds, by way of commentary, * "But what righteousness? That of faith, which good works have not preceded, but which good works follow;" and since this righteousness is that of our Justification, we are not justified by the good works, by which it is followed.

As we have already remarked, the circumstances of the Ancient Church, since the Apostolic day, did not call forth, or render necessary, such precise and guarded definitions of the doctrine of Justification, as the circumstances of the Church, at the time of the Reformation, required and produced. The doctrine of Justification by grace, through faith, was always held, till the practices of the middle ages, and the scholastic theology of those ages corrupted the purity of Christian teaching on this great subject. One of the most illustrious supports, however, in all Christian antiquity, of the teaching of the Anglican Church on Justification, is to be found in that most admirable letter of Clement to the Corinthians—a writing which follows close in order of time upon those of Scripture. We know not how the Anglican doctrine could be more explicitly stated, than it is by Clement. Speaking of the fathers of the Abrahamic Covenant, he says: † "All, therefore, were glorified and magnified, not by themselves, or their own works, or their righteous doing, which they wrought, but by His will," and then immediately adds: "And we also, being called by

* In Ps. 31; Ennarr. I, Sec. 7. † Ep. ad Cor. 32.

His will in Christ Jesus, are not justified by ourselves, nor by our wisdom, or knowledge, or piety, or works, which we have wrought in holiness of heart; but by the faith, by which the Almighty God has justified all from the first, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen." Are we reading a writing of an Apostolical Father of the first century of our religion, or an English Homily of the sixteenth, we are ready to ask, at this plain denial of the office of Justification, even to that "piety" and "those works which we have wrought in holiness of heart," which are the fruits and evidences of justifying faith? Certainly Clement of Rome did not hold the doctrine taught by the present Church of Rome; certainly the Bishop of Rome has departed from the teaching of his early predecessors. Explicit, also, is the teaching of Justin Martyr:* "He gave his own son a ransom for us, the holy for the lawless, the innocent for the guilty, the just for the unjust, the incorruptible for the corruptible, the immortal for the mortal, *for what else was able to cover our sins but his righteousness?* by whom was it possible that we lawless and impious could be justified, but by the Son of God alone? O the sweet ransom! O the unsearchable workmanship! O the unexpected blessings! that the lawlessness of many should be hidden in the one righteous one, and the righteousness of one should justify many lawless ones; accusing, therefore, the inability of our nature to attain life, in the former time, but now exhibiting the Saviour as able to save what before could not be saved, for both these reasons he wished us to believe in his goodness, to esteem Him our nourisher, parent, teacher, counselor, physician, mind, light, honor, glory, strength, life; not to be anxious concerning clothing and nourishment." Can there be any doubt concerning the righteousness which Justin Martyr proposed as the "formal cause" of Justification? Is his teaching that of Trent, or that of the Homilies of the English Church? And so Cyril, of Jerusalem, says: † "For if you believe that Jesus Christ is Lord, and that God hath raised him from the dead, you shall be saved and translated to Paradise. And doubt not whether this is possible; for He that saved, in this holy Golgotha, the robber, who believed, for one hour, the same Being will also save thee, if thou believest."

We might, if it were needful, multiply quotations to show how simply and unhesitatingly this doctrine of Justification by faith was held by the Fathers of the early centuries. The above quotations are among the most important, because,

* Ep. ad Diognetum, Cap. 9. † Cat. v, 10.

without an attempt at systematic statement, they really define those features of the Justification which those centuries held, which identify it with the Justification, taught by the Anglican Church, and rejected by the Council of Trent. Those who are at all familiar with the writings of that great teacher of the Church, St. Augustine, know how earnestly, and constantly, and argumentatively, he repudiates that notion of human *merit*, upon which the Council of Trent so pertinaciously insists.* "Si vis esse alienus a gratia, jacta merita tua," is his expressive warning, even concerning that righteousness of which faith is the root. Great pains does he take to show, in his Liber de Gratia et Libero Arbitrio, that eternal life, if it be a reward, is a reward of grace and not of human merit; and an attentive perusal of his Ennarratio II, in Ps. 31, will be sufficient to show that he held and taught Justification by faith, as expounded by the English Church, and not the modern invention of the Council of Trent. In that treatise, he plainly cautions Christians against glorying in the good works which proceed from faith, instead of in the grace which relieved us, in our state of sin and helplessness, as the ground of our Justification.† "What, therefore, is done? God does not inflict upon thee merited punishment, but gives thee unmerited grace. You begin, therefore, to be in faith by His indulgence; then that faith, taking to it hope and love, begins to perform good works; but do not then boast and extol thyself: remember by whom thou wast *placed in the way*, (i. e., justified, as appears from the treatise passim;) remember that, although thy feet were sound and swift, thou wast, nevertheless, wandering; remember that, although thou wert languishing and lying half dead in the way, thou wast lifted up on the beast and carried to the inn. "But to him," says he, "who works, the reward is not imputed according to grace, but as a debt." If you wish to be an alien from grace, boast your own merits." How strikingly like these words of St. Augustine are those of the Homily on Salvation, (part 2d.) "But this saying, that we be justified by faith only, freely, and without works, is spoken for to take away clearly all merit of our works, as being unable to deserve our Justification at God's hands, and thereby most plainly to express the weakness of man and the goodness of God; the great infirmity of ourselves, and the might and power of God; the imperfection of our own works, and the most abundant grace of our Saviour Christ; and, therefore, wholly to ascribe the merit and deserving of our Justification

* In Ps. 31; Ennarr. II, Sec. 7. † In Ps. 31, Sec. 7.

unto Christ only, and His most precious bloodshedding." How unlike these words of St. Augustine, on the other hand, is that decree of Trent above quoted concerning the *true deserving* of the works of the justified.

Fearlessly may the Anglican Church appeal to Scripture and Catholic Antiquity; and surely will such an appeal show that Rome, in her decrees, has made a sad and fatal mistake on this subject, which she would not have made, if, forgetting her dreams of ambition and political power, she had heeded the voices of her wisest and holiest sons in days gone by, her Contarinis and her Poles; and had not so rudely thrust forth, from her communion, those men of undoubted attainment in Scriptural and Patristic Lore, her Luthers and her Melancthons.

And now, let it be asked, what is the practical influence of the Romish Doctrine of Justification, on the one hand, and of the Anglican on the other? The Romish Doctrine of Justification is intimately connected with the whole system of that Church, and may even be called the πρῶτον ψεῦδος of its teaching on the great matter of human salvation, affecting its whole scheme of sacraments, and appliances of devotion, and methods of discipline. The crying sin of the Romish Church, in the administration of the work of salvation, as she claims to administer it, and as she has committed herself to her false system, by the decrees of Trent, is the separation of herself from Christ, and the making of herself his substitute, instead of his humble, docile representative and minister. We quoted, on a former occasion, some passages from Moehler, which show how fearfully the advocates of Rome exalt her authority to the disparagement of the Church's Living Head, for, says Moehler, (p. 340,) "*Christ himself is only in so far an authority, as the Church is an authority.*". Now, to this independent exaltation of her own authority in the name and place of Christ, the Romish doctrine of Justification directly tends. The Council of Trent assigns, it is true, as "the meritorious cause" of Justification, "His most beloved and only-begotten Son our Lord Jesus Christ," but it also anathematizes the assertion, that men "are formally justified by the righteousness of Christ," and declares that, notwithstanding "the merits of the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ communicated to us," we must have a true and Christian righteousness of our own as the essence of our Justification. This essence of Justification, which is distinct, be it remembered, from the satisfaction of Christ, is communicated to us instantaneously, and makes us perfectly free from sin, in the act of our Justification. Moehler says, (p. 190,) "The act of Justification, indeed, fills up only

one portion of time; for the communication of a vital principle cannot be considered other than as consummated in a single moment," and then quotes Duns Scotus, as saying, that "Justification is momentary." This momentary Justification he describes as the extirpation of sin, (p. 190.) "The absolving and acquitting word—the word which forgives sin—is a power truly emancipating, dissolving the bonds of evil, and extirpating sin; so that, in the room of darkness, light is admitted, death gives way before life, and despair yields to hope." And again, (p. 192,) "As the Catholic Church deduces original sin, and with it all evil in the world, in the last degree, from the abuse of free will, it cannot find any further traces of sin in man, so soon as his spirit has been averted from the creature, and hath turned to God; so soon as his will hath been again healed, and his inmost feelings been sanctified."

In order to guard this doctrine of the instantaneous "extirpation" of sin from obvious objections drawn from plain facts of spiritual history, the Council of Trent makes the following declaration: * "But this holy Synod confesses and considers that concupiscence, or lust, remains in the baptized; which, since it is left for conflict, does not avail to injure those who do not consent to it, and who manfully resist it through the grace of Jesus Christ; yea truly, he who lawfully strives shall be crowned. The Holy Synod declares that this concupiscence, *which sometimes the Apostle calls sin, the Catholic Church has never understood to be called sin, because it is truly and properly sin in the regenerate*, but because it is of sin, and inclines to sin. But if any one think otherwise, let him be anathema." Compare with this statement of Trent that of the 9th Anglican Article: "And this infection of nature doth remain; yea, in them that are regenerated. * * * * And although there is no condemnation for them that believe and are baptized; yet *the Apostle doth confess, that concupiscence and lust hath of itself the nature of sin.*" Which of these determinations reverences the statements of the Apostle, to which they both refer, and *which* sets aside the word of God for its own tradition? We speak as to wise men, judge ye what we say.

But to return to the line of our argument. This denial of the sinful nature of concupiscence was necessary to the maintenance of the view that Justification is a complete extirpation of sin; for that concupiscence remains in the justified, even

* Sess. V.

the Trentine Fathers could not deny; and they must therefore set aside the Apostolic declaration, and explain away its meaning, to suit their own theory. Even they could not help seeing that Justification is complete, whenever it takes place; and if, as the Apostle says, "Concupiscence hath the nature of sin," that complete Justification cannot be our own inherent righteousness; if, as the Council of Trent is forced to admit, concupiscence remains in the justified. This admission of the *completeness* of Justification, then, is fatal to the Romish theory of Justification, if the Apostle means what he says, when he attributes to concupiscence the nature of sin. But this by the way.

The Romish theory of concupiscence, evidently unknown in the days of St. Augustine, (compare, for example, his Liber II, de Peccaterum meritis et remissione, sec. 45, 46,) has clearly been defined by the Council of Trent to prepare the ground for their structure of Justification. And what marvelous things do they promise to the sinner, who receives their words as the words of God. They do not merely hold out the hope of absolution, of remission of sins that are past, and of the gratuitous offer of Heaven, but they tell him that coming with faith and the beginning of love to God, and that repentance which should be exercised before baptism, by baptism, "which is the sacrament of faith, *without which no one ever attained to Justification*," his sin is instantaneously, not forgiven for the sake of Christ, not checked, not opposed by the indwelling Spirit then making the soul its habitation, but "extirpated," so that "the Catholic Church cannot find any further traces of sin in him;" and when the sinner points to his concupiscence still remaining, of which he feels the danger, and against which he feels the necessity of struggling in the power of the Spirit that he has received, he is told that this is not sin, though called so by the Apostle, and that its existence is consequently no disproof of the "extirpation" of sin, which has taken place within him. Let him exult, therefore, in his complete freedom from sin, not simply in forgiveness and in the power of quelling sin, which he has from the indwelling Spirit, but in his absolute exemption from the bonds of the destroyer, and from all traces of its presence. This is his Justification, a Justification which he has received from the ministry of the Church, and of the completeness of which he is assured by the care of the Church obviating the plain objections of his own consciousness and of Holy Scripture.

Must not the man, who believes all this, have the feelings of one who is in the hands of some potent mesmerizer or en-

chanter? A mighty change has been wrought, and the contradictory moral phenomena, open to his own consciousness, which disprove the reality of this extirpation of sin, are not to affect his belief of that reality. He is, notwithstanding, a perfectly just, a perfectly holy man. "The meritorious cause" of his Justification is far in the background, like a mote in the beams of that dazzling brightness which is within him, and which invests him on every side, amid which he discerns even the darknesses of sin to be apparitions of light; and, although they "are of sin and incline to sin," not having the nature of that from which they emanate. How easily and contentedly does the man give himself up to the possessor of such necromancy as this, nothing doubting that she has charms which provide for every emergency, and obviate every objection, and carry him on, in a sweet delirium, to the heaven which he wishes to attain! The dreams of the Antinomian; the raptures of the Familist, are nought to this. Here is something real and tangible, which instantaneously effects the object most of all desirable, deliverance from sin; which, in its disregard of the righteousness of Christ, separates men from Him to secure them more fully under its own influence; and which, in its disregard of the testimony of consciousness, proclaims itself more wonderful than all magical or mesmerical influence, for that *imposes* upon the senses and the consciousness, but this induces man's belief in spite of the testimony of his senses and his consciousness to the contrary of his belief.

The result of yielding to such a system, in ordinary cases, would be a submission of the work of salvation to the Church, and a feeling that, in such submission, we are relieved from individual exertions in the work of salvation. And this feeling is encouraged by the whole teaching of the Romish Church, with reference to the Christian life that follows upon the first act of Justification. Does the justified Christian fall into mortal sin? It is not needful that he should repent of it with true contrition, for the Council of Trent* "declares that that imperfect contrition, which is called attrition, since it is commonly conceived either from a consideration of the turpitude of sin, or from a fear of hell and punishments, if it excludes the will of sinning, and has hope of pardon, not only does not make a man a hypocrite and a greater sinner, but is also a gift of God and an impulse of the Holy Spirit, not as yet, indeed, indwelling, but only moving, by which the penitent, being assisted, prepares the way for himself to righteous-

* Sess. XIV, Cap. iv.

ness. And, although without the sacrament of penance, it cannot, by itself, bring a sinner through to Justification, yet it disposes him (i. e., is a suitable disposition) to obtain the grace of God in the sacrament of penance."

The sinner, therefore, who has been so marvelously justified, in the first instance, need have no fear. The Church will not desert him. He has but to fear hell, and consider the vileness of sin, and hope for pardon, and come and confess his mortal sins, and then, in the absolution of the sacrament of penance, the deficiencies of his repentance will be made up, and he will be restored to a justified state. The eternal penalties of his sins and their guilt will be remitted, and if he neglects to make due satisfaction for the temporal penalties, or does not get them canceled by indulgencies, the worst that can happen to him, if he die in such a justified state, will be a limited duration of purgatorial fire; and even from this he may obtain a speedy release by the intercession of the Church and payments for her masses; from the pains of Gehenna the Church has secured his exemption. Is this teaching, which gives such manifest encouragement to the careless sinner, so he remain under the dominion of the Church; O is it, holy and gracious Saviour of mankind, the teaching of men who bear thy commission to proclaim the glorious Gospel of the blessed God? How, then, *in such hands*, has that commission been prostituted, and what encouragement to the licentiousness of sin, even under the name of Christian Justification, is given by men who have been sent forth to prepare the way of the holy Lord!

And lest the justified sinner should be in doubt or anxiety in his dying moments, whether the Church, who has justified him at first, and afterwards, by her rites, when he has fallen into sin, made up the deficiences of his repentance and restored to him his Justification, will desert him in his most trying hour, she stands ready to assure him with her "sacrament of Extreme Unction as a most firm defence."* "The substance of this sacrament is the grace of the Holy Spirit, whose anointing wipes away offences, if any are yet to be expiated, and the remains of sin;" "and this," says Moehler, (p. 289,) "especially in the approaching dissolution of the bond between body and soul, never fails of its effect."

So completely does the Church of Rome relieve her members of the responsibility of their salvation, and take it upon herself, assuring them that they shall infallibly receive it, if they submit to her ordinances, and resist not the opus opera-

* Sess. XIV, Cap. ii, De Extrema Unctione.

tum of her manifold sacraments. The wildest Solifidian could not more effectually cast away the requirements of a holy life; and he does not, in fact, encourage men in such dangerous delusion, because the imposing claims and sacraments of Rome are real opiates to the conscience of the careless sinner, who dreams of heaven, and doubts not that he shall receive it, so he confesses and is absolved, and dies at last with "that most firm defence of Extreme Unction." And this whole system of delusion springs from the severance of Justification from the righteousness of Christ, and from the maintenance of it as a change which, on account of its contradiction of the laws and facts of our moral being, must be regarded by those who believe it, as magical, and not moral and spiritual. It is the use, upon earth, of an "open sesame," to which the doors of the heavenly kingdom will be found, by many deluded mortals, impregnable.

That the practical influence of the teaching of Rome upon the masses of her people is such as we have described, can be doubted by no true observer in our own land, and by no one, who is acquainted with the state of public morals in lands where the Romish Church has unrestrained and dominant influence. To those who are thus informed, there can be no doubt that the Church of Rome sacrifices the characters and souls of men to a supremacy, by which she has superseded that of Christ the Lord.

And where her doctrine of Justification lays hold of earnest and devout minds, what labyrinths does it lead them to mistake for the recesses of holiness. Their attention, of course, will be mainly directed to that satisfaction, which they must make, to that † "revenge and punishment for past sins" which they must endure, notwithstanding their release from the eternal penalties of sin and from its guilt by the satisfaction of Christ. Their whole life thus becomes a scene of purgatorial endurance; and their attainments in holiness, which are held forth for admiration in the lives of their most esteemed saints, are those self-inflicted mortifications and sufferings in which the Fakirs of India excel them. Such is the sanctity which, in lives of eminent saints, published in our own day, is commended to the pious aspirations of the faithful of Rome. The sanctity of hair-shirts, and galling iron-chains, and cruel scourgings, and eating of unwholesome and putrefied food, and all the strangest devices of self-torture which can be conceived, this was the sanctity, as set forth by Romanists themselves, of Alphonsus Liguori, and Francis de Girolamo, and Joseph of

† Conc. Triden., Sess. XIV, Cap. viii.

the Cross, and Pacificus of San Severino, and Veronica Giuliani, and the Saints whose lives are contained in the Breviary, all of whom Rome loves to honor, and, for such sanctity, canonizes. And who shall say that such sanctity is not the native result of the Romish teachings on Justification and Satisfaction? We pity from our souls the Saints of Rome, who were thus deluded, but we honor in our hearts their earnest, consistent use of the system which they believed; the mistaken course which they pursued, was that of the system which they adopted. But such teachings are a strange exhibition of that liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, a most sad forgetfulness of His consoling grace, and a most lamentable caricature of that holiness to which He hath called us. And yet such achievements, as those above alluded to, are the very masterpieces of the Romish system. What well-instructed Catholic Christian shall say that they do not stamp with falsehood the πρῶτον ψεῦδος, the Romish doctrine of Justification, from which they spring?

As the genuine result of the influence of the Romish system in encouraging the carelessness of its masses, and stimulating the "bodily exercise" of its chosen saints, intelligent, thinking, observing men, who live where the Romish Church is dominant, and notice as well its general influence, as its own vaunted attainments of perfection, come to the conclusion that if this be Christianity, then in such a Christianity they care not to believe. The prevalence of Infidelity among the Bishops and Priests of Rome in the eighteenth century is too notorious to be denied, and is recorded by her own historian, and it was rampant also in the Roman Court during the pontificate of Leo the Tenth. Travelers in Romish countries find everywhere, within the precincts of the Church, "numbers of infidels, not only amongst the laity, but the clergy of the Roman communion in those countries." Indeed, this tendency to unbelief among the more intelligent classes of the Romish communion, in countries where the Romish Church has full sway, is a most evident and noticeable fact. Precisely those effects then which would be deduced, theoretically, from the Romish doctrine of Justification and its ramifications and connexions, are seen in practice; in immorality, irreligion, and neglect of holy living among the masses of her people, where her system is most thoroughly carried out; in a substitution of a bondage worse than Jewish for true Christian holiness among her saints; in the subjection to superstition and to fear of those for whom Christ has provided the freedom of love and filial confidence, and in infidelity among those who observe the real tendencies and effects of such a system of doctrine

and practice. Such is the development, in its fruits, of the Justification of Trent.

And what, let it be asked, is the genuine result of that teaching which the Anglican Church opposes to the doctrine of Trent? This does not detach men from Christ, but sends them to Him as the Lord our righteousness. As His minister, in His appointed sacrament, the Church conveys to believing and repentant sinners, His grace of forgiveness and His Spirit of adoption, by which they become heirs of God and joint-heirs with Christ. And under the impulses of this Spirit, and with the animating inspiring remembrance of the Justification which they have freely received, are they continually moved to walk not after the flesh but after the Spirit. They know that the sanctifying power of the Spirit is the evidence, to them, of their state of reconciliation with God. They have every encouragement to perfect holiness in the fear of God, because they have received His grace of Justification and His indwelling Spirit. His grace is the assurance, to them, of final success, if they strive in its strength and make due use of it; and as they thus value and use the grace of God, they obtain in the pledges of its continuance and increase which He has appointed, new assurances of his presence and favor, and supplies of grace suited to every new emergency. Thankfulness and hope are the cheering principles which urge them onward in the Christian race; while a fear of misusing or neglecting, and thus losing, the grace of God, and falling from their state of Justification, exercises upon them, not a slavish, but a salutary, quickening influence, leading them to be watchful and earnest and obedient, lest they forfeit the privileges which are such strong encouragements in the work of holy living. They are not oppressed by the thought that they have by their own merits, to secure salvation; but are animated by the consideration that they are the sons of God, having a title to a heavenly inheritance, and that their great care should be to yield themselves to the guidance of that Holy Spirit of their Father in Heaven, who will thus surely and infallibly conduct them to their destined heritage.

Thus is the free grace of divine Justification, a most potent principle of strength, and hope, and sanctification. And the right maintenance of the doctrine, in its purity, is of vast importance in securing its due practical influence. To believe, for example, that our Justification rests upon the ground of that righteousness which we accomplish through the grace of God assisting us, having its deficiencies supplied by the righteousness of Christ, would be to dishonor Christ our Lord; to detract from the fullness of His propitiation; it would be to

withdraw our attention, in a great measure, from that fruitful fountain of free grace, which first justifies us, and then acts as an ever-flowing source of supply of that holiness which is suitable to our state of Justification; which is the quickening principle of that holiness, and also its principle of growth. To believe that any righteousness of our own is the ground of our Justification, exposes us to the danger of relying upon our own merit as the cause of our salvation, and thus inflates us with self-conceit; or drives us to despair, if we have an exalted idea of the merit which is required; or else leads us to do dishonor to the truth and holiness of God, and to content ourselves with carelessness of living, by maintaining that an imperfect obedience, provided it be sincere, is all that He requires, though the declarations of His Law *are* so strict and holy.

Against these dangers—that of trusting to human merit, that of despair, and that of an allowed slackness in the work of perfecting holiness in the fear of God—our best and only preservative is a deep sense of our entire indebtedness to the grace of God for Justification, and a high, loving, reverent valuation of that grace, that we may use it to the fullest extent, in becoming meet for the inheritance which could only be the gift of surpassing grace to the sinner. And we think, that as clearer or dimmer views have prevailed at different times since the Reformation, in the Church of England, of the doctrine of Justification, as set forth in the Articles and Homilies of the Church, a corresponding influence can be traced in the activity or coldness of religious life among the people. And fearlessly would we contrast the masses of the people of the English Church with those, for example, of Italy or of Spain, where the Romish Church is predominant, as evidence of the different influence, in the formation of moral and religious character, of these two systems of religion which separate from each other in this fundamental point of Justification. And, without hesitation, too, would we set on the one side the Latimers, the Cranmers, the Ridleys, the Jewells, the Hookers, the Taylors, the Kens, the Herberts, the Leightons, the Hebers, of the Church of England, against the Dominics, the Francises, the Liguoris, the Pacifici, the Girolamos, the Veronicas, the chosen saints of Rome. If sanctity be the test of doctrinal truth, we doubt not that the sanctity of the English Church has a truer Christian style, than that which is commended to us in the published lives of the self-torturing ascetics of Rome.

The whole history of the Church shows that this great question of our Justification before God, is a most vital one, and one most important to the welfare of human society; for it involves the determination of the Regenerating Principle of

fallen humanity, and of the manner in which that principle is to become influential for the purposes for which it has been revealed; and when Rome is by no means alone in offering to the acceptance of men, her own devices for human regeneration; when associations having no connexion with the Church of God, are starting up on every side, and seeking to occupy the place which God intended for his Church as His representative and the minister of His scheme of regeneration and salvation, it becomes of supreme consequence to exhibit the truth in its purity and power, flowing from the clear fountains of Divine Revelation.

That truth of the Justification of man, whose exposition is so plainly and carefully set forth in the pages of Holy Writ; which Apostles so earnestly insisted upon; which, in days of accumulated and cherished error, spoke from the mouths of learned and holy men, and produced an awakening like that of the introduction of Christianity; which Rome rejected to the grief and despair of some of her noblest sons, who died in her bosom; that truth, which has had such signal revenges since the day of that rejection, in the woful history of her who rejected it; truth, illustrated as this has been, though crushed to earth, ever rising in newness of might, cannot be otherwise than vital and important; and those who possess it, should cherish it in their heart of hearts, and defend it, as, after the leading of inspired Apostles, it may be defended; and for the best welfare of human society, should be careful to exhibit, as indeed it is, the truth which contains the only principle of human regeneration. We conclude, then, in the noble words of the Anglican Homily of Salvation:—"This faith the Holy Scripture teacheth us; this is the strong rock and foundation of Christian religion; this doctrine all old and ancient authors of Christ's Church do approve; this doctrine advanceth and setteth forth the true glory of Christ, and beateth down the vain-glory of man; this whosoever denieth, is not to be accounted for a Christian man, nor for a setter forth of Christ's glory; but for an adversary to Christ and his Gospel, and for a setter forth of men's vain-glory. And although this doctrine be never so true (as it is most true indeed) that we be justified freely, without all merit of our own good works (as St. Paul doth express it) and freely, by this lively and perfect faith in Christ only, (as the ancient authors used to speak it,) yet this true doctrine must be also truly understood, and most plainly declared, lest carnal men should take unjustly occasion thereby to live carnally, after the appetite and will of the world, the flesh, and the Devil."

KIP'S EARLY CONFLICTS OF CHRISTIANITY.

ART. II.—*The Early Conflicts of Christianity.* By the Rev. WILLIAM INGRAHAM KIP, D. D. New York: D. Appleton & Co. London: Longman, Brown & Co., 1850.

WE are sure that hosts of readers will welcome, with us, this new and interesting volume, from the graceful and glowing pen of the author of "The Double Witness." In the work before us we find a manifest advance on its predecessors, and a gratifying proof of attention to the poet's advice, "*Sæpe stilum vertas.*" The fruit is a delightful and earnest volume, displaying research and erudition, joined to the author's well-known literary taste, and felicity and beauty of expression, and a deep interest in the subject of which he treats,—the various conflicts which Christianity endured at its outset, from the superstitions, the philosophy, the habits, and the customs of the ancient world.

And what a glorious theme for the pen of the Christian writer! "Heroical magnanimity, exquisite justice, grave moderation, exact wisdom, repentance unfeigned, unwearied patience, the terrors of wrath, the comforts of grace,"* are all to be learned in the history of those times, when the Church won her way through the blood and fire of persecution and martyrdom, to her dominion over the earth. The half of it, indeed, has not been told us, and we have long felt the need of some work which, in a popular and concise form, might give us some idea of the price at which our glorious heritage of faith was purchased for us. Sure we are that there can be no more effectual way to stir up our hearts to a due appreciation of that heritage, and to courage and patience in fighting the battle for its preservation and its advancement.

Such a want the excellent and well-written *resumé* of "the Early Conflicts of Christianity" before us, helps to supply. The secret of Dr. Kip's popularity, on both sides of the Atlantic, as a writer, is the spirit and earnestness with which he enters into every thing which he takes up. And we rejoice to feel, in reading this new product of his pen, that we are communing with one whose heart is warmed by the subject of which he treats, who speaks to us as one who has entered into the spirit of the contests and trials which he relates, and

* Eccl. Pol. V, 372.

can sympathize with those who bore the brunt of the battle for our holy faith. In this we find a gratifying contrast to the cold and unsympathizing elegance of such writers as Milman, who can speak of the conflicts and sufferings of their elder brethren in the Church with less than the feeling with which Byron describes the "Dying Gladiator," "butchered to make a Roman holiday," and can step aside from the description of deeds of heroism, which sound to the Christian heart like the trumpet's call, with the sneering remark, prompted by the Novatian controversy, "Charity and Orthodoxy on this occasion, concurred."*

The author commences his work with an exact and well-written account of the causes which impeded the progress of Christianity among the Jews. With one observation in this chapter of his book we are sorry to be obliged to find fault. It is the remark which suggests that the popular feeling of the day is expressed in the *Magnificat*. "We find no allusion," says our author, (p. 61,) "to the spiritual nature of the Messiah's Kingdom, nothing which partakes of the Christian tone or looks forward with joy to the redemption to be wrought out. It is the proud triumph of a Jewish woman, that the deliverance to her land had come, and the fallen family of David was once more to be raised above the mighty who had usurped their place." On the next page, the same opinion, in substance, is expressed of the *Benedictus*, or Song of Zachariah at the circumcision of his son, the Baptist. Now certainly as Jews, S. Mary and Zachariah could have used no different words. They were the same which the Psalms of David and the writings of Isaiah and all the Prophets had taught them, and the time surely had not come in which they could have used any other strain. Their countrymen manifestly misunderstood the prophecies; does it follow that these chosen ones of God, when they used their inspired words, gave to them the same earthly and carnal interpretation? "We cannot but feel," says he again, quoting from the *Benedictus*, "how strongly this contrasts with the expanded and beautiful character of our faith, as first proclaimed in the Angels' song, 'Glory to God, peace on earth, good will towards men.'" Now, to say nothing of the fact that these words were spoken by one "filled with the Holy Ghost," with all deference we would submit that the Church has never thought so, having always placed the *Magnificat*, *Benedictus*, and *Gloria in excelsis*, side by side in her Ritual, regarding them as, one and all, teaching the same evangelical truths under different

* Hist. of Christ, II, 244, note.

forms. "This is the Hymn," says Williams,* "to which nothing can be added and nothing taken from it; embracing all the Gospel; its mercies, its doctrines, its precepts, its judgments, its covenant with the true Israel of God, and the fulfillment of all the promises going before. The Hymn of the Church, the Hymn of our Lord, the Hymn of all Hymns, the Hymn evangelical, 'the perpetual incense' of the evening sacrifice, rising daily before God 'with the prayer of the saints.'" Much therefore have we lost in its rejection from our Common Prayer. Says Hooker, speaking of the *Magnificat, Benedictus,* and *Nunc Dimittis,* "They are the first gratulations wherewith our Lord and Saviour was joyfully received at his entrance into the world, by such as in their hearts, arms, and very bowels embraced Him; being prophetical discoveries of CHRIST already present, whose future coming the other Psalms did but foresignify, they are against the obstinate incredulity of the Jews, the most luculent testimonies that Christian religion hath; yea, the only sacred hymns they are that Christianity hath peculiar unto itself, the other being songs too of praise and thanksgiving, but songs wherewith as we serve GOD, so the Jew likewise."†

Next follows what we regard as the most beautifully written chapter in the book; certainly the one on which the author has bestowed the most abundant labor—"Christianity in conflict with Grecian Philosophy." In this is included a succint, learned, and accurate account of the manners, habits, tastes, refinement, temperament, and occupations, of the ancient Greeks, together with a description of their various schools of Philosophy. Adverse indeed were all these causes, to the progress of a pure, self-denying, unearthly doctrine, requiring at the outset, a simple, undoubting faith in its revelations. As we follow the author in his vivid and thrilling description, we can well feel how mighty they were in their opposition. That land, and its wonderful inhabitants, are invested with a romantic glory, which the wildest fiction has never equalled. Our hearts thrill with the story of their greatness, as if we were one of them; we weep for their overthrow, as if their beautiful country had been our own. Their history should be recited to the accompaniment of the saddest, sweetest

"strain,
That tells us life how fleeting—earth how vain."

For so great a glory and so great a fall the world has never

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* Nativity, p. 53. † Eccl. Pol. V, 40, 2.

seen. If the shadow which has come down to us, be so beautiful and enchanting, what must the reality have been! Although fallen when St. Paul came among them to reveal "the unknown God" whom they ignorantly worshiped, yet the vestiges of their former glory still remained.

"Look at the scene around him, when, a stranger from another land, he first entered the capital of Greece. It was not to him, as it now is to us, a land whose glory has faded, her songs hushed and her sacrifices extinguished. He beheld a scene, every portion of which was consecrated by the recollections of the past and the glorious fables of their faith. About him was a wilderness of statues, which all the efforts of art have never since been able to equal. He saw the dreams of her poets embodied in the almost speaking marble, and on the frieze of every temple their radiant legends were written by the sculptor's hand." "The lucid atmosphere seemed to give a golden lustre to the stately columns of the Parthenon above him, and to color with peculiar tints the mountain landscape beyond, bathing the leafy sides of Cithæron in its pure and holy brightness. The breeze which swept by him was fragrant with odors of the wild thyme and saffron, and the thousand sweetly scented plants which still grow with such prodigality on the soil of Greece, furnishing, as they did three thousand years ago, food to the bees of Hymettus. And everywhere were proofs of the activity of that restless intellect, which characterized the inhabitants. St. Paul found himself mingling with an energetic people—their persons formed in the first mould of nature—their minds, as we have shown, filled with the noblest shapes of ideal beauty—their tongues speaking the most melodious of languages—with all their faculties critical, exact, and sensitive—filled with the buoyant spirits which arise from a beautiful country, a fine climate, and perfect freedom. Every other literature but their own they despised....Every thing was uninteresting to them which was not Greek; what was not Greek was to them beyond the pale of civilization."—Pp. 136–7.

The departure of St. Paul from Athens to Corinth suggests the theme of "Christianity in conflict with the Licentious Spirit of the Age." This spirit was incorporated into the very substance of heathenism. Of this we need no further illustration than the introduction of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, and his Epistles to the Corinthians. Indeed, it would seem to be inseparable from false religions, spurious Christianity, as well as the doctrines of positive unbelief. Of this spirit, Corinth was the type in that day, as Paris is at present. "In the Apostle's day, it was in its 'high and palmy state'—at the very climax of its luxury and glory—its vice and heathen wickedness. No place could exceed it in the splendor and magnificence of its public buildings—its temples, palaces, theatres, and baths." "Profligacy was wrought into the very being of the Corinthians—entwined with all their earliest associations—strengthening with their growth. Degraded as was the heathen world around, the Apostle writes to them that they far surpassed it—that deeds were committed among them, which 'are not so much as named among the Gentiles.'"* It was among such as these that St. Paul brought forth the plain

* Pp. 157, 161.

and simple doctrine of the Cross, "determined to know nothing among them, save JESUS CHRIST and Him crucified." In the commencement of his first Epistle to them, he returns again and again, and dwells upon that sacred name, which "is as ointment poured forth," the "name which is above every name," repeating "our LORD JESUS CHRIST," as one who loves, repeats the name of his beloved; as that in which was contained the sum of all that his disciples had to learn or follow. The Church planted in the midst of such seductions, required his most anxious care, his most stern rebukes, his most constant admonitions and instructions. To these, his own life and the lives of his companions, their purity, holiness, and self-denial, were the most efficacious of human helps, even among those corrupt and degraded votaries of pleasure. "It is a strange contradiction in our nature, that no argument can win the devoted adherents of pleasure from their degradation, so readily as a summons to endure suffering and self-denial in some lofty cause; nothing can turn the worldly-minded so soon from their empty dreams, as an exhibition of some one living visibly and entirely for that life which is beyond life. There is something in the heart even of the most fallen, which responds to such appeals, and which kindles the desire up within it, to tread in the footsteps of those who can thus sacrifice the present for the future. It was this principle which invested martyrdom with such power, and made the blood shed on the scaffold or at the stake, 'the seed of the the Church.'"—(P. 174.) What a lesson to their successors and followers in the sacred office, in the midst of "this adulterous and sinful generation!"

The struggle with Barbarism was, for the time, the most trying of all, but it may be doubted whether it was so obstinate and protracted as that with Judaism, Paganism, and Philosophy. It was a sharp contest, but a speedy victory. It is here that our author warms up most with his theme, as he describes the noble self-denials, the undaunted courage, and the unwearied patience, of the first missionaries of the Church. "They renounced every thing in this world, in the hope of receiving that eternity which had been revealed to them in the next." "They entangled not themselves with the affairs of this life, that they might have no impediment in their warfare. Separated from all they had ever loved—crushing in their hearts every reminiscence of childhood, with its faith and hopes, its creed and customs—their earthly ties seemed to be utterly severed." "Theirs was the high wrought enthusiasm which works changes in the world, because with a

reckless hardihood, it tramples all obstacles beneath its feet. It forces itself into men's hearts, and kindles the passions, and thus each step of its progress is urged on by a more potent motive. It inspires others with the fervor of its own belief, and wins its victory by the contagion of its own sincerity. These were men formed for conquest, because resolute to suffer—men who were repulsed by no discouragements, and disheartened by no defeats—men who felt themselves inspired, and whose very zeal inspired those whom they addressed. Their very intolerance furnished them with the means of victory. They felt too deep a horror of every other creed to look upon it with the least allowance. Its gods were demons and eternal ruin was the portion of its worshipers. Their own faith held out the only hope of safety, and all they loved in this world must embrace it, or the separation at death was one forever." (Pp. 220–2.) Let the Church learn from the examples of her earliest evangelists, that without the energy and fire of zeal, no progress can be made in winning to her fold the hosts of error and of sin.

"The conflict between Christianity and the Pagan Mythology," is the last subject treated of. This is a story written in the blood of "the noble army of Martyrs," and the sufferings of the Confessors—in the conflicts of that mighty host in whose toils and victories the Church of GOD forever exults. Often as it has been told, our author has invested it with fresh interest, borrowing the aid of the spoils of classic lore to enrich the triumph of the glorious "Captain of our salvation," as He goes on "conquering and to conquer." With the victory over this enemy terminated her hard-fought contest with the powers of this world. As an outward type of this victory, we give the following description of the present appearance of the city of Rome, once the seat of Pagan Empire, and the home of all the gods:—the quotation is long, but we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of transcribing this admirable conclusion of the chapter:—

"Fourteen centuries have rolled away since the power of Paganism was broken, and Rome still sits upon her 'Seven Hills;' but what a change has passed over her since she was the centre and home of that old mythology! The landscape is indeed unaltered, for yonder are the purple Alban Hills, clothed in the rich verdure of which Horace spoke, and to which Propertius paid his tribute—the widespread Campagna is there as of old—and we trace the Claudian aqueduct as it goes sweeping on with its countless arches, until it is lost to sight among the distant mountains, where once stood the stately palaces of Domitian. But still the outward aspect of every thing proclaims the mighty revolution which has taken place. As we stand upon the Capitoline Hill, we see around us the mouldering relics of a departed faith. No smoke of sacrifice ascends from this height—no altars are seen—the temples which once crowned it are gone, and their columns

and precious marbles have been used to erect the Christian churches. Beside us is the Church of S. Maria d'Ara Cœli, built on the foundation of the old Roman temple of Jupiter Feretrius, in which the Spolia Opima were deposited; and if it is the hour when the shadows of evening are beginning to gather, the Vesper Hymn of the monks will be borne plaintively to our ears. Below, by the side of the deserted Forum, are the ancient temples of Antoninus and Faustus, of Venus and Rome, now consecrated by Christian names to the use of that faith which has supplanted heathenism, while beyond, grand and solemn rise the massive ruins of the Flavian amphitheatre. There Ignatius died, and the blood of countless martyrs enriched its sands, as they were 'butchered to make a Roman holyday.' But now, the once despised cross stands in the middle of the arena, and often the voice of some humble monk may be heard on that spot, as he preaches the faith of the crucified, and his earnest appeals send strange echoes through those galleries, which once rang with the shouts of infuriated thousands, who were feasting their eyes on the torments of the expiring Christians. And there is the old monastic house from which S. Gregory sent forth S. Augustine, now occupied by the white-robed Camaldolese—the Church of S. Clement, where the Pelagian heresy was formally condemned—and on the hill, that solitary palm rises from the Garden of the Passionists. To the right, covering the whole Palatine Hill like the wreck of some mighty city, are seen the ruins of the palace of the Cæsars; and amid crumbling walls and prostrate columns—where the trees twine their roots through marble floors once trodden by the masters of the world, and the tall grass and the rank weeds wave in wild luxuriance—rises the monastery of the Capuchin monks, and prayer and praise are now heard where once Nero held his sensual revellings. We turn away from these scenes, and the Imperial City is before us in all her solemn and venerable magnificence. Yet she has put off all trace of her heathen origin. A wilderness of towers, and domes, and columns are there, rising in the deep blue of an Italian sky—yet each pinnacle is gleaming with its cross—each edifice is devoted to the worship of Him, whom once it was death here to name with aught of reverence. And towering above all—on the very spot where once were Nero's gardens, and which witnessed the martyrdom of countless Christians—swells forth that miracle of art, S. Peter's dome, surmounting the noblest structure the world has ever seen, yet now the shrine of a faith before whose resistless march the ancient Paganism of Rome was trampled into the dust."—(P. 284.)

Various as were the enemies which opposed the spread of Christianity—divided as they were among themselves—hating and sneering at each other at every opportunity—the presence of the common foe united them for persecution and oppression. As the Jews were the first persecutors of the Church, even in the Person of her Blessed Head, so did they continue to urge on the heathen to their savage and barbarous acts of revenge and cruelty. That philosophy which derided superstition was not unwilling to join with it in warring against the Faith, and their union in the third century was the source of the most terrific persecutions by which the Church was tried. Again, under Julian, the apostate, ("the mild and philosophic Julian," as he is styled in the Edinburgh Encyclopedia,) it sought the overthrow of the newly-established religion, and only sank with his fall.

But without these conflicts Christianity could never, humanly speaking, have been permanently established in the

world. Nothing great or glorious ever grew to maturity without opposition and suffering. After nine frightful persecutions and at the beginning of the tenth and last, this was the condition of the Church :—"The Christians had become not merely a public, but an imposing, influential body; their separate existence had been recognized by the law of Gallienus; their churches had arisen in most of the cities of the Empire; as yet, probably, with no pretensions to architectural grandeur, though, no doubt, ornamented by the liberality of the worshipers, and furnished with vestments and chalices, lamps, and chandeliers of silver. The number of these buildings was constantly on the increase, or the crowding multitudes of proselytes demanded the extension of the narrow and humble walls. The Christians * * * filled offices of distinction, and even of supreme authority in the provinces, and in the army; they were exempted, either by tacit connivance or direct indulgence, from the accustomed sacrifices. Among the more immediate attendants on the Emperor, two or three openly professed the Christian faith. Prisca, the wife, and Valeria, the daughter of Dioclesian, and the wife of Galerius, were suspected, if not avowed, partakers in the Christian mysteries."* She came forth from every contest with renewed strength and vigor. The controversies of her Doctors, the sufferings of her Confessors, the heroic conflicts of her Martyrs, were, under God, the means by which the Church attained the inheritance of the earth. They have consecrated to us the Divine Faith and Order which they have transmitted, and we rejoice in the possession of an heritage which it cost so much to win.

It would be interesting to pursue the subject by examining how those very national and religious peculiarities, which at first afforded the greatest obstacles to the progress of our holy Faith, were turned by the grace of God into its most efficient instruments. How, e. g., the subtlety and logical training of the Greeks aided in detecting heresy, and their flexible language became the medium of defining with precision controverted doctrines, so that one single word, and even one letter of that word, settled forever controversy, and decided a disputed article of the Faith. How, again, the Roman fidelity, their entire subjectiveness, their forgetfulness of their individuality when their country was concerned, the spirit which animated their legions, which on the field of battle would impel a Consul to devote himself to death for Rome's triumph, which made them feel that their greatest glory was not so much that

* Milman's Hist. of Chris. II, 259–60.

they were men, as that they were Romans, was reproduced in the unity, the self-devotion, the abnegation of individual interest for the sake of the One Body into which we have all been baptized, which marked the Church when she dwelt and worshiped in the Catacombs, and which, at this day, it may be remarked, constitutes the strength of the Roman communion.

We rejoice in the appearance of such books as this among us, carrying us back to the past, calling us to contemplate the spirit and the deeds of our forefathers in the earliest and purest ages of our Faith. In these days of worldliness, sensuality, and scepticism, we need such monitors much. We have lost too much for our own good, our hold upon the Past. We do not realize it as we should. We do not feel how much indebted to it we are—what a rich legacy it has transmitted to us. The Present, the busy, bustling Present, is all our care, and in our absorption in it we have lost almost all concern for the Future. But it is wholesome and invigorating to be called back to the early days of the Church, as in our own lives to review the

> "Time when meadow, grove, and stream,
> The earth, and every common sight,
> To us did seem appareled in celestial light,
> The glory and the freshness of a dream."

"The thought of" those times should "breed in us perpetual benediction." Some have become too wise for this. Not so the Church, which continually recalls us to the recollection of earlier and purer days to prove her faith, to vindicate her practice, to incite her children to holiness. And surely we can never turn to those histories of the early struggles of our holy Religion, and of the sufferings of its Confessors and Martyrs, written by the very eye-witnesses of the things which, in simple and unaffected language, they describe,* without feeling how unworthy we are to be reckoned their successors, how much we need to be brought up to their exalted standard.

Another benefit which is to be derived from the early history of the Church, is the lesson of unity. Consider the tremendous power which was used to crush it, and say if aught but unity, under God, could have enabled her to resist such an onslaught. Imagine a systematic persecution against Christianity as such in this day, in this land, such as that of Decius, or that of Dioclesian, and what a spectacle would not the religion of Jesus present! Divided and distracted by its own controversies and its innumerable schisms, it could offer

* Vide Euseb. Eccl. Hist., B. VIII.

no serried phalanx to the foe. Bound together by a common faith, a common ministry, common sacraments, and a common charity, the Church fulfilled her prophetic character, "fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners."* Unbroken in her ranks, she met the combined assaults of her foes undaunted and undismayed, and she conquered by patient suffering. Marvelously is this shown in the story of the Martyr Ignatius. On his weary journey from Antioch, the seat of his Episcopate, to Rome, the scene of his triumph, brethren and companions crowded around him at every step. "Unknown, yet well known," by the very office which he bore, at every haven and in every city, at which he rested on that long and toilsome journey, he was refreshed, encouraged, and animated by the throngs of fellow saints who speeded him on his way, with their prayers and exhortations, to the attainment of the glorious crown of martyrdom. His Epistles show the joy and courage with which these inspired him. And so it was in all the martyrdoms—the one holy Catholic Church was ever near to succor her suffering children in the hour of their conflict. From whatever land they might come to labor and to die for CHRIST, they knew each other by the common name of Christian. And as the martyrs fell, or the cowardly deserted, the soldiers of the Cross closed up their ranks, and with unbroken front pressed onward to the victory which they were assured that they should win; and what to them was the sacrifice of a single life, compared with the triumph of the Cross!

And yet again we may learn, and in perfect consistency with what has been said before, to be contented with our lot. We are not of those who are disposed to disregard the inspired warning: "Say not thou, what is the cause that the former days were better than these? for thou dost not inquire wisely concerning this."† We trust that we realize the privileges of our inheritance, and rejoice in the possession which has been handed down to us, without pining for the days which had their glories, but which also had their miseries. There are those among us who sigh for the ancient times, as if all excellence and every thing desirable were concentrated there. GOD grant us their holiness and their constancy unto death! This should indeed be our constant prayer. But when we desire to be placed in the circumstances of the men of those days, we know not what we ask. Without their unity, their faith, their suffering patience, their joy in martyrdom, they

* Cant. vi, 10. † Eccl. vii, 10.

would not indeed have been equal to their times, nor could they have finished the work which was given them to do. Does it follow that we have nothing in which to rejoice?—that we are destitute of all good things?—that we have only to sit by in laggard sloth, sighing for the days that can never return? Far from it. We have a work appointed us, and grace is promised us sufficient for our needs. Those were days, indeed, of mighty faith and heroic deeds; but the battle to be fought was fiercer, and the victory harder to be won. They were, also, days of action, of practical, energetic exertion—men faced the work before them, and went on boldly to accomplish it. "This is the picture which that time presents," says Maurice;* "not a picture of still, beautiful, pastoral life, but of great crimes and great virtues—oftentimes appearing in the same men, yet always illustrating each other—always enabling us, if we look, to see what man is with GOD, and without Him. He has been pleased to exhibit to us this age, not in particular specimens of virtue and excellence, but as a whole; as a whole it is precious to us. We lose the blessing of it; we lose the idea of the Church which it presents, if we omit any of its darker features. Let us consider, then, what we do when we desire that this age, so invaluable as a portion of history, should be restored to us in fact. If we ask that the age in which St. Paul preached may come again, we ask that Nero may come again; if we ask that we may be transported back to the glorious days of Athanasius, we ask to live under the tyrant Constantius, to have the world almost wholly pagan, to have the Church almost wholly Arian. If we long to sit at the feet of Chrysostom, we long for the infamous corruptions of Antioch and Constantinople, for the government of Eutropius, for the horrible villanies of the eunuchs of the palace. If we reckon that it would have been a blessing to live under the teaching of Augustine, we must be content to see Rome sacked by one set of barbarians, and the Church in Africa threatened by another; we must get our learning from a race of effete rhetoricians; we must dwell amidst all the seductions and abominations of Manicheism." Surely we cannot say that our situation is worse than theirs, and the lesson which we have to learn from them is, to imitate their heroic faith, their undying zeal, their practical wisdom, their unshaken constancy, in preserving that glorious heritage of Faith which CHRIST has left us in His Church, and in spreading its saving influences among the souls for whom He died.

* Kingdom of Christ, p. 480.

Art. III.—THE PURITAN COMMONWEALTH AND THE ABORIGINES.

The Puritan Commonwealth, designed for the avowed purpose of establishing and perpetuating a pure religion, was essentially an ecclesiastical state. Its citizens were all, in one sense, the High Priests of its Faith, and none might presume to meddle with its politics who were not members of the sacred order of the Freemen. As the lesser is comprehended in the greater; as faithful Christians must necessarily be faithful citizens, whether living under democratic or autocratic forms of government; so it was reasoned that if the Commonwealth were evolved from the Church, political disease would lessen and perhaps vanish away. By making the Church political, it was expected that the State would become religious. Were Christians *good*, and the Church *catholic*, doubtless love of God and man would supplant the terrors of the law, and by perfecting obedience would do away with constraint. But as all political organizations imply human error and weakness, so if we suppose a condition of things where error and weakness are not, we suppose necessarily therewith a state where government is unnecessary.

The Puritan Pilgrims founded their civil structure on the idea that they were saints, and they intended to render its glory perpetual, by allowing none but saints to administer its affairs. The passport to the smallest privileges of citizenship was the Puritan Covenant. How well founded were the expectations of the designers of the Commonwealth, we now propose to consider. Surely, if any human contrivance was ever ushered into existence under circumstances more favorable to the end contemplated, we have yet to learn how and when. If Puritanism were a fit political teacher for mankind, either by precept or example; if the policy it has suggested is worthy of imitation; if the Commonwealth it can animate may justly claim our admiration; we shall certainly find these *desiderata* in their highest excellence in Puritan Massachusetts. Our space forbids us more than to allude to the general character acquired by the Commonwealth as a separate and independent power. In her treaties with the French;* in her trade with buccaneers;† in unhesitatingly violating the

* See 1 Hazard, p. 502. † Hutchinson.

articles of the Puritan Confederacy, contrary to petitions, "tendered by many pensive hearts," when "the dear saints of God" at New Haven were threatened by the Dutch;* in maintaining her intriguing agents in England with those funds which had been entrusted to her to evangelize the Indians;† in sending privateers from her prayerful havens to prey upon the enemies of Charles II, though none a greater enemy than herself;‡ in these and similar transactions, the Puritan Commonwealth acquired notoriety in the old and new world. But her doings with the Aborigines speak more forcibly than them all, and therefore we shall now confine our remarks to this department of her history.

The origin of the North American Indians still remains an unsolved problem. A reverend historian of New England says, that it is not possible to ascertain the point, "unless the astrologers can find it in the stars, or that it can be gathered from the motion of the celestial bodies that lighted them hither."§ But he cites the opinion of another writer, which he thinks carries with it the greatest probability of truth, and which he compares to an "oracle of God." "*His conceit is, that when the devil was put out of his throne in the other part of the world, and that the mouth of all his oracles was stopped in Europe, Asia, and Africa, he seduced a company of silly wretches to follow his conduct into this unknown part of the world, where he might be hid, and not be disturbed in the idolatrous and abominable, or rather diabolical service, he expected from those his followers.*" The sober indorsement of this opinion by the Puritan historian, tells more forcibly than the words themselves, how a false Christianity misled its sincere disciples. Faith and hope are great virtues, but a greater than these is charity. "Charity is not easily puffed up, and thinketh no evil." But this prince of Christian graces scarcely governed the Puritan Commonwealth in its dealings with the helpless Indians. Hubbard was not alone in attributing to them a diabolical agency; it was the common idea of the "elect saints" of Massachusetts, and it encouraged them to commit outrages which have rarely a parallel in history.

Although famine and pestilence, those dreadful messengers of Providence, whose mission had been foretold in Europe by "the disappearance of a blazing star in the west," had opened in New England a special road for the advent of civilization, yet the results of their visitation were by no means satisfactory

* 2 Hazard, p. 270–83.
† Ib. pp. 147, 175, 176, 232.
‡ See 18 Mass. Hist. Coll., 1, p. 109.
§ Hubbard.

to that scrupulous sect whose consciences were too tend allow them either to obey their sovereign, or to continue to the Church. "They deemed themselves commissi like Joshua of old, to a work of blood," and they soug excuse for their uniform harshness to the Indians, in dreadful tragedies which were enacted far back in pri ages on the shores of the Red Sea and the fertile plai Palestine, and in which Almighty Wisdom saw fit to the descendants of Israel the instruments of his wrath. early as 1632, the Indians "began to quarrel with the E about the bounds of their land;"* for the Puritan Pil maintaining that "the whole earth is the Lord's garden, therefore the peculiar property of his saints, admitted th ural right of the aborigines to so much soil only as they occupy and improve. In 1633, this principle was ma assume the shape of law, and "for settling the Indians to lands in the jurisdiction," the General Court ordere "what lands any of the Indians have *possessed and imp by subduing the same*, they have just right unto, accordi that in Genesis, ch. i, 28, and ch. ix, 1."† Thus the ment used, was *vacuum domicilium, cedit occupanti*, by an application of the customs of civilization to the w ness, it was held that all land not occupied by the India agriculturalists, "lay open to any that could or would im it."‡ Accordingly, when Roger Williams, with honest nation, compared the interest of the Indians in the soil, t of the nobility and gentry of England in their parks an serves, it was replied, that it was not the intention c patentees to take possession of the country by "murth robbery," but only to occupy its void places; that if were taken from the Indians, it was by purchase or con that as the nobility enjoyed larger territories than most so they did greater service to the State, and that their and preserves were employed as well for timber an nourishment of tame animals, as for wild beasts; th towns and settlements of the Commonwealth did not di the hunting of the natives, but since *they used traps, an hounds*, did rather preserve game the fitter for their ta that all aggressions on their rights were paid or compen for; and that, at all events, a title to so vast a continent, consisted only in burning it up for pastime, and not i proper cultivation of its millions of acres, could not be fo in justice.§

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* Johnson, B. I, ch. xxv.
‡ 1 Sav., Winth p. 290.
† Colony Laws. See also 1 Has., p.
§ Hubbard.

That civilization is paramount over nature, few will be disposed to question; the manner in which this superiority is exercised, is alone open to remark. "Now, it seemeth unto me," said Robert Cushman, one of Robinson's disciples, "we ought to endeavor to use the means to convert the heathen,—the means cannot be used unless we go to them, or they come to us;—our land is full, and they cannot come to us, therefore as their land is empty, we may go to them."* How this worthy pilgrim would have disposed of the difficulty, had the desired lands been full, instead of empty, we can only conjecture; but there seems much good sense in his remark. It has been the fashion of late to assert for the Puritans that they regarded European right resting on discovery, to be a Popish doctrine derived from Alexander VI, and that they recognized the justice of the Indian claims. But this position cannot be maintained. The rude garden which surrounded the savage wigwam, was alone considered as savage property. The boundless landscape, with its forests, fields, and waters, he was despoiled of, on the harsh plea of Christian right. In this way Charlestown, Boston, Dorchester, Salem, Hingham, and other places, were intruded into by the Puritan Pilgrims, without condescending any inquiry concerning the Indian title. They were seized and settled because they were not waving with fields of yellow corn, duly fenced in with square-cut hawthorne.† Savage jealousy and savage alarm were easily provoked by such wholesale appropriations, and perhaps Christianity suffered more in its influence upon the red-men from these, than any other causes. The settlers of the town of Concord, who fairly purchased their lands of the Indians, seldom or never had any contests with them.‡ Such examples, however, were very rare, for even where lands were purchased by the settlers, the consideration paid therefor was not seldom inadequate.§ In a letter written by Governor Winslow in 1676, he declares that the English were of a "covetous disposition," and that the Indians, when in need, "were easily prevailed upon to part with their lands." For this reason, the General Court of Plymouth made the necks of land, to which the Wampanoags were at last confined, inalienable by them.‖ For similar reasons, in part, Sir Edmund Andros

* Young's Chronicles of the Pilgrims.
† Drake's Old Indian Chron., p. 155. 1 Mass. Hist. Coll., 8, p. 4. Lincoln's Hingham, p. 159.
‡ 1 Mass. Hist. Coll., 1, p. 241.
§ See 2 Hazard p. 93.
‖ Hubbard's Indian Wars.

pronounced Indian deeds no better than "the scratch of a bear's paw." Not only was the consideration therefor too frequently inadequate, but, as a matter of equity, the savages could not comprehend how the rough outline of a hatchet on a shred of parchment, or the rude delineation of a bow and arrow, should forever deprive them of the lands of their fathers.

Yet the wrongs suffered by the Indians in regard to the soil, were not the greatest injuries inflicted upon them by the Puritan Commonwealth. What shall be said of that chiefest enemy of the red-man, which destroyed his manhood and cursed his existence? Was he, whose "low and mean diet and fare"* had always preserved him from the lusts of the flesh, was he to be baptized into the vices of civilization, by the sanctimonious hand of Puritanism? The Reforming Synod declares that the Indians were debauched by those calling themselves Christians, and it appears from the colony laws that, at first, the General Court was accustomed to license the sale to them of rum, brandy, strong waters, wine, strong beer, cider, and perry. What an array was this for the undisciplined appetite of the child of nature! He could not see his evil spirit, Abomacho, lurking in those beautiful and variegated colors! He could not realize that that intoxicating thrill which inspired him to dance and sing, which seemed to transport his very being, was the beginning of his utter perdition! His doom was sealed. Trucking houses, those sentinel posts of civilization, skirted the forests, and the Indians abandoned the chase for the pleasures of sense. Family after family dwindled away into squalid and drunken groups, whose bleared eyes, and naked, shivering forms, exhibited a disease more fearful in its ravages than the small-pox. Orders were passed from time to time by the General Court, for "the prevention of drunkenness among the Indians," but with little effect. It was not until 1657 that the General Court, reciting their debauched condition, and the frequent "murders and other outrages" resulting therefrom, recalled all outstanding licenses, ordered the immediate demolition of the trucking houses, and forbade the future barter to the Indians of strong liquors, under a heavy penalty. But the disease had progressed too far to be remediable, and when the Reforming Synod assembled, twenty years later, the civilized and praying Indians partook of the general immorality.†

The neighboring aborigines of Boston were but the shreds

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* Hubbard. † Hubbard. Mather. Colony Laws.

of a great and warlike tribe. Reduced and broken by pestilence, they became an easy prey to the vices of civilization.* But the tribes further removed from the Puritan settlements, preserved their integrity, and presented to the lures of artificial life, a firm and unbroken front. True, a wondrous inferiority in the arts of peace and war, must have been both felt and lamented; but the kings of the red-men were not devoid of wisdom, and the civilization that was offered them they refused, because it brought in its train the demoralization of their people. Perhaps, too, some traditions lingered among their warriors, of the infamous treachery of the early English navigators, and their council fires may have been often animated by the marvelous relations of some returned slave, whose only knowledge of civilization had been acquired under the lash of a taskmaster, or amid the hoots and the clamor of a curious rabble.

Of this class of the New England aborigines, were the great tribes of the Pequods, the Narragansetts, the Wampanoags, and the Tarranteens;—great, not as conquerors, or in numbers, but preëminent for their patriotism. They were the determined enemies, not of Christianity, but of Puritanism. The gospel was exhibited before them, as a system which denied the necessity of good works, and which made a spiritual abstraction, its fundamental principle. They saw that Christianity did not prevent its believers from wronging the poor, nor from oppressing the weak; and they drew direful conclusions as to its probable effects upon their people, from the rapid demoralization of the natives near Massachusetts Bay. The Pequods, "seated on a brave river" at the easterly end of Long Island Sound,† were "the most warlike of all the Indians," and the first to fall victims to the grasping policy of the Puritan Commonwealth. Jealousy of the neighboring Dutch, and the glowing accounts which had reached the English of the fertility of the valley of the Connecticut, had long rendered the possession of that country an object of desire.‡ The Pequods, however, avoided intercourse with the white settlements, and roused the enmity of avarice by turning away from glass beads, and grog, and worthless trinkets.§ But an event which happened in 1634, was eagerly seized upon by the Puritan Commonwealth, to wrest from this tribe a treaty

* See 1 Hutchinson, p. 38, n. and p. 408. Johnson, B. I, ch. 10.
† Now called River Thames.
‡ Bancroft.
§ See Hubbard's Indian Wars, p. 19.

which should enable its citizens to introduce a mutual trade, and give them a footing upon the soil. Captain John Stone, a man of dissolute character, who had been prosecuted for piracy, convicted of adultery, and only saved by a technical blemish in the evidence from an ignominious death, was banished from the Puritan Commonwealth in 1633, for abuse of one of the magistrates. He was slain in the following year by the Pequods. This man provoked his own fate. Outlawed by his own countrymen, he assumed the character of an adventurer, and in company with a small crew, roamed among the waters of New England, trading with the natives. During one of these excursions, he arrived at the mouth of the river Thames, and forcibly seized upon two straggling Pequods to serve as his pilots. The outrage was summarily revenged by the warriors of the tribe, who, watching their opportunity, killed Stone and rescued his helpless captives. But in this affair they neither attempted subterfuge nor evasion. In the true spirit of chivalry, they sent their rude ambassadors to Boston, with rich gifts of wampum and furs, to allay the resentment of the English. The death of the outlaw must have been regarded by his countrymen as the abatement of a nuisance, and could have caused the rigid Puritans little concern; but pretending indignation where none was entertained, an amnesty was offered the Pequods on condition they surrendered the executioners of Stone, would allow the English full permission to plant in their lands, and would consent for the future "to trade with them as their friends." This brave tribe, already threatened by the Dutch, and its hereditary enemies, the Narragansetts, was unwilling to add the English to the number of its adversaries. For the sake of peace, therefore, the Pequod ambassadors consented to the two latter conditions; but as for the first, they declared that nearly all the warriors who killed Stone, were dead of the small pox; that their powers did not extend so far as to enable them to deliver up the survivors; but that "if they were worthy of death," they would advise their sachem to surrender them into the hands of the English. The Puritan Commonwealth was satisfied with this arrangement. Trade "was the chief thing aimed at,"* and not satisfaction for the death of Stone. The valuable concessions obtained by this treaty were all that was desired, and the Pequod ambassadors, proud of their diplomatic achievements, joyfully departed for their home on the banks of the River Thames.

* Hubbard's Indian Wars.

This treaty did not prove satisfactory. The English found that "no advantage was to be had by any trade" with the Pequods, and as a consequence, little intercourse was maintained with them.* Adventurers, however, were not wanting, who, throwing off the restraints of civilization, wandered about in boats from point to point, and from river to river, seeking opportunity to barter their wares and trinkets for the rich furs and curiously wrought wampum of the Indians. Among these traders was one John Oldham, an "obstinate and violent man," and of a "factious spirit," who had been twice banished from the colony of Plymouth, in "a summary and ignominious manner," for "stirring up factions." So furiously did he revile us, says Bradford, relating one of these occurrences, that even his own friends were ashamed of his outrage. "Upon which we appoint him to pass through a guard of soldiers, and every one with a musket to give him a blow upon his hinder part, then conveyed him to the water side, where is a boat ready to carry him away." Wherever he makes his abode, wrote the Massachusetts Company to Endecott, "all hope of quiet or comfortable subsistence" is destroyed.† Such was the being let loose by civilization to prowl among the Indians. His career, as might have been expected, was short. In the year 1636, his vessel was discovered by an English bark in the possession of some Indians near a small isle belonging to the Narragansetts, still known as Block Island. The master of the bark, suspecting that all was not right, bore up for the Indians, and having discharged all his fire arms at them, he ran his bows into their quarter, and drove nearly all of them into the sea. On boarding his prize, he found the body of her late owner, under an old sail, with "his head cleft to the brains."

The death of Oldham, which from his past life we have the right to conclude was not unprovoked, could not be laid at the door of the Pequods. Block Island belonged to the Narragansetts, and there the act was consummated. Even the inferior Sachems of the Narragansetts, who contrived and executed the affair,‡ must have had great provocation, for their tribe was then at peace with the English, and they could not have coolly and deliberately planned a murder which would have brought down upon them the terrible anger of the whites. However this may be, one would naturally sup-

* Hubbard's Indian Wars, p. 27.

† Letter of the Massachusetts Company (April, 1629) to Endecott.

‡ Hubbard's Indian Wars. Winthrop's Journal. Hutchinson. Bancroft attributes Oldham's death to the Pequods. Is this ignorance?

pose that the dozen lives that were sacrificed in recapturing the vessel, must have satisfied the justice of the English, and have appeased the manes of Oldham. But Puritanism measured justice by a singular system of ethics; and if the saints were bettered in their condition, the annihilation of hundreds of the heathen was considered a fair equivalent for the death of a single Christian outlaw.

Canonicus and Miantonimo, the great Sachems of the Narragansetts, disclaimed any participation in the tragedy, and their excuses were accepted by the Puritan Commonwealth, on condition that they assisted in revenging Oldham's death. The Elders and Magistrates soon after assembled in council, and agreed that "justice should be done with all expedition;" and in August, 1636, ten years before the Puritan Pilgrims began to inquire whether the aborigines had souls to be saved, an armed expedition sailed from the harbor of Boston, on an errand of blood. Endecott, the general, received "sanguinary orders." He was directed *to put to death the male inhabitants of Block Island, to take captive their wives and children, and to possess himself of their little islet.* But this was not all. The military forces of the Puritan Commonwealth had lately been organized under veteran commanders, who had served in the wars in Holland. Their musters were frequent, their drilling thorough, and their equipments complete; and the whole were placed under the direction of a commission, whose powers of life and death rendered the system efficient and formidable.* The occasion that now presented itself for commencing hostilities with the Pequods, was too good to be lost; for Block Island lay near the Pequod country. Stone's death had not yet been fully atoned for, and in resisting the trespasses of other marauders, the Indians had spilt the white man's blood.† The pretext was plausible, the opportunity tempting; and though this gallant tribe had broken no treaty, and violated no engagement with the Puritan Commonwealth, Endecott was directed, after seizing Block Island, to proceed to the Pequod territory, and to demand "the murderers" of the English; one thousand fathoms of wampum and several children to be retained as hostages. If these requisitions were resisted, he was ordered to obtain them by force. On reaching Block Island, Endecott found forty naked Indians, with their bows and arrows, drawn up in battle

* See 1 Sav., Winth., p. 156, n.

† See Hubbard's Indian Wars, pp. 28, 31, for the kinds of trespassing the Pequods were continually subjected to.

array on the shore, to oppose the landing of his steel-clad troops. These he easily routed; but the woods afforded them a ready asylum, and the valor of the Puritan soldiery was forced to expend itself in burning their wigwams, destroying their corn, and staving their canoes. Having ravaged Block Island, Endecott sailed for the Pequod country, and landed his men without the slightest opposition, although from the nature of the shore the undertaking would have been hazardous, had the Pequods "made use of their advantage." But the Indians, a race proverbial for fidelity in keeping their treaties,* were taken by surprise; and relying upon the compact that had been ratified on the occasion of Stone's death, were totally unprepared for war. Endecott's demands were received with astonishment. Lay aside your arms, was the message of Sassacus, as my warriors shall their bows, and we will confer together in the spirit of peace. But the Puritan general, regarding the proposal as a plot "to gain time," bid the messengers "begone and shift for themselves," and even was obliged to prohibit his men from firing upon them. You have dared the English to fight with you, said he, and "now they have come for that purpose."† On this abrupt termination of peace, the Indians precipitately retired, availing themselves of every thicket, rock, and tree, to protect their bodies against the fatal missiles of the English, and shooting their bone-pointed arrows at the iron corslets of the advancing enemy. The retreat of the Indians soon became a flight, and on reaching the wigwam capital of Sassacus, not a warrior was found to oppose its destruction—not a squaw, to plead by her helplessness for the safety of her tribe.

Thus ended the expedition of Endecott, to the great dissatisfaction of the government.‡ He brought home with him no wampum, and no slaves; and the Pequods still kept possession of the land of their fathers. But the calumet had been smoked for the last time at their council fires, and their pride and glory had fled forever. "Stirred and provoked" by this wanton outrage, they began the system of retaliation;§ and burying their hereditary animosity against the Narragansetts, they endeavored to rouse that numerous tribe to a sense of the precarious condition of the aborigines. The arguments they used were "most cogent and invincible." The strangers, urged Sassacus, a chief whose patriotism was of "high order,"‖

* 1 Hutchinson, p. 61. † Winthrop's Journal. ‡ Hutchinson.
§ Charge against Massachusetts by Connecticut Commissioners, 2 Hazard, p. 416.
‖ Felt's Salem, I, pp. 104, 105.

are encroaching upon our grounds, and are depriving t
our rights. If we allow them to destroy us in detail, the l
of a few years will find them in possession of our coun
but if we form a coalition, though our bows and tomaha
our war-whoops and artifice, are powerless before their t
ble superiority, we may avoid pitched battles, and by f
their houses, killing their cattle, and ceaselessly lying in
in field and wood, we may starve them with hunger, or f
them to forsake our homes. Wherefore, let us be friends
allies, since mutual animosity now can only produce com
destruction. The Narragansetts wavered. They felt
force of these arguments, urged with all the eloquence o
dian oratory; but Roger Williams, the Puritan emissary,
ing arrived at the Indian head-quarters, soon defeate
plans of the Pequod chief. The Sachem of the Narragan
"entertained him royally, nobly feasting him after giving
audience."* For three days this savage court was the th
of diplomacy, less polished, but equally subtle with that o
old world. Yet the event was not long doubtful. En
presents and promises, united with the prospect of imme
vengeance upon their old enemies, were too potent to b
sisted by the Narragansetts. They listened to the voi
the tempter, and soon after, in the presence of the Elder
Magistrates at Boston, entered into a league with the Pu
Commonwealth, which stipulated with ferocious meaning
neither party should "make peace with the Pequods wi
the consent of the other." The volley of musketry w
celebrated the ratification of this treaty was fired ove
yawning grave of aboriginal existence in New England.
the Indians there was now indeed no to-morrow.

The Pequods were now an isolated tribe, and coolly
deliberately the Puritan Commonwealth hemmed them i
every side. Preparations were made, not for war, bu
butchery, and in pursuance of this plan, Massachusetts c
for assistance upon the neighboring colonies. Plymouth
monstrated, and even Connecticut wished for a more f
season. But all in vain. Conscience was the plea urged
"in point of conscience" these three jurisdictions united
armed forces against the Pequods, for the purpose of achi
their "entire destruction."† The soldiers were animat
a degree of ferocity by "the reverend ministers," and
encouraged to the utmost contempt of life by the assu
that if any should fall in so good a work, it was "*because e*

* Johnson, B. II, ch. 6. † 1 Haz., p. 518. 1 Sav., Winth., p. 1

*honors were too scant for them, and therefore the everlasting crown must be set upon their heads forthwith."** Finally, to render their action harmonious, that there might be no wavering of purpose, no remembrance of the grace of charity in the work that was expected of them, "their ranks were purged of all persons whose religious sentiments did not fully correspond with *the general standard of faith and orthodoxy.*"† The seal of the Puritan Church was set upon the expedition by the administration of the Holy Communion. Late in the spring of 1637, the campaign commenced, and before the close of summer, the Pequods were swept as by a whirlwind from the face of the earth. They made "a noble stand against the united forces of New England, and would certainly have defended their country," had the Narragansetts listened to their solemn warning. But they had not a friend or an ally, and perished by their ancestral graves, without sympathy or hope. When nearly all their warriors had been destroyed, and only a handful remained in "a hideous swamp" to make one more stand against their unrelenting foes, the terms of peace were offered them. The land had been conquered, would it not want slaves for cultivation? Lay down your arms, was the proposal, and "surrender into our hands all of your number who have killed any of our countrymen." We will stand by one another, and sell our lives as dear as we can, was the heroic reply. And during that dreadful night, the stars of Heaven looked down upon a band of Christian men, whose lips were yet moist with the sacramental wine, and who poured without ceasing their shots into the mud and thicket, where were gathered the last remnants of the Pequod race, men, women, and children. The light of morning broke upon an awful scene. The Indians were discovered "sitting in heaps," the old men, the squaws, and the pappoose close together. The warriors were dead, dying, or heart-broken. They fought no more. Nor did these shuddering groups of humanity ask for quarter, or resist destruction. They received unmoved the shots of the Puritan troops, who surrounded the swamp, only twelve feet apart, whose pieces were "laden with ten or twelve pistol bullets at a time," and the muzzles of which were "put under the boughs within a few yards of them." And thus to the end, these "sullen dogs" preferred death to the tender mercies of Puritanism. Their rude fortresses were taken and burnt, and in them hundreds of their race. Such holocausts the world has rarely seen. They were pursued into

* Address of the Elders, Johnson, B. II, ch. 6. † Grahame.

thicket and swamp,—they were hunted in valley and hill; and before the summer had closed, eight hundred Pequod warriors were butchered by the Puritan forces. One hundred and eighty women and children remained as trophies of the conquest; and of these, the females were distributed as slaves among the English towns and the Narragansetts; while the male children were sold to the Bermudas. The male adults taken captive, old and young, were to a man beheaded.* And so, "some burning, some bleeding to death by the sword, some resisting until they were cut off, some beaten down as they were flying," and a small remnant captured and enslaved, the noblest race of red men in New England perished. Their chief became a fugitive and outlaw, and the triumph of the Puritan Commonwealth was complete, when the scalp of Sassacus was paraded in Boston. Such was the end of a tribe, which, as Winthrop afterwards said, *had done Massachusetts no injury.*†

Finally, the expedition which "that famous pastor," Mr. Hooker, had blessed and sanctified, was closed by a public thanksgiving. The shrieks and groans of this slaughtered race went up like the smoke of incense, and were succeeded by the quaint hymns of the time. But the God of battles did not long neglect to avenge the insult which had been put upon His holy religion. The Pequod territory, the coveted possession which had led to this frightful butchery, disappointed its conquerors. This place, wrote Stoughton, the English commander, "is scarce worthy much cost. There is no meadow near, and the upland, though good, is unfit for ploughs." He added, with savage meaning, that *if it were wished to enlarge the State, and to provide for the poor servants of Christ, the country beyond the Connecticut* was better for that purpose.‡ Such as it was, however, the conquered soil continued a bone of contention between Massachusetts and Connecticut for a long number of years, and produced much estrangement and bitterness of feeling. And it was not until the latter colony received a royal charter that the question was settled.§ But the captains of this famous expedition, who by their cowardly cruelty had sullied the religion they professed, and had exterminated a nation that they might better their own condition, were visited probably with as remarkable a series of divine judgments as history records. Stoughton, the general, who with several others afterwards entered the

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* Hubbard's Indian Wars. Johnson, B. II, ch. 6. † See 1 Hazard, p. 513.
‡ See his letter to Gov. Winthrop, 1 Sav., Winth. App., p. 400. § Hazard.

parliamentary service in England, was the only one who died away from his home; his companions all returning. Underhill, a confessed adulterer, was banished in disgrace from the Puritan Commonwealth, during the antinomian troubles. Patrick, "a vicious man," though a "member of the Church," was shot by a Dutchman at Stamford, in 1643, in an affray at the house of his comrade Underhill. Mason, who applied the torch with his own hand to the Pequod fort, in which hundreds of men, women, and children, burned to death, just ten years after, was burnt out at Saybrook on a tempestuous night in the depth of winter, losing all his goods and property, and barely saving the lives of himself and his family. Turner was lost in a ship which sailed from New Haven, in 1646, and was never heard from. Davenport, long after the Pequods were forgotten, in the evening of his life, and in the apparently secure enjoyment of station and respectability, was in a moment blasted by a flash of lightning. Ensign Jennison, soon after the Pequod expedition, fell into disgrace, and only saved himself from ruin by the most abject humiliation. The list of officers is complete, and behold in what manner Heaven rewarded these sanctimonious homicides! We can only add here, to show how the Great Spirit of Nature taught the rude hearts of these heathen, that in the midst of the desolation a false Christianity was inflicting upon them, two English maids whom they captured, were "well treated," and were only asked whether they "could make gunpowder."*

One thing is discoverable in the policy pursued by the Puritan Pilgrims, which the Indians themselves must have both known and resented. If the red man raised his hand against the white, no matter if it were in defence of his life, family or property, no matter if the victim were an outlaw, hunted from society, disgraced and utterly abandoned, it was an offence that the blood only of the offender could expiate. Thus before the Pequod expedition returned, Block Island was visited, and two or three lives were sacrificed to the manes of Oldham, a man who in his life had been the torment of both Plymouth and Massachusetts.

An aboriginal coalition, first suggested by the Pequod chief, and afterwards carried into such terrible effect by King Phillip, at this early period, might have resulted in the extermination of the English; and some solitary ship afterwards touching at Massachusetts Bay, would have beheld the stillness of the wilderness, where was expected the busy hum of life, and have carried home the startling

* 1 Johnson, B. II, c. 1. 1 Sav., Winth. p. 224.

news, that transatlantic Puritanism had disappeared. But Providence decreed otherwise, for it was no part of the Divine scheme that Nature should hold longer dominion over the vast regions of the New World. An awful retribution awaited the Narragansetts, for the part they took in the destruction of the Pequods. They had "preferred the present pleasure of revenge upon their enemies, to the future happiness of themselves and their posterity;"* and their proud sachems, romantic hunting grounds, and cunningly wrought wigwams, mats and wampum, were all to pass away like a tale that is told. Giving free scope to their revengeful passions, they demanded as a condition of their alliance with the English, that the Pequod nation should utterly perish. Their wishes were gratified. They enjoyed the pleasure "of dancing and whooping over their dying enemies." But they were now to feel in all its bitterness, the force of that truth which was urged by the Pequod King as a motive for aboriginal alliance. The friendship of the English could bring them nothing "but the favor of being last devoured."

The treaty of 1637, between Massachusetts and the Narragansetts, was, as usual, entirely *ex parte*, with the exception of the article already named, relating to the destruction of the Pequods. Even the stipulation for free trade, which equally bound both parties, was unequal in its operation; for while all the simple stores, and curious manufactures of this dexterous tribe lay open to the trade and barter of the English, those works of civilized art which the Indians most coveted, and which were indispensable for their protection against civilized marauders, namely, guns, powder, and shot, were by an early colony law forbidden to be sold to them under heavy penalties. At the same time, intrigues were carried on with the Dutch to prevent their trucking of these articles with the Indians, and a law was finally passed, prohibiting both Dutch and French from violating this settled policy of the Puritan Commonwealth, under penalty of confiscation. However unequal as was this treaty, which the Narragansett Sachems, it seems, "did not well understand when they subscribed their marks,"† it was assented to by both parties, and made binding on their posterity forever. Why was it that five years scarcely elapsed, before Miantonimo, the chief of this notable tribe, "the best friend and kindest benefactor the colony ever had,"‡ received from his allies

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* Hutchinson. † 1 Sav., Winth. p. 199.
‡ Gov. Steph. Hopkins, in II Mass. Hist. Coll. 9, p. 202.

judgment of death? How did it chance that before the maturity of another generation, the Narragansetts had vanished from the face of the earth?

The Puritan Commonwealth ever regarded its Indian allies as dependants. The law of nations, which makes no distinction between the greatest empires and the pettiest principalities, which guards with equal care the rights of Pagan, Mohammedan, and Christian States, was entirely ignored by the Puritan Pilgrims in their dealings with the aborigines. So that a measure was expedient for themselves, it little mattered whether it was offensive to the Indians.* If they fought with the natives, they fought to exterminate, and to enslave.† If they treated with them, it was in order to oppress. In 1645, the Commissioners of the United Colonies declared that they had always had "an awful respect to Divine rules in their treaties with the barbarous natives of the wilderness."‡ And what were these "Divine rules," by which the Puritan Pilgrims proposed to be governed? They were the same which in the old time whitened the land of Canaan with the bones of its wicked inhabitants, and crimsoned its streams with their blood. The Indians were presumptuously regarded as the children of the devil, and were consequently entitled to no mercy at the hands of the Christian Israel. They possessed the land which of right belonged to the chosen people, and the treaties entered into with them, were little better than traps set for the simple by the cunning. And so Miantonimo soon learned. The Pequods were destroyed, but their land was not shared with him. Captives were taken, but he had no voice in their disposal. But far worse than this, the friends for whom he had sacrificed so much, began to regard him with coldness and suspicion. Uncas, Sachem of the Mohegans, by a complete submission to the English, "insinuated further than himself into their favor," and prejudiced their minds against the Narragansetts. The Mohegans, seated between the river Thames and the Connecticut, became jealous of the Narragansetts, and Miantonimo had now to suffer the same fate which he had made Sassacus undergo. Strange rumors began to circulate of a general conspiracy by the Indians, and somehow the Mohegans were never included among the conspirators. In 1642, intelligence was forwarded from Connecticut to Boston, that the Narragansetts had formed a

* See Winthrop's Letter, 1 Haz., p. 514.

† In 1641, a law was passed by the General Court, declaring that there should be no bond slavery in Massachusetts, *except in cases of captives taken in wars.*

‡ 2 Haz., p. 45.

league with the Mohawks and other tribes, to cut off all the English after harvest time. The petty chiefs near Boston were immediately disarmed, and a summons was sent to Miantonimo to appear before the General Court. He unhesitatingly obeyed the call, and in the presence of his own counselors, whom with great rectitude of purpose he brought with him to prevent the suspicions of his people, demanded the names of his accusers. He "showed good understanding in the principles of justice and equity," and declared that if his accusers could not make good their charges, they ought to suffer the same punishment that they were endeavoring to inflict upon him. The Governor was forced to avow that he did not know the authors of the rumor. Miantonimo then gave "divers reasons" why he could not be engaged in any conspiracy, and cleared himself to the satisfaction of the Court. He affirmed his belief that the rumors were started by Uncas, and avowed his readiness to meet him in Connecticut or at Boston, and "prove to his face his treachery." He concluded by offering to renew his treaty with Massachusetts, declaring that "if any of the Indians, even those who were as his own flesh and blood, should do any wrong to the English, he would leave them to their mercy." His gravity of deportment, his wisdom, the nobleness of his sentiments, and the justness of his conclusions, won the respect of his stern and suspicious hearers; and the princely pagan had the melancholy satisfaction of wringing from his Christian allies that confidence which is the involuntary tribute paid by littleness to magnanimity.

Miantonimo, however, was unable to appear at Boston with each new rumor that arrived. Every bark from Connecticut brought fresh alarms, and every letter from thence urged upon Massachusetts the necessity of active preparation. The "minds of men were filled with fear," and during the watches of the night, the trembling inmates of the border cottages listened with apprehension to every sound, and peered through their carefully closed shutters into the darkness of the surrounding forest, dreading each moment to see the stealthy steps and fantastic trappings of the Narragansett and Mohawk warriors. On one occasion, cries for assistance against a pack of wolves were distorted by fear into the terrible war-whoop, and roused the vigilance of the inhabitants from town to town, until the roll of the drum could be heard "in all the towns about the Bay." Such a moral epidemic as this, the result it must have been of guilty apprehensions, was not to be arrested by any defense, however complete; and the year

following Miantonimo's public vindication at Boston, while he was dreaming away his life in fancied security on the shores of Narragansett Bay, while the Mohawks were returning from their distant hunting grounds on the borders of the north-western lakes, the four Puritan States of New England, led off by Massachusetts, united in a league, offensive and defensive, against their ally and friend, (May, 1643.) An occasion only was wanting now to renew the Pequod tragedy, and there can be little doubt that had one offered at this time, the Narragansetts would have joined the Pequods in the land of spirits. But the United Colonies were relieved from a dilemma by a fracas between the rival tribes. Uncas "had wronged Sequasson," a petty Sachem on the Connecticut, and a dependant of Miantonimo's, by killing some of his men, burning his wigwams, and carrying away his goods. The Narragansett chief espoused his cause, and asked permission of Massachusetts to make war upon Uncas. He was answered by a declaration of neutrality,* and confident of the good faith of the Puritan Commonwealth, he led one thousand of his warriors into the country of the Mohegans. "The battle is not always to the strong," and Miantonimo had the mortification not only of suffering defeat, but of being delivered by the treachery of two of his own captains into the hands of his rival. The news of his capture was received with great satisfaction throughout New England. The harvests were gathered in security, and no guilty fear was longer entertained that before the annual thanksgiving had arrived, the English would be exterminated by a Narragansett and Mohawk coalition.

Uncas was at a loss how to dispose of his captive. The life of "a great King" was sacred in his eyes, and such had been his disgust at the treason which placed Miantonimo in his power, that he slew the faithless Narragansetts on the spot. The captive Sachem disdained to ask for his life, though repeatedly pressed by Uncas. Why do you not speak? said the latter. "If you had taken me, I would have besought you for my life!"† But the Narragansett continued mute, so that Uncas was fain in his perplexity to carry him to Connecticut, and to beg the advice of its magistrates as to his disposal. He was referred to the Commissioners of the United Colonies, who were soon to meet at Boston, and in the meantime Miantonimo was detained a prisoner at Hartford. Though "very courteously treated," the royal captive did not enjoy the sympathy of his keepers; nor did the magnanimity of his charac-

* 2 Sav., Winth., pp. 128–9. † Ib. 131.

ter, which led him to caution the English' to guard against surprise from his people, who were plotting for his rescue,* serve to destroy their unjust suspicions. In September, the Commissioners assembled, and they dedicated the first business of the colonial union, to an act of "perfidy and cruelty."† Miantonimo little dreamed that while he was chafing in his bonds at Hartford, and longing as a child of nature only can long, for the freedom of the forest, his Christian friends at Boston, so far from entertaining any such proposition, were endeavoring to find some excuse for putting him to death. For an Indian to excite the suspicion of a Puritan was a heinous offense in itself, but Miantonimo had capped the climax of his enormities, when he presumed, a short time before his capture, to give shelter to the Gortonian fanatics, who were so much the objects of virulent persecution by the Puritan Church. This was a crime not to be forgotten or forgiven. But the Commissioners were much puzzled. It was not *best* to set him at liberty; and there was no adequate ground for depriving of life a chief so much beloved by a powerful tribe. The utmost ingenuity was tormented in vain for some pretext, which, if not honest, might at least appear plausible.‡ At a loss how to proceed, fearful of the responsibility their inclinations were urging them to assume, they "in this difficulty propounded the case to the Elders." And with the Elders truly there was no hesitation. From the teachers of Christianity this noble pagan received sentence of death,§ and secretly, without a hearing, unstained by any crime, and still trusting in the honor of his allies, was consigned to an ignominious grave. Too cowardly to carry their own iniquity into execution, the Commissioners cast the burden upon Uncas, and delivering Miantonimo into his hands, told him that he ought to die, since he had not only wronged him,‖ but had endeavored to excite animosity against the English. Wherefore they advised him to carry his prisoner into his own country, and in a "humane" manner, "without torture," to put him to death. To strengthen his resolution for a deed at which Uncas himself shuddered, they promised him assistance in the event of his being molested. But in case the Mohegan chief refused "to execute justice" upon the royal captive, provision was made for bringing him to Boston, and keeping

* 2 Sav., Winth., p. 132, n. † Ib.
‡ See Records of Commissioners, in 2 Has., p. 7.
§ Trumb. Conn., Vol. I, pp. 133–34.
‖ See the wretched story trumped up against Miantonimo in Johnson, B. II, ch. 23.

him in "safe durance" to await the further action of the Commissioners, which proves that he had done nothing worthy of death.* And so perished the great Sachem of the Narragansetts, and with him the independence of his tribe. No diligence of inquiry could detect the slightest evidence of his hostility to the English, and the rumors of aboriginal coalitions, which had been rife every year since the landing of the Plymouth fathers, had been invariably traced "to opposite factions among the Indians."† It is needless to consider whether the law of nations, or the common principles of morality, were most violated in the case of this unhappy prince; since so palpable was the injustice, and so unrighteous the policy, that mind and heart are equally amazed at the extent of human infirmity.

* 2 Haz., p. 13. † Winthrop's Journal. Hubbard. Hutchinson.

NEANDER AS A CHURCH HISTORIAN.

ART. IV.—1. *The Life of Jesus Christ, in its Historical Connection and Historical Development.* By AUGUSTUS NEANDER. Translated from the fourth German edition, by John McClintock and Charles E. Blumenthal, Professors in Dickinson College. 8vo. pp. 450. New York: 1849.

2. *History of the Planting and Training of the Christian Church by the Apostles.* By AUGUSTUS NEANDER. Translated from the third German edition, by J. E. Ryland. 8vo. pp. 332. Philadelphia: 1844.

3. *The History of the Christian Religion and Church, during the three first Centuries.* By AUGUSTUS NEANDER. Translated from the German, by Henry John Rose, B. D., etc. 8vo. pp. 466. New York: 1848.

CHURCH History is as important to the professed Theologian, as it is interesting to the Christian. In its range it extends to every department of theological study, and is indispensable in the exposition of Holy Scripture, and to the understanding of Christian doctrine and its perversions. It acquaints us with the prevailing manners of the various ages, the influence of the Church upon the world, and the world upon the Church; shows how the mingling of the two has corrupted doctrine—producing heresies and schisms; and how these, in their turn, have led to clearer definitions and abler defenses of the doctrines themselves. Exegesis, Systematic and Philosophical Theology, Apologetics, Symbolics, Dogmatics, and Ethics, are all more or less dependent upon Church History for their proper understanding and development. Every contribution to the History of the Church, therefore, should be gladly welcomed, even though it be not in all respects what we might desire. It may be defective in matter, or manner, or both; and yet, if it adds to our stock of knowledge, either by acquainting us with facts not before known, or by a clearer exhibition and illustration of truths already recorded, it may be a desirable work. This last has been done to a very considerable extent, by one whose name will be long remembered in the Churches, and of whom a friend and pupil has drawn the following graphic picture, never before given to the public, and which we are permitted to copy:—

"The University of Berlin has been honored by the possession, for more than a quarter of a century, of one whom it will be difficult to place lower than the first place amongst ecclesiastical historians. A descendant of Abraham and Jacob, he bears in his countenance the traces, so seldom to be mistaken, of that more than royal lineage. The hereditary prejudices of the Jew left him at least free from any prejudices which might be derived from Romish or Protestant ancestors. At whatever period of early life he embraced the hope of the Gospel, he yielded up to it a heart, which, under its sanctifying power, has been filled with a most enlarged charity, and kept, so far as man can judge, in singular pureness. The love of study has made him, in celibacy and abstemiousness, an ascetic: nearness of sight and shyness of temper, have made him a stranger to the world in which he moves; and while in his lecture-room, he only finds his way, awkwardly and abstractedly, through his manuscript, and in his private intercourse talks as nearly as possible as if he talked not, he has, in his library and in his mind, a familiarity with those great and holy men of all Christian ages, to the study of whom he has dedicated his life, such as will hardly be again seen till a similar concurrence of circumstances shall form another Neander."

He was converted to Christianity between 1805 and 1811, was appointed Professor Extraordinary at Halle, in 1812, and the year following (1813) was removed to Berlin, where he still remains. Soon after his conversion, he conceived the idea of setting "forth the History of the Church of CHRIST, as an eloquent witness to the Divine power of Christianity—as a school of Christian experience, as a voice of instruction and warning to all who choose to hear, and which speaks to all ages of the world." His task has been accomplished for the first thousand years of Christian History; and the verdict of his countrymen has been pronounced in language of universal reverence and cordial gratitude. We can only remark generally, in passing, of all the later portion, for our present notice must be confined to the early ages, that we rejoice that the office of giving to the divinity which is treasured up in our own tongue the pages of such a writer, has fallen to an American, and to one who could so happily perform, as Professor Torrey has done, the arduous work of converting into easy English his involved periods; for Neander, amongst his other excellencies, does not include a graceful style, nor a striking clearness of expression. These excellencies, with many others, we might have enjoyed in the history, which it is not yet too late to hope from one whom his resources, even more than an official call, summoned to so high a labor.

As preparatory to this great work, he published separate treatises on particular persons and topics, rightly judging that no good ecclesiastical history of any period could be written, until the works of each writer, who flourished during the period, had been examined, and the information supplied by them collected and arranged under its proper heads. Accordingly he published, in 1812, the Emperor Julian and his Times;

in 1813, St. Bernard and his Times; in 1818, Genetic Development of the principal Gnostic Systems; in 1821, a work on Chrysostom, and the Church of his Times; from 1822 to 1825 he published a periodical, entitled Memorabilia from Christianity and the Christian life; and in 1825 a work on the Anti-Gnostic Spirit of Tertullian. The same year he published the first part of the first volume of the History of the Christian Religion and the Church. The second part was published the following year, (1826,) and the third part in 1827, bringing down the history to A. D. 311, which is as far as we now propose to come down in our notice. The Planting and Training of the Christian Church was published in 1832, and the Life of Christ in 1837. Various other works have been published by our author, but either subsequent to the dates of the above, or not bearing directly upon the question under consideration.

Our author has also been aided in his work by the exhibition of facts and criticisms, in monographs from the pens of other distinguished writers, among the principal of which may be mentioned, the Life and Times of Justin Martyr, by *Semisch*; of Origen, by *Thomasius* and *Redpenning*; of Cyprian, by *Rittberg*; of Athanasius the Great, by *Moehler*; of Gregory of Nyssa, by *Ullman*; of Basil the Great, by *Klose*; and of Augustine, by *Biederman*. In the history of *Doctrines*, the works of *Muenscher* and *Baumgarten-Crusius* afford important aid, to say nothing of those of *Engalhardt* and *Hagenbach*. The facts of history had also been variously and copiously digested by *Weismann*, whom Dr. Pusey describes as possessed of "deep piety, sound and tranquil judgment, but lacking order and completeness;" by the two *Walch*, industrious and honest inquirers; by *Schroeck*, whom Prof. Stuart calls a "consummate master of Church History and patristical learning;" whose works, as continued by *Tzschirner*, contain forty-five volumes; by *Henke*, (continued by Vater,) whose work is characterized by Hase as "a representation of errors in religion and judicial process against spiritual despotism in every shape;" and by other authors of less note. Still, whatever assistance Neander may have derived from the labors and researches of others, he is governed by the opinion of no man, nor any set of men. Not even the united voice of the Church through the whole period of its existence, can command his assent, unless the point commends itself to his own judgment. "Whatever," he says, "appears to me to be true or most probable, after candid, earnest inquiry, with all reverence for the sacredness of the subject, I utter, without

looking at consequences." We are sure, therefore, in the works of Neander, of finding his own private opinion, where any opinion is expressed, and not the opinions of others. It is *Neander's* learning and judgment on which we are to rely, in reading his works, and hence the importance of knowing something of both. We have felt, therefore, that we should do our readers a favor in pointing out those parts which must be received with caution and allowance.

In the several works placed at the head of this article, our author has given us his view of the Founder of our Religion, of the Planting and Training of the Apostolic Churches, and of the history of those Churches for two hundred years after the death of the last of the Apostles. That Neander is a man of great and extensive learning, deeply read, especially in patristic lore, having a kind heart and warm piety, heartily detesting parties in religion, is evident from all his works. He has, too, great facility in what the Germans call "the genetic development" of his subject, that is, of tracing up the acts of individuals to the causes which gave birth to the motive producing the act. This mode of treating history—now so common and popular, though perhaps suggested by the philosophies of Schelling and Hegel, really owes its existence to our author, and it is this, perhaps, more than any thing else, which has given him the title of "the father of *modern* Church History," bestowed upon him by his admirers. This is an important feature of history, and enhances its value immeasurably, when we can be certain that it has been correctly done. But in proportion as the proper learning, judgment or spirit are wanting, it not only ceases to be useful, but becomes a prolific source of error and mischief. How comprehensive must be this learning, how sound this judgment, and how pure this spirit, will be evident from a moment's reflection. Whoever attempts to discover the *motive* by which another has been actuated, must not only be acquainted with the acts from which the motive is inferred, but must also know the preceding and attendant circumstances, for such is the variety and complexity of motives entering into human actions, that ignorance of some one important fact *may* vitiate every opinion and judgment formed concerning the acts of our contemporaries,—certainly *will* vitiate our judgments concerning those of antiquity. Hence, *the development of the motive* producing an act, becomes a matter of no small difficulty. But the development of the originating cause of the motive, is vastly more difficult. A full knowledge of all the outward circumstances preceding and accompanying an act, would not alone

be sufficient for this. The subjective character and peculiar stand-point of the actor must also be known, before we can form a proper estimate of the causes producing the motive that prompted the act. It is true, that the general laws regulating human actions, may furnish ground, more or less probable, for *guessing* the motive; but such inferential guesses may never be looked upon as certain facts. The *historico-genetic-development* of history requires of the historian, therefore, what the writer of fiction aims to perform,—to describe not only the acts of men, but also the motives producing the act, together with the causes originating the motive. The historian, however, labors under this difficulty, that all his *facts* are determined by existing *records*, the completeness of which he cannot certainly know, while the novelist has only to invent such facts as in his judgment might flow from certain assumed motives and reasons. In short, infallible knowledge and infallible judgment are indispensable to the certainty of history written upon this plan. Just in proportion, therefore, as the writer fails on either point, by mistaking the facts, or in judging them by a preconceived erroneous theory,—his work ceases to be one of pure history, becoming to the extent of the fallibility, fiction, or at most, romance of history. In this way, fact and fiction are so blended in the picture, that it requires almost as much learning and judgment to separate the two, as it would have done to have compiled a genuine history in the first instance. And further, when the picture is from the hand of a master,—from a Neander or a Macaulay,—a false impression is made, which time can never wear out, and learning hardly correct.

The *Church* historian needs, also, in addition to accurate knowledge and sound judgment, the proper spirit of the Christian and the Churchman. He who would understand and describe the developments of the Christian spirit, must partake of that spirit; and he who would write the *history of the Church*, must have a right conception of the nature and mission of the Church. Any mistake or misapprehension here, will spread itself through a whole work, distorting and perverting every thing pertaining to the Church. The want of any one of these qualifications may totally unfit a man for the office of an historian, whatever may be his attainments in other respects. The want of a right spirit, when speaking of Christianity, makes the pages of *Gibbon*, of whom Newman says, (Theo. Devel. p. 12,) that he is "the chief, perhaps the only English writer who has any claims to be considered an ecclesiastical historian," a caricature, not a history. A sim-

ilar defect, co-existing with great rashness of judgment, caused the learned but unhistorical *Semler* to reject a large share of the materials from which every history must be drawn, and made him the father of the Rationalistic view of history. The piety, learning, diligence, and general good judgment displayed by *Gottfried Arnold*, in his Church History, are more than counterbalanced by his false theory of Life in the Church, rendering his work not merely useless, but pernicious; the apology, not the cure of schism and sectarianism. And nearly as much may be said of *Milner*. So, too, *Gieseler's* textbook of Ecclesiastical History, notwithstanding the judgment, honesty, and thorough learning of the author, is rendered comparatively valueless as a *Church* History, by the Rationalistic views and false theories of the author. Gibbon could see nothing but sheer hypocrisy in every pretence to the supernatural. Semler was willing to allow an honest conviction to the narrators of the marvelous, though the marvel had no real existence beyond their imaginations. Arnold could see no piety, save among sectaries and schismatics, and Gieseler finds in the Church and its creeds only the accidental results of natural causes and human elements; a censure that is applicable to some extent to Hase also. Mosheim and Guericke breathe a better spirit, though trammeled and narrowed by the peculiarities of their sect or party.

Another important qualification of the historian is, that he be a good narrator, a qualification almost entirely wanting in our most eminent Church historians, if we except Milman, who gives the worldly, rather than the religious side of the picture, and Gibbon, the interest of whose narrative is made to minister to the cause of unbelief. The immense interest of the mighty subject is best preserved in Fleury, because he copies so directly the original fountains of the story. It is almost lost in the perusal of Mosheim, of Gieseler, and even of Waddington. Burton and Palmer give but the merest outline; and we are driven, if we would warm our hearts with the fire of holy example, to the venerable simplicity of Cave, or the somewhat narrow, but glowing earnestness of Milner.

The narrative of Neander is not animated nor picturesque; and indeed, he seems to write as one who has neither eyes nor ears for the external march of Christianity. In this, he reminds us of his "kinsman after the flesh," Joseph Wolff, who, after traversing regions untrodden by all other Europeans, and seeing every tribe of the East, comes back with a mere record of his conversations and discussions. History, to the eye of

Neander, is but the development of principles, mental tendencies, and modes of thought and belief; and men are simply minds. Their various fates are introduced, as if only in parenthesis, or as things necessary to be told, that the thread of the more internal history may be preserved, or as illustrations. But in his own sphere, he is unrivaled; and never has so discriminating a finger so thoroughly unraveled the delicate distinctions, and fixed the peculiar features, and traced the various progress, of the different types and forms, which in the early ages were taken by a true or a false Christianity.

Neander yields to none of the historians mentioned, in the extent, variety, and general accuracy of his learning, nor in the child-like simplicity of his faith. But like all the rest, he has his *theory*, the influence of which is seen in every thing he writes in regard to the early ages. Whoever, therefore, would understand and properly appreciate the historical and theological works of Neander, must know what that theory is, for not only the Church and its doctrines, but the authenticity and genuineness of the books of Scripture and the productions of the early Fathers, are ruled and judged by it. This is not urged against him as a fault; for from the very nature of the case it is hardly possible it could be otherwise. Yet the fact should be known and borne in mind, as forming one of the criteria by which the value of his judgment upon any given point is to be determined. It is not to the fact of his having a theory, but to the nature of the theory, that objection is made. If, as we suppose, the peculiarities of his theory find their origin and explanation in the theology of Schleiermacher, and the philosophy of Jacobi, in what he calls "the critical," but which we should consider the unbelieving "element of his times," and a feeling antagonistical to every thing in that Judaism in which he was educated, they will explain some things in his writings not otherwise easily accounted for. Rauch, in his account of the Church historians of Germany, informs us that Neander is a disciple of Jacobi, according to whom, our knowledge of divine things is derived from immediate consciousness, and faith is a rational instinct, a knowing from immediate feeling, a direct perception of the supersensible, without any intervening proof. Neander's admiration of Schleiermacher is everywhere apparent, and he bestows upon him the highest eulogies. "Honor to the memory of that great man," he exclaims, "whose profoundly logical mind humbled itself, in pure love of Truth, before the power of History!" It must be acknowledged, however, that while he stands on substantially Schleiermacher's ground, in regard to

the Church, he attaches himself more closely to the real and positive element of religion than his master, though what he gains in truth, he loses in the consistency of his theory. That the spirit of antagonism towards every thing Jewish is a prevailing sentiment in Neander's mind, is evident from all his works, but is nowhere else so distinctly avowed as in his *Introduction* to Coleman's Apostolical and Primitive Church. There he says, "In the Old Testament every thing relating to the kingdom of God was estimated by *outward forms* and promoted by specific *external rites*. In the New, every thing is made to depend upon what is *internal* and *spiritual*." The falsity of this assumption might be made apparent from Neander's own pages, as well as from a great variety of other sources; but we can only remark at present, that the idea of a "spiritual religion," such as he regards that of the New Testament, being "developed" from a religion of forms, such as he declares that of the Old Testament to be, is not merely improbable, but absolutely absurd. Without, therefore, going into an examination of all that Neander has published on this subject, we propose to bring out, briefly as may be, some of the results to which he has come, as furnishing the best means for estimating the character and tendency of his works. This will be done in reference to the Gospel History, the Church, and the Doctrines of the Church,—three of the most prominent and important topics connected with Church History.

In regard to the nature of the materials from which we are to obtain a knowledge of the Gospel History, our author says: "The settled result of my investigations on this subject may be stated as follows: The historical remains, as well as the nature of the case, show that the writing of the Gospel history did not originate in any design to give a connected account of the life and public ministry of Christ as a whole, but rather grew out of traditional accounts of separate scenes in his history. These accounts were partly transmitted by word of mouth, and partly laid down in written memoirs. . . . . Our first three Gospels resulted from the compilation of separate materials, as Luke himself states in his introduction. Matthew's Gospel, in its present form, was not the production of the Apostle whose name it bears, but was founded on an account written by him in the Hebrew language." (L. C., p. 6.) Hence our author says, (L. C., p. 26): "It is necessary to distinguish what is objectively real in the narrative, from what arises from the subjective stand-point of the author of our Matthew's Gospel, who certainly did not receive the account from an eye witness." But at the same time it is confessed

that "Matthew himself was the original source of the materials of the Gospel which bears his name." (L. C., p. 213.) How the assertion that the materials for a Gospel History, derived from Matthew the Apostle, is to be reconciled with the assertion that they did not come from an "eye witness," we are not told, nor shall we stop to inquire. Again, he says: "Luke's statements, derived from eye witnesses, are full, while those of Matthew are abridged reports." (L. C., p. 196.) Yet we are told in another place, that "the Acts, like Luke's Gospel, was compiled from separate accounts," (Tr. and Pl. A. C., p. 83,) that "Luke is never to be regarded as the author of a history complete in all its parts, but simply as a writer, who, without historical art, puts together what he heard or saw, or what became known to him by the reports of others." (T. and P. A. C., p. 126.) Hence, when "the means of information within his reach" (Ib. p. 72) were not full, he had no "accurate knowledge of the particulars of Paul's life," and consequently drew "erroneous conclusions." (Ib., pp. 118, 119.) John's Gospel, however, he supposes "contains a consecutive account of the labors of CHRIST," (L. C., p. 6,) by an "eye witness." (Ib., p. 291.) And yet he does not scruple to say that even John sometimes applies "words uttered by CHRIST, in a sense different from the original one, when he must have known that CHRIST applied them differently." Our author allow's that "John's authority in regard to the sense of the words of the Master whom he followed so devoutly, and whose sayings he preserved so faithfully, is necessarily of great weight; *still, in the explanation of special expressions, the natural relations and connection might compel us to deviate from him.*" (L. C., p. 172.) In view of all this, it will not surprise us to find our author saying, that what we have concerning the life of CHRIST "consists of fragmentary accounts, whose literal accuracy we have no right to suppose." (L. C., p. 11.) From this account of our author's view of the nature of the Gospel history, we may readily infer the nature of that "unfettered criticism" (L. C., p. 7) which he employs. Nor does the theory of Inspiration which he adopts oppose any obstacle to this mode of proceeding, for he considers "the difference between the inspired prophet and the ordinary Christian believer, in regard to the reception of GOD'S truth, as not a difference in kind, but in degree," supposing that "all Divine communications" are made known by "incorporating themselves with the natural psychological development of the mind," and hence, that we are "to apply the general laws of the mind to the development of whatever is communicated to it by a higher light." (L. C., p. 59.)

"Neander," remarks the writer quoted near the commencement of our article, "with every wish to be candid, is sometimes misled by the very clearness of his perception of inward development. He reasons from what must be to what was, even in the face of irresistible facts; and sometimes, with scarcely a particle of evidence, beyond his own critical discernment of the spirit of Christianity in a certain age, rejects a document, or asserts the origin of a custom, or supposes a course of events as they ought to have been. This is strikingly evident, where two or three of his favorite ideas are involved; and principally where that of the spiritual priesthood of each believer, the darling theory of his mind is imagined to be at hazard; a theory to which he has given a prominence and attached a train of consequences quite unsustained by the few expressions of the New Testament in which a similar language occurs, and quite at war with the position and office of the Apostles and their contemporaries in the Christian ministry. In truth, he is altogether too much a reasoner to be a perfect historian; and his work is often less a history than a comment on history; and a comment rather profound than either comprehensive or accurate."

But it is not the Evangelists alone that have, in the opinion of our author, erred in regard to particular facts; the Church has also erred in regard to whole books of Scripture. The first Epistle to Timothy, he considers of doubtful authenticity, (T. and P. A. C., p. 193); the second Epistle of Peter, in his opinion, wants the "marks of genuine Apostolic origin," while it has many that are "apocryphal," (Ib. 213;) and the Apocalypse, he declares, "cannot be acknowledged as a work of the Apostle." (Ib., p. 223.) His opinion is, that some one wrote it in John's name, "soon after the death of Nero," and that the author having lived long enough to "see that his prophecies were not fulfilled in individual instances, ... put a stop to the circulation of the book,—that after his death, and the death of the Apostle John, it was again made public, and passed more easily as the work of the latter." (Ib. 224.) We cannot forbear remarking that his countryman, Olshausen, equally learned with our author himself, says that "all historical tradition is unanimous in behalf of John's composition of the Revelations," to which may be added, that Melito, Bishop of Sardis, one of the cities addressed in the Apocalypse, wrote a commentary upon this book within about seventy years of St. John's death. So also he considers the twenty-first chapter of St. John's Gospel, as spurious, though the tradition contained in it he regards as credible. Yet Blomfield says this opinion "is as destitute of all internal proof, as of external authority." And Tholuck declares that "as to critical grounds for it, there are none at all, and the linguistic ones are very inconsiderable." We have no room for comment upon these views; nor, indeed, can any be necessary, for it must be evident to every one that the dissemination of opinions and views like these, throughout any community, cannot fail to lessen the reverence of unlearned Christians for the Scriptures, and to

unsettle the minds of those easily led astray. We make all allowance for the time, and place, and circumstances, when and where Neander writes, and had he been willing to come up to the standard of his equally learned, but more orthodox contemporaries, we should hardly have said a word. As the case now stands, we regard this point as one upon which the judgment of Neander not only cannot be relied upon, but deserves decided reprehension.

By the Church, Neander understands "a union of men arising from the fellowship (communion) of religious life." (L. C., p. 122.) He says also, that our LORD knew the word proclaimed, "contained the elements of a spiritual community that would burst asunder the confining forms of the Jewish Theocracy, and take all mankind into its wide embrace." (Ib. p. 123.) Yet he says that "He founded no outwardly complete and accurately defined religious community, with a fixed form of government, usages, and rules of worship; but after planting the germ of this community, left it also to human agency, guided by the same HOLY SPIRIT, to develop the *forms* which it should assume under the varying relations of human society." (Ib. p. 125.) Our author also supposes that the Christians themselves had no idea, at first, of "establishing a distinct mode of worship," (P. and T. A. C., p. 31,) and that when it became necessary to do it, they "found a model for such smaller community within the great national Theocracy existing among the Jews, along with the Temple worship, namely, the *Synagogues*." (Ib. p. 32.) He also supposes that "it was most natural for Christianity, developing itself from out of Judaism, to embrace this form;" because "it was the custom of Christianity to appropriate to its own use existing forms, when it found any which suited its spirit and essence." (Ch. Hist., pp. 105, 106.) Now if the first assumptions of our author are well founded, the last are more than doubtful. That Christianity, "developing itself out of Judaism," should follow the human model of a Synagogue, which was no integral part of Judaism, but a mere accidental circumstance attending it, rather than the divine model presented in the Temple-worship, seems to us altogether improbable. St. John, according to our author's own account, "found no difficulty in employing the forms of the Jewish cultus as the prefiguring symbols of his Christian views." (P. and T. A. C., p. 218.) St. James, he allows, "received the new spirit under the old forms." (Ib. p. 305.) The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, he tells us, supposed that "the communion with the sanctuary of heaven bestowed by Christianity, would be

carried on in this world, in combination with a cultus that typified heavenly things; that a new and higher spirit would continue to operate in the ancient forms of religion," (Ib. p. 296,) and in another place he admits that "among the Jewish Christians the ancient forms of the Jewish cultus were retained." (Ib. p. 98.)

Whatever ground there may be for inferring that the Synagogue served as a model for the Church, our author informs us, that it was soon found altogether insufficient. The office of Deacon, the first office created by the Apostles, is admitted to have "originated in the immediate wants of the Primitive Church, ... and was in some points dissimilar to that of the Jewish Synagogue, or of later Churches, ... though the later office of this name developed itself from the first." (T. P. A. C., p. 34.) It is assumed, however, that "the appointment of Presbyters in the Christian Church entirely corresponded with that of Presbyters in the Jewish Synagogue," whence it is inferred that there was "a plurality of Presbyters in every Church." (Ib. 35.) It is also admitted that while all these were "next in rank to the Apostles," the "one who acted as president was distinguished as *primus inter pares*," (Ib. 35,) and in the course of the "second century" was "distinguished from the rest of the Presbyters, by the name of Bishop." (Ch. Hist., p. 109.) At the same time, that is, in the second century, it is allowed that we find the ministry looked upon "as a Priesthood," which our author supposes to have arisen from an intermixture "of the Old and New Testament notions," which, he is careful to add, "the Apostles and first Christians had kept decidedly distinct." (C. H., p. 111.) In other words, the views which are admitted to have been entertained by St. John, St. James, and the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, in regard to outward forms, were generally prevalent in the Church in the second century, instead of that bare spiritualism which he has set forth as the teaching of the early Church in general, and St. Paul in particular. How this change was effected, our author is only able to guess, since, by his own confession, "we are without any precise and perfect information as to the manner in which this change took place." (Ch. H., p. 109.) He might have added further, as he does in fact, that "there is no *historical trace*" that any such change ever did take place. But all this absence of proof as to the existence of the thing opposes no obstacle to our author. That Episcopacy did exist in the second century, he knows is certain; that it did not exist in the first century, he thinks is probable; and hence he proceeds

to give us a *genetic-development* of its origin and progress, in a passage that might be given as furnishing a good specimen of the most approved method of extracting history from mere moonshine. The foundation of his argument is an *assumption*, on which he bases several *suppositions*, from which he draws an *inference*, which inference he treats as a *fact*; thus proving a point of which there is no proof. In regard to the Church, and every thing connected therewith, this remark may be made, that having his own stand-point external to the Church, as an organic body, and assuming the incompatibility of the real and visible, with the invisible and spiritual, he is continually censuring acts and things, which, viewed from another and truer position, are not merely allowable, but necessary and praiseworthy; and talks of men's "confusing the outward and inward," when in truth they have only held them in their proper connection.

In regard to the Church, whether we consider its *form* or its *spirit*, Neander is more unsatisfactory than upon any other point. While with Schleiermacher he places the Person of CHRIST, as the Redeemer and Author of a new Life, in the centre of Theology, and holds that men are renewed by participation in that Life, he does not hold all the necessary and logical consequences flowing therefrom. For, if the grace which renews the soul, be a spiritual essence, having an objective existence, independent of man, which he is to receive by faith, for the renewing and saving of his soul, certain other facts must exist along with this. There must be, first, a body in which this Life can live,—which must be the Church. And, secondly, there must be means by which we are united to that body, in order that we may partake of the Life that dwells in the same,—which means are the sacraments. But since the sacraments cannot administer themselves, there must be, thirdly, a ministry by which the sacraments are to be administered. The doctrine, therefore, (1,) that renewing grace is a spiritual essence, "a new divine vital principle of the Spirit proceeding from CHRIST," (P. and T. A. C., pp. 249, 257;) "a new Spirit of Life imparted by CHRIST," (Ib. p. 258,) whence follows "the renovation of human nature by the divine principle of Life," (Ib. 271,) requires also (2) a medium of transmission for that Life—*the Church*; (3,) means of union or communication with the medium of transmission—*the sacraments*; (4,) agents for effecting this union—*the ministry*; and (5) reception on the part of man by the act of *faith*. That Neander holds the first point, we have just seen. That he holds the last, will be apparent from a few quotations:

"From faith in the Redeemer, a new divine principle of Life proceeds." (Ib. 258.) "By the righteousness of CHRIST appropriated by faith,—something new is deposited in the inner Life [of man] which must be progressively developed." (Ib. p. 262.) "The divine Life which they have received through faith." (Ib. p. 266.) "The divine Life begun by faith." (Ib. p. 290). "By faith, entrance is made into communion with the Redeemer and a participation obtained in His Divine Life." (Ib. p. 314.)

But though he holds both the beginning and the end, he loses sight of all intermediate points. How faith, which is an internal act of the soul, is to go out from the soul to obtain part in that new Life, or how that new Life is communicated to the soul, he nowhere informs us. He assures us that "through faith each one enters for himself into fellowship with the Redeemer, and partakes of the Holy Spirit as a new principle of Life," (Ib. 272,) but gives us no account of the means to be employed for this purpose. That there is inconsistency and want of logical connection in his views upon this point, has been felt by many of his admirers. Rev. Dr. Nevins, of the German Reformed Church, says: "Neander's style of thinking is unchurchly, almost to the extreme of Quakerism,—a sore fault in that great master of Church History." (Antichrist, p. 5.) And Dr. Schaf, of the same communion, says: "It is not to be denied, that in point of *Church* character, Neander's History is no longer fully equal to the demands of the time. Neander stands still on Schleiermacher's ground in this respect, that the Church spirit appears with him under an indefinite form, and in the general character too much of a mere feeling of communion. Hence his aversion to a pointedly distinct orthodoxy, and his partiality towards all free dissenting tendencies." (Ch. H., p. 79.) It does not surprise us to hear men who appreciate so well the wants of the Church in this respect, say: "I have all respect for the Episcopal system. It possesses many undeniable advantages, and by its antiquity besides must command the veneration of all who have any right historical feeling." (Schaf. Prot. Principle, p. 126.) Or that "the English Book of Common Prayer," "which gathered into itself, with reverential affection, the liturgical creations of the ancient Church, continues to this day a rich source of edification and the pride of the Episcopal Church; while the numerous liturgies and hymn-books of Rationalism, and unhistorical Protestantism generally, have been able to maintain themselves only a short time." (Ch. H., p. 119.) Yet, after all, it is undoubtedly the unhistorical

view taken by Neander, that contributes greatly to his popularity among the unchurchly sects in this country. We may say, therefore, that however successful our author may be, in the genetic development of the faith of others, he has not given a satisfactory, or a consistent genesis of his own faith. Nor can his premises and conclusions be consistently united, save by supplying a Church, sacraments and a ministry, such as the Church has taught from the beginning.

That portion of Neander's work which treats of the development of *doctrine*, is altogether unsatisfactory, and eminently calculated to mislead. While the part which treats of "the genetic development of Church Theology," (Ch. H., § v, p. 323, ut seq.,) contains many things worthy of careful attention, the general impression made upon the mind of the reader, will be, that he regards *Church Theology*,—which he distinguishes from *Scriptural doctrine*,—as having been *formed* during the controversies of the early ages, and that if it had any previous existence, it was only as a state of doctrinal chaos. Indeed, much of what he looks upon as the dogmatic teaching of the Church, he traces directly to some of the opinions of the heretics, first condemned and then embraced. In this view Neander and Newman are in close agreement. Neander says, (Ch. H., p. 331,) "It is worthy of observation that the Catholic Church, afterwards in a general way, adopted much which it had at first justly and on right evangelical principles blamed in the Montanists,—much of what the Montanists maintained." And Newman tells us, (Theo. Devel., p. 165,) that "not in one principle or doctrine only, but in its whole system, Montanism is a remarkable anticipation or presage of developments which soon began to show themselves in the Church." Both also regard the Montanists as holding "the notion of a progressive development of the Church, ... maintaining that the arrangements and ordinances of the Church might be changed and improved, according to the necessities of the times, by means of the progressive instruction of the Paraclete." The only objection to their view being, as Newman supposes, (Devel., p. 165,) that they developed too fast—thus "precipitating the growth of the Church." We have not space to follow Neander through this portion of his subject, nor is it necessary that we should. The painful uncertainty at which the learning and skill of our author have enabled him to arrive, would not repay the labor of the investigation. After all his labor and research, he has been able to give us nothing certain, in respect to the first principles of the faith,—"of the person of CHRIST" in par-

ticular, (Pref. L. C., p. xxvii,) and he leaves us in doubt whether he is a true orthodox man, a high Arian, or a Sabellian. So much, however, is certain, that after all the labor and travail of the Church, amid conflict and controversy, in defining and guarding and developing the doctrine of the Trinity, she has, in the opinion of our author, so far failed of coming to a knowledge of the truth, that no one of her creeds, save the Apostles, "could be subscribed by him, as an unconditional expression of his religious convictions." (L. C. Pref. p. xxvi.) Indeed, because "formulæ and symbolical books cannot bring into the hearts of men vital Christianity," he infers that they tend to "banish the life-giving spirit," and "introduce in its stead a dead, delusive, and limiting substitute," (Pref. 3d Part, C. H., p. cccxxi,) and he would, therefore, abolish them altogether. That these have been employed by the Church from the beginning is nothing to him, for he says, "it is time for a new beginning of Biblical criticism, of New Testament exegesis, of inquiries into the formation of the Canon," (Pref. L. C., p. xxii,) from which he supposes may result "a symbol adapted to the new stage of the Church's development." (Ib. p. xxvi.)

We have room only to subjoin a few examples of what we conceive to be erroneous development of doctrine, on points not touching the organization of the Church, and upon which those who profess to be evangelical in doctrine may be supposed to be agreed. Baptism, he says, was not instituted by Christ, (L. C., p. 125,) and "such passages as John iii, 22, Mat. xxviii, 19, arose only from the attempts of a later period to ascribe the origin of baptism to Christ." Not quite in harmony with this, is the statement that "we certainly cannot prove that when Christ commanded his disciples to baptize in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, He intended to establish a particular formula of baptism." (C. H., p. 197.) Neither is it proved, as he asserts, that "Christ did not ordain infant baptism," (Ib. p. 198,)—nor "that the practice of it was unknown in the Apostolic age." (T. and P. A. C., p. 101.) Nor is the assertion that "baptism was originally administered by immersion," (C. H., p. 196,) or "submersion," (P. and T. A. C., p. 101,) sustained. Again it is said that "the celebration of the Holy Supper continued to be [in the Apostolic age] connected with the common meal, in which all, as members of one family, joined," (Ib. p. 103;) a representation which falls as much below the truth, as the corporeal doctrine of the Eucharist, attributed to Ignatius, Justin Martyr, and Irenæus, (C. H., p. 402,) exceeds it. In the same class of unproved assumptions, must be placed the

assertion made in his Church History, (p. 186,) and repeated in his Apostolic Age, (p. 99,) that "Sunday, like all other festivals, was always only a human ordinance;" and that St. Paul "considers it the most genuine Christianity to think every day alike, to hold none as peculiarly sacred to the LORD." (P. and T. A. C., p. 99.)

We have now put our readers in possession of some of the most material of the excellencies and defects of Neander, to which we must add, though we have no space for proof, that there is in him, not unfrequently, a certain careless quoting and paraphrazing of authors, which sometimes entirely change the sense,—an ambiguity of expression touching many points of doctrine that is painful to one seeking information,—a manifest sympathy with heretics and schismatics, as against the Church, and occasional rashness of judgment, generally growing out of some theory, that is much to be regretted. Even his translator, Mr. Rose, is compelled to admit that Neander's statements in regard to the Trinity, are "shadowy and indistinct," and that his view of the development of doctrine "supposes that all doctrines were in a mere chaotic state till controversies arose, and that the doctrines were then actually formed during the controversies, and new doctrines were thus, as it were, thought out and made by these controversies." In which judgment we fully concur.

In conclusion, we only add, that the deep, large, loving spirit of the man makes the perusal of his volumes, after every deduction from their value, a singular delight. His spirit not only urges him to seek out and to display the fruits of the Spirit in every region and every class; not only kindles him to an untiring glow where he dwells on the inward history of men like Augustin and Chrysostom; but inspires a palliating feeling towards the errors of Origen, casts a favorable construction on the motives of Novatian, finds zeal and love even in the daring heretic Marcion, and may be traced in his masterly and minute dissection of the varieties of Gnosticism. That such a temper has in Neander one of the due restraints upon its exclusive operation, a strong sense and just appreciation of what is most vital in the doctrines of the Gospel, is unquestionable; but it would have another in a more practical acquaintance with mankind than his habits of study and of life have permitted him to cultivate, and in a higher regard for the objective in the Christian system. An excellent English clergyman, who at one time resided at Berlin, remarked that if the great historian of Christianity would ride up and down the country in a stage-coach for a few months, he would not always take for granted the honesty of every thinker.

Art. V.—JOHN WESLEY AND THE METHODISTS.

The history of John Wesley and the Methodists will furnish one of the most instructive chapters in the annals of Christianity. In all movements there are always some leading facts and some principles involved, by which the result can be seen with a certainty sufficient to serve as a guide to our conduct in relation to them; while the ripening developments of time only are sufficient to constitute those results the basis from which we may argue backward to the character of the movement that produced them. We are now able to approach the subject of Methodism from both these points. The principles of its origin can never be better understood than they are now and have been for years past; but the results, though fast unfolding to our observation, are as yet by no means fully seen, or fully comprehended by those who do see them. Even if the movement were now in its first inception, and we were left to the *a priori* method alone, there would be enough in the subject to bring it within our appropriate sphere as "Church Reviewers." There is, however, enough of its fruits already manifest to confirm all the conclusions at which we might arrive, if we were to reason from the nature of the movement alone.

In the present state of things it will be safer, and, as we believe, on the whole, more satisfactory, to confine our remarks chiefly to the origin of the sect, and to the grounds on which they base their justification—referring to the later developments of their system only occasionally as it may be found convenient for the sake of the confirmation or illustration of our views.

John Wesley came upon the stage of active exertions in England at the time when the religious principles, to which the Revolution of 1688 had given the ascendancy, had brought the Church to its deepest lethargy. The long line of Bishops who had regarded daily public prayer in the Church not only as meet and edifying usage, but also as a law of the Church of England too clearly expressed to admit of doubt, had been succeeded by those in whose various Charges, Pastoral Letters, &c., where one would expect to find it, we see no trace of the opinion that such public daily prayers were either obligatory upon the Clergy of the English Church, or edifying

to its people. The frequent administration of the Holy Communion had been pretermitted as a general practice, and a theology which considered Christianity as something distinct and separable from the Church of Christ, was all but unanimously acquiesced in. A general inactivity and indifference, bearing a near resemblance to spiritual death, was the spectacle that almost everywhere met the eye of the beholder. The heart of Wesley was deeply moved at the sight of this state of things. The following account of the origin of Methodism is given by Wesley himself:

"About thirty years ago I met with a book written in King Williams' time, called 'The Country Parson's Advice to his Parishioners.' There I read these words: 'If good men of the Church will unite together in the several parts of the kingdom, disposing themselves into friendly societies, and engaging each other in their respective combinations, to be helpful to each other in all good Christian ways, it will be the most effectual means for restoring our decaying Christianity to its primitive life and vigor, and the supporting of our tottering and sinking Church.' A few young gentlemen at Oxford approved of and followed the advice."*

In his LV Sermon, Wesley says:

"In the year 1725, a young student at Oxford was much affected by reading Kempis' 'Christian Pattern,' and Bishop Taylor's 'Rules of Holy Living and Dying.' He formed an earnest desire to live according to those rules, and to flee from the wrath to come. He sought for some that would be his companions in the way, *but could find none; so that for several years he was constrained to travel alone, having no man either to guide or to help him.*"† "In November, 1729, four young gentlemen at Oxford, Mr. John Wesley, Mr. Charles Wesley, Mr. Morgan, and Mr. Kirkham, began to spend some evenings in a week together in reading, chiefly the Greek Testament. The next year, two or three of Mr. John Wesley's pupils desired the liberty of meeting with them; and afterwards one of Mr. Charles Wesley's pupils. It was in 1732 that Mr. Ingham and Mr. Broughton were added to their number. To these, in April, Mr. Clayton, with two or three of his pupils. About the same time Mr. James Hervey was permitted to meet with them, and in 1735, Mr. Whitfield. The exact regularity of their lives as well as studies occasioned a young gentleman of Christ Church to say, 'Here is a new sect of Methodists sprung up,' alluding to some ancient physicians who were so called."‡ "These gentlemen were so far from feeling any inclination at all 'to new-model' any 'circumstance or thing,' [in the system of the national religion, as had been charged upon them,] that during their whole stay at Oxford they were High Churchmen in the strongest sense; vehemently contending for every 'circumstance' of Church order according to the old model. And in Georgia, too, we were vigorous observers of every rubric and canon, as well as (to the best of our knowledge) every tenet of the Church."§

At a period somewhat later than that to which the foregoing extracts refer, Mr. Wesley says, in answer to objections that were raised against the Methodists:

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* Wesley's Works, Ed. Emory, 1839. Vol. VII, p. 400. This extract is from a letter that appeared in "The London Magazine," 1760.

† Works, Vol. I, pp. 491, 492.

‡ A Short History of Methodism, Wesley's Works, Vol. V, p. 246.

§ Vol. V, p. 357.

"Others object that we do not observe the laws of the Church, and thereby undermine it. What laws? the rubrics or canons? In every parish where I have been curate yet, I have observed the rubrics with a scrupulous exactness, not for wrath, but for conscience' sake. And this, so far as belongs to an unbeneficed minister, or to a private member of the Church, I do now, (1744.) I will just mention a few of them and leave you to consider which of us has observed them or does observe them most.

(1.) "1. Days of fasting or abstinence to be observed. 2. The Ember Days at the four seasons. 3. The three Rogation Days. 4. All Fridays in the year except Christmas day."

Among other points, Mr. Wesley mentions the following also:

(2.) "Then [after the Nicene Creed in the Ante-communion service, the usual place for notices in the English Church] the curate shall declare unto the people what Holy Days or Fasting Days are in the week following to be observed."

(3.) "In cathedral and collegiate churches and colleges, where there are many priests and deacons, they shall all receive the communion with the priests *every Sunday at the least.*"

(4.) "The curate of every parish shall diligently upon Sundays and Holy Days, after the second Lesson at Evening Prayer, openly in the Church instruct and examine so many children as he shall think convenient, in some part of the Catechism."

"Now the question is not," continues Mr. Wesley, "whether these rubrics ought to be observed, (you take this for granted in making the objection,) but whether in fact they have been observed by you or me, most. Many can witness I have observed them punctually, yea, sometimes at the hazard of my life."*

Wesley's rule for fasting was, as he says, to use on fast days "no food but bread."†

We have now seen Wesley's professions of adherence to the Rubrics and Canons of the Church, and his declaration that he was a "High Churchman in the strongest sense." If we turn our attention to the Doctrines of the Church, we shall find him professing the same agreement with them. In his "Journal," Sept. 10, 1739, he says:

"At eight I exhorted our brethren to keep close to the Church and to all the ordinances of God, and to aim only at living 'a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty.'

"*Thursday*, 13. A serious clergyman desired to know in what points we differ from the Church of England. I answer, to the best of my knowledge, in none. The doctrines we preach are the doctrines of the Church clearly laid down, both in her Prayers, Articles, and Homilies. He asked, 'In what points, then, do you differ from the other clergy of the Church of England?' I answer, In none from that part of the clergy who adhere to the doctrines of the Church, but from that part of the clergy who dissent from the Church, (though they own it not,) I differ in the points following:

"1. They speak of justification either as the same thing as sanctification, or as something consequent upon it. I believe justification to be wholly distinct from sanctification, and necessarily antecedent to it.

"2. They speak of our own holiness or good works as the cause of our justification; or that for the sake of which or on account of which we are justified be-

* Vol. V, pp. 26, 27. An earnest appeal, &c. † Vol. V, p. 357.

fore God. I believe neither our own holiness nor good works are any part of the cause of our justification.

"3. They speak of good works as a condition of justification necessarily previous to it; I believe no good work can be previous to justification, or consequently a condition of it.

"4. They speak of sanctification (or holiness) as if it were an outward thing, as if it consisted chiefly if not wholly in these two points: 1. The doing no harm. 2. The doing of good, (as it is called,) that is, the using the means of grace and helping our neighbor. I believe it to be an inward thing, namely, the life of God in the soul of man and participation of the Divine nature—the mind that was in Christ, or renewal of the heart after the image of Him that created us.

"5. They speak of the new birth as an outward thing, as if it were no more than baptism, or at most a change from outward wickedness to outward goodness, from a vicious to (what is called) a virtuous life. I believe it to be an inward thing; a change from inward wickedness to inward goodness; an entire change of our inmost nature from the image of the devil (wherein we are born) to the image of God," &c., &c.†

On this last point we will follow Mr. Wesley a little further. Baptism is regarded by Wesley as merely the outward sign, and the new birth the inward grace. Hence he says:

"Baptism is not the new birth—they are not one and the same thing. [Here follows a quotation.] Here it is manifest baptism, the sign, is spoken of as distinct from regeneration, the thing signified."

He then quotes the Church Catechism as proving the same point:

"It is certain," says he, "our Church supposes that all who are baptized in infancy are at the same time born again; and it is allowed that the whole office for the baptism of infants proceeds upon this supposition. Nor is it an objection of any weight against this, that we cannot comprehend how this work can be wrought in infants. For neither can we comprehend how it is wrought in a person of riper years."† "Baptism is the outward sign of this inward grace which is supposed by our Church to be given with and through that sign to all infants, and to those of riper years, if they repent and believe the Gospel."‡

And alluding to those who had lost the grace of baptism, he says:

"He must go through an entire change of heart. In one not yet baptised you yourself would call that change the new birth. In him [who has been baptised but has lost the grace of baptism] call it what you will; but remember meantime that if either he or you die without it, your baptism will be so far from profiting you, that it will greatly increase your damnation."§

In his Treatise on Baptism, Wesley lays down these points as the benefits of baptism:

"1. The washing away the guilt of original sin, by the application of the merits of Christ's death." . . . . "He gave Himself for the Church, that He might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word, (Eph. v, 25, 26,) namely, in baptism, the ordinary instrument of our justification.

"2. By baptism we enter into covenant with God, into that everlasting cove-

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* Vol. III, pp. 153, 154.
† Vol. I, pp. 404, 405. Ser. XLV.
‡ Vol. V, p. 36.
§ Ibid.

nant which He hath commanded forever, (Ps. cxi, 9,) that new covenant which He promised to make with the Spiritual Israel, even to give them a new heart and a new spirit, to sprinkle clean water upon them, [of which the baptismal is only a figure,] and to remember their sins and iniquities no more.

"3. By baptism we are admitted into the Church, and consequently made members of Christ its Head. . . . . From which spiritual, vital union with Him proceeds the influence of His grace on those that are baptized; as from our union with the Church [proceeds] a share in all its privileges, and in all the promises Christ has made to it.

"4. By baptism we who were 'by nature the children of wrath' are made the children of God. And this Regeneration which our Church in so many places ascribes to Baptism, is more than barely being admitted into the Church, though commonly connected therewith; being grafted into the body of Christ's Church, we are made the children of God by adoption and grace. This is grounded on the plain words of the Lord. (John iii, 5.) By water, then, as a means, the water of Baptism, we are regenerated or born again; whence it is called by the Apostles, the washing of regeneration. . . . . Herein [Baptism] a principle of grace is infused which will not be wholly taken away, unless we quench the Holy Spirit of God, by long-continued wickedness.

"5. In consequence of our being made children of God, we are heirs of the Kingdom of Heaven. 'If children,' (as the Apostle observes,) 'then heirs, heirs of God and joint heirs with Christ.' Herein we receive a title too, and an earnest of a kingdom which cannot be moved. Baptism doth now save us if we live answerable thereto, if we repent, believe, and obey the Gospel: supposing this—as it admits us into the Church here, so into glory hereafter."*

We have quoted thus freely from the writings of Wesley, for the purpose of showing, that he intended to be an exact and scrupulous conformist to the English Church—that he agreed with its doctrines, as set forth in its Articles, Offices, and Homilies; and to show, moreover, what he considered to be the right and true interpretation of them. Much more might be quoted, but this is enough to justify his claim to be considered a "High Churchman in the strongest sense." Few persons can read the foregoing extracts without surprise. Still fewer of the Methodists, we fear, will believe them to be the declarations of Wesley himself, in his own words. But such they are. In some cases we have been obliged, for want of room, to omit some of his arguments, and such omissions are indicated by the usual sign. In no case, however, have we omitted a statement that would modify the meaning of what we have quoted.

That Wesley himself remained in the Communion of the Church of England to the day of his death, will be no matter of surprise to those who have considered the extracts from his writings, already given. He repeatedly declares, that he had no design to found a new sect—but only to stir up the members of the Church of England to a fuller realization of their privileges and obligations. And even after his followers

* Vol. VI, pp. 14, 15.

had become numerous, and spread over a large part of England, he exhorted them to attend upon the stated services of the Church on all occasions; and he called them together to hear himself and his preachers, only at such hours as would not interfere with their attendance upon Church.

In 1735, Wesley, his brother Charles, and Mr. Ingham, came to America. During his stay, he gathered what he calls the rudiments of a Methodist society in America.

"But notwithstanding this," says he, "both my brother and I were as vehemently attached to the Church as ever, and to every rubric of it—insomuch that I would never admit a dissenter to the Lord's Supper, unless he would be re-baptized. Nay, when the Lutheran minister of the Saltzburghers at Ebenezer, being at Savannah, desired to receive it, I told him I did not dare to administer it to him, because I looked upon him as unbaptized; as I judged baptism by laymen to be invalid; and such I counted all that were not episcopally ordained."*

In 1738, he returned to England, and large crowds flocked to hear him. About this time he began to be looked upon with disfavor, and many, if not most, of the pulpits in the land were closed against him. He began to preach in the fields. Many of his hearers "were cut to the heart, and came to him all in tears, inquiring with the utmost eagerness what they must do to be saved." "If all of you will meet on Thursday evening, I will advise you as well as I can," was the reply.

"The first evening," he continues, "about twelve persons came; the next week thirty or forty. When they were increased to about a hundred, I took down their names and places of abode, intending as often as it was convenient to call upon them at their own houses. Thus without any previous plan or design, began the Methodist Society in England—a company of people associating together to help each other to work out their own salvation."†

It is unnecessary to follow Mr. Wesley through all the steps in the formation of his society. The persons thus associated, seem soon to have got the idea of being a distinct Church, with a separate organization of their own. Against this measure, Wesley himself contended, as long as he lived; sometimes on the ground of inexpediency, and at others on the ground of principle. Thus, in his Journal, Sept. 26, 1756, he writes:

"About fifty of us being met, the rules of the society were read over and carefully considered, one by one—but we did not find any that could be spared. So we all agreed to abide by them all, and to recommend them with our might. We then largely considered the necessity of keeping in the Church, and using the clergy with tenderness, *and there was no dissenting voice. God gave us all to be of one mind and of one judgment.*" On Saturday following, he says, "my

* Vol. I, p. 492. Sermon LV. † Ib. p. 493.

brother and I closed the conference by a solemn declaration of our purpose never to separate from the Church, and all our brethren concurred therein."*

In 1758 appeared Wesley's "Reasons against a Separation from the Church of England." We cannot occupy space to quote them all; but to give our readers some idea of them, we will state them as briefly as we can. (1.) It would be a contradiction to their solemn and repeated declarations. (2.) It would give huge occasion for offence to all the enemies of God and His truth. (3.) It would prejudice their cause, in the minds of many that fear and love God, who might otherwise be benefitted. (4.) It would prevent many, that are now indifferent, from hearing them at all. (5.) Because the separation from the Church, would cause many hundreds, if not thousands, to leave them, [the Methodists.] (6.) It would give rise to much contention between the Methodists and the Church. (7.) It would give rise to controversies among the Methodists themselves. (8.) Because it would take more time, to form the plan of a new Church, than he could give to it. (9.) It would lead to much evil speaking against the order of Clergymen, so as to bring the whole order into contempt. (10.) Because similar attempts have frequently been made, but have never been prosperous; [sic,] "their influence became more and more confined, they grew less and less useful to others, and generally *lost the spirit of religion themselves, in the spirit of controversy.*" (11.) Is substantially the same as the 10th, though with a more immediate reference to what had recently occurred in England. (12.) It would be a total departure from their fundamental design, "direct contradiction to the end for which they believed that God had raised them up."†

It will be seen that Wesley is here speaking, as in fact he intimates, only of the *expediency* of the separation. "Whether it be lawful in itself or no, we cannot apprehend that it is lawful for us; were it only on this ground, that it is by no means expedient."

As late as 1789, Wesley was of the same opinion. He says:

"I never had any design to separate from the Church, I have no such design now. . . . . I declare once more that I live and die a member of the Church of England; and that none who regard my judgment or advice will ever separate from it."‡

Thus far, the quotations we have made, serve to show what was Wesley's view of the expediency of separation from the Church. But passages occur in which he speaks of the sep-

* Vol. III, p. 616. † Vol. VII, pp. 293, 294, 295. ‡ Ib. p. 326.

aration, in relation to its lawfulness. Thus in his Journal, Oct. 24, 1786, he says of separation:

"This I judge to be not only inexpedient, but *totally unlawful* for me to do."* In his letter to Mr. Walker, 1756, he says, "You advise secondly 'to keep in view also the unlawfulness of a separation from the Church of England.' To this likewise I agree. It cannot be lawful to separate from it, unless it be unlawful to continue in it."† In a letter to the same Mr. Walker, written a year previous to the one just quoted, he also says, that those among them who are in favor of a separation from the Church have "weighed the point long and deeply. They have very particularly and with earnest and continued prayer, considered the lawfulness of it. And they allow if it be lawful to abide therein, then it is not lawful to separate."‡

There can be no doubt, therefore, that with Wesley it was a matter of conscience, as well as of expediency, not to leave the Church. In his "Minutes of some late conversations," he says of the Church, "we hold communion therewith for *conscience's sake.*"§ Again, in his "Minutes of several conversations," referring to his urgency on the point of not separating from the Church, he says,

"Is there not a cause? Are we not unawares, by little and little, sliding into a separation from the Church? O, use every means to prevent this! Exhort all our people to keep close to the Church and sacrament. Warn them all against niceness in hearing—a common evil. Warn them also against despising the prayers of the Church—against calling our society 'the Church;' against calling our preachers 'ministers,' and houses 'meeting houses;' call them plainly preaching houses or chapels. Do not license them as Dissenters."‖ "We do not, we *dare not* separate from it, [the Church.] We are not Seceders, nor do we bear any resemblance to them."¶ So likewise in Sermon CXII. "Indeed they [the Methodists] have been long pressed to separate from it, [the Church;] to which they have had temptations of every kind. But they cannot, they *dare* not, they will not separate from it while they can remain therein with a clear conscience. It is true, if any sinful terms of communion were imposed upon them, then they would be constrained to separate; but as this is not the case at present, we rejoice to continue therein."**

It is hardly necessary to add, that no new or different terms of communion have been proposed since, and therefore in the estimation of Wesley, the present Methodists are without excuse. It is the glory of the Church, that it never proposes new terms, or conditions of communion. The sects around, who hold their creeds as it were in their hands, and alterable at will, change, and may change, their terms of communion from year to year. Each new measure of social reform, each new popular enthusiasm, may become incorporated into their most solemn formulæ; and laid as one of the foundation stones of their religion. But the Church, regarding herself only as

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* Vol. IV, p. 647. † Vol. VII, p. 276. ‡ Ib. p. 273.
§ Vol. V, p. 198. ‖ Ib. p. 227. ¶ Ibid.
** Vol. II, p. 392.

the *steward* of the mysteries of God, dares not add one word more, or inculcate one precept less, as the Rule of Faith, or the terms and conditions of communion at the Lord's Table, than He himself had ordained.

We have already seen the expression of Wesley's fears, that if the Methodists separated from the Church, they, as other sects have done, "would lose the spirit of religion, in the spirit of controversy," and on the Minutes of the Conference in 1770, he caused these words to be entered: "I fear when the Methodists leave the Church, God will leave them." On these predictions we forbear to make any comment.

We have seen that Wesley claimed to be a "High Churchman in the strongest sense." We have seen what were his views of the Fasts and Festivals of the Church, of the rubrics and canons, of frequent communion, of baptismal regeneration, and of separation from the Church, With a few quotations on one point more, we will dismiss this part of the subject.

In his Journal for Jan., 1746, we find the following opinions in Wesley's words:

"(1.) We believe it would not be right for us to administer either Baptism or the Lord's Supper, unless we had a commission so to do from those Bishops whom we apprehend to be in succession from the Apostles.

"(2.) We believe there is, and always was, in every Christian Church, (whether dependent on the Bishop of Rome or not,) an outward Priesthood, ordained by Jesus Christ, and an outward sacrifice offered therein, by men authorized to act as ambassadors of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God.

"(3.) We believe that the threefold order of ministers, (which you seem to mean by papal hierarchy and prelacy,) is not only authorized by its apostolical institution, but also by the written word."*

These statements were given in answer to a Mr. Hall, who had written to Wesley, "earnestly pressing" him and his brother Charles "to renounce the Church of England." In answer to Mr. Hall's argument, deduced from some ecclesiastical abuses, Mr. Wesley says,

"We allow that these laws, customs, and practices are really indefensible." But he adds, "We no more look upon these filthy abuses which adhere to our Church as a part of the building, than we look upon any filth which may adhere to the walls of Westminster Abbey, as a part of that structure."†

We anticipate that our readers will sympathize with us in our astonishment and wonder, how Wesley, with these views, could have been the founder of Methodism and the Methodists. That he clearly foresaw that the Methodists would become a distinct sect, is several times intimated. And yet he

* Vol. III, p. 362. † Ibid.

could not be turned from his course, by any considerations of this kind. When we hear a person boasting that he is a "High Churchman," we always suspect that there is something wrong in him. The boast is too Pharisaic to be indicative of a good source.

The inmost consciousness of one who boasts of being a High Churchman, is, generally that the Church, to his great delight, agrees with him, and not that he has submitted his judgment to the Church as "the Pillar and Ground of the truth." The *true* Churchman is humble, and would as soon boast of his piety, aye, of his humility itself, as of his Churchmanship.

Now it is evident that Wesley paid no true allegiance to the Church. The Church agreed with him, and gave her sanction to what he held as his opinions; therefore he exalted the Church, and was a "High Churchman, in the strongest sense." But when the Church discouraged his proceedings, and it became necessary that he should either abandon his plans or depart from what the Church taught, he does not appear to hesitate one moment. On Friday, Dec. 30, he could write as above in the letter to Mr. Hall, concerning the threefold order in the ministry, the Apostolic Succession, &c. &c., and on Monday, Jan. 20, following, *just twenty-one days* after, he could read on his road to Bristol, Lord King's "Account of the Primitive Church," and believe it was a fair and impartial draught, and come to the conclusion that "Bishops and Presbyters are essentially one order, and that originally every Christian congregation was a Church, independent on all others"!!* And *forty* years afterwards, he says in his letter to Dr. Coke: "Lord King's 'Account of the Primitive Church' convinced me *many years ago* that Bishops and Presbyters are the same order, and consequently have the same right to ordain."†

That certainly could not have been a very profound investigation, which was made "on the road," with no books or means to test the accuracy of Sir Peter's citations of authorities; and assuredly Mr. Wesley knew but little or nothing of the subject before, or his opinion could not have been so suddenly—not to say so easily—changed. It may serve to give our readers some further idea of the profoundness of Wesley's investigation, to remind them that Sir Peter King himself, when he wrote his "Account of the Primitive Church," knew so little of the subject, that he was afterwards convinced of his error by Mr. Slater, who answered his book, and gave him a

* Vol. III, p. 363. † Vol. VII, p. 311.

handsome living, as an expression of his gratitude for having been convinced of his error!

But let us look into Wesley's views of the Church a little more closely, and discover, if we can, the defects which led to his anomalous course. In his sermon "of the Church," after speaking of various senses in which the word is used, he gives his idea of a Church as a visible congregation:

"Several of those whom God hath *called out of* the world, uniting together in one congregation, formed a Church, as the Church at Jerusalem, that is, all those in Jerusalem whom God had so called."*

Now we would not be hypercritical, and quarrel with an expression, where a man's meaning is obviously correct. But this is not the case in the present instance. This statement very exactly states Wesley's idea—as doubtless it was designed to do—which we find running through all his works. It is erroneous in two essential points at least.

1. It involves the common error, that lies at the foundation of all modern sectarianism, in regard to causality of the Church —"persons uniting together formed a Church,"—that is, the Church is merely the voluntary association of those who are Christians. The cause of the Church's being is, therefore, on this theory, the voluntary act of men; and the Church originated in the human volition. Consequently it is not a divine, but a human institution, and if men had not *chosen* thus to unite, there would have been no Church. How different is St. Luke's account! "And the *Lord added to the Church* daily such as should be saved."† Here is nothing said about "Christians uniting" or associating themselves "together in one congregation." The causality is ascribed to the Lord. He added them to the Church.

It is true, that there is a sense in which the Church is a voluntary association. But, in the same sense, repentance, temperance, and chastity are *voluntary* duties. They are all alike commanded of God. Men may keep those commandments, or not. They are free to break or neglect them, if they choose to do so. But it is by no means a matter of indifference whether they keep them or not. If they violate them, they must abide the consequences. So with the Church; men may join, or not, as they choose, but it is no matter of indifference to them. It is not one of those things, about which they are left to choose for themselves, between many courses of action, each of which is equally good in itself. The Lord Himself founded the Church, and He gathers into it those that will be

* Vol. II, p. 155. † Acts ii, 47.

saved. The question which He leaves them to decide is,—not, whether they will enter the Church, or take some other way to heaven,—but it is whether they will be saved or not. If they will, He "adds them" to the Church. This is no matter of choice, or voluntary association with them, after the previous question has been decided.

2. Again, Mr. Wesley's theory of the Church involves the idea that one is called out of the world—a Christian—*before* he unites with or becomes a member of the Church. But yet in Wesley's theory, this cannot be so, for he holds strongly to infant baptism, and contends that "infants are regenerated, born anew, and made members of the Church in baptism." Of course, therefore, in this case they are baptized before they are made Christians—or still more strictly speaking, it is their baptism that makes them "the called," and Christians.

And so it is in the Scriptures, with regard to adults also. We do not speak now, of the preventing or foregoing grace, which predisposes one to baptism and Churchmembership. But no one is regarded as a Christian, a member of Christ, until "he has been baptized into Christ."* Baptism is no mere outward form; the Church is no mere after-thought, having no necessary connection with one's being a Christian. But baptism is their grafting into Christ, and the Church is His mystical body, participation in which is itself an essential part of Christianity. The Church is not a mere outward visible institution; it is the embodiment of Christianity.

3. But again, Wesley's idea of the Church was defective in still another point. He considers, that the Church can consist only of holy persons. "It follows," says he, "that not only no common-swearer, no Sabbath-breaker, no drunkard, no whoremonger, no thief, no liar, none that live in continual sin, but none that is under the power of anger or pride; no lover of the world; in a word, none that is dead to God, can be a member of His Church."† The Church of England, in his estimation, "is those members of the universal Church, who are inhabitants of England."

In Mr. Wesley's view, then, one who was not holy could not be considered a member of the Church. We find in his writings, however, no trace of the modern popular theory of an "invisible Church," consisting of all truly pious persons, whether they belong to one, or another, or to none, of the visible Church organizations. But his notion, that an unholy man could not be a member of the Church, or, to put the same

* Rom. vi, 3. Gal. iii, 27. † Vol. II, p. 160, Serm. "Of the Church."

thing in other words, that a church member could not be an unholy man, exerts its influence continually upon his mind.

Now, the most common sense view is, that one becomes a member of the Church by baptism, and continues so until he is excommunicated. Whether he is worthy of his membership, is another question. Were there no bad fish in the net unto which our Lord said the kingdom of Heaven was like? Were there no tares in the field with the wheat, which were to stand and grow together until the harvest? St. Paul writes, as Mr. Wesley very properly notices, "to the Church of God," which was at Corinth, to them that were "sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints," and yet some of them were drunkards, (1 Cor. ii, 21;) they were carnal, (iii, 3;) there was envying and strife among them, (iii, 3;) there was also fornication and even incest among them, (v, 1.) And yet they were members of the Church of Corinth. Doubtless, as Mr. Wesley says, the grace which they had received would only augment their condemnation, if they did not repent. But the truth is, membership in the Church is not a voluntary matter, properly speaking; and as it does not commence with the mere act of the individual, so it cannot terminate by his individual act. The power of the keys which admitted him to the Church, is requisite to his ceasing to be a member of it.

But the practical evil of Wesley's error on this point was, that it constituted him and his followers, each for himself, a censor of the faith, and life, and character of every other person. They could not associate with those whom they adjudged to be not holy and godly persons; they could not hear a minister preach, who, in their estimation, was "a lover of the world," "under the power of anger or pride," or who "was dead to God." And the more completely people were involved in Methodism, the more universally would this seem to be the condition of all the clergy of the Church. Nay, we have seen that it is no uncommon thing for persons who deem themselves to be peculiarly under the influence of the Holy Spirit, to condemn the Church in a mass, as given up to pride and worldliness—"dead to God."

We pass now to another topic. With such views of the Church there could be no adequate idea of *Schism* and its guilt. Wesley says:

"From the whole tenor of which [the Scripture usage] it is manifest that it [Schism] is not a separation *from* any Church, but a separation *in* a Church."* Again: "So that the immense pains which have been taken both by Papists and

* Vol. II, p. 162.

Protestants, in writing whole volumes against schism as a separation *from* the Church . . . . have been employed to mighty little purpose. They have been fighting with shadows of their own raising, and violently combatting a sin which had no existence but in their own imagination; which is not once forbidden, no, nor once mentioned, either in the Old or New Testament."*

We shall not pause to controvert a proposition so startling as this. Our author had evidently forgotten Jude 19, "These be they who separate themselves, sensual, having not the Spirit." And likewise, John, (1st Ep. ii, 18, 19,) "Little children, it is the last time; and as ye have heard that antichrist shall come, even now are there many antichrists; whereby we know that it is the last time. They went out from us," &c. Now we shall not undertake to say that the Apostles were speaking of what they called schism. They were speaking of "separating" and "going out from" the Church. And one of them, at least, gives to the act a name which we most seriously commend to the consideration of those who profess to be followers of Wesley.

We have seen, that Mr. Wesley regarded the separation from the Church of England by his followers, by whatever name the act is to be called, as an enormous sin. But, we give the following curious piece of reasoning, concerning those who were in Scotland and America, as serving to illustrate still further the special point before us. Speaking of ordaining ministers, and allowing them to administer the Sacraments, becoming in fact a separate body by themselves, he says:

"I at length consented to take the same step with regard to Scotland, which I had done with regard to America. But this is not a separation from the Church at all. Not from the Church of Scotland, for we were never connected therewith any further than we are now; nor from the Church of England, for this is not concerned in the steps which are taken in Scotland. Whatever there is done, either in America or in Scotland, is not separation from the Church of England."†

We pause, and confess ourselves at a loss to know what to say to such a passage as this. Mr. Wesley was (and he well knew it) laying the foundation of a new religious communion —a new Church—new, not only in Scotland and in America, but new in the world. Nowhere before had there been a Methodist Church. It was the continuation of no old branch of the Church of Christ, a perpetuation and extension of no long established communion. Here was the beginning of their visible existence as a Church, more than seventeen centuries after the Church of Christ had been founded and established. Mr. Wesley says, it was not schism, for schism is a division of opinion and sentiment *in* the Church. He says it was not a

* Vol. II, p. 164. † Vol. VII, p. 315.

separation from the Church, for the Methodists in Scotland and America have never been connected with the Church in either of those places. What then was it? Was it the building anew? laying another foundation? so that we must say of the Methodists, (in this country at least,) ye are built upon Coke and Asbury, John Wesley being the chief corner-stone!

With regard to America, Mr. Wesley seems to have considered the ground open, and the field unoccupied. His act, in supplying the Methodists in North America with a ministry and sacraments, was subsequent to the American Revolution. He first gives notice of this in his letter to "Dr. Coke, Mr. Asbury, and the Brethren in North America," dated Sept. 10, 1784. But the communion of the English Church was established in this same country, as early as May 13, 1607, and had never ceased to exist as a branch and part of the English Church, up to the Revolution. And as early as March, 1784, steps were taken towards a perpetuation of the existence of the same communion, as an independent branch of the Church of Christ, in full communion with the Church of England, though independent of its jurisdiction. It is true, indeed, that this Church has never been "by law established," and we trust it never will be; but by the laws of Christ, the Head and Founder of the Church, and in accordance with the Canons and usages of the Church itself, it had been as fully and as truly established in this country, before Methodism was introduced, as the Church of England itself was in England, or the Church of Scotland was in Scotland. If, therefore, there was any reason why, either in England or in Scotland, Wesley should regard the fact of the prior existence of Christ's Church, in establishing his own, then there was the same reason for his regarding that fact in this country. But this is leading us a little aside from our object.

With such views of the Church, and of schism, Wesley prosecuted his work. Notwithstanding what he held concerning baptism and membership in the Church, in theory and as a theologian, he, as the founder of Methodism, believed religion to consist only in an inward state of the heart—to be something entirely subjective. He believed that men become Christians, by the possession of this inward something—that the Church is but a voluntary association for religious purposes of those who are Christians, and that schism is but a disunion in mind or judgment, a diversity of sentiment among those who are nevertheless united in one body. But he seems to have had no term, at least none that implies guilt or disapprobation, for a separation from the Church, or the setting up of

a rival to the Church that was already in existence. When it was urged upon him, that his measures were schismatic in their tendencies, he replied in effect: 1. That he did not design a separation from the Church. 2. That it would not be schism if his followers should separate; and, 3, that there was no sin in it, if it were a schism. Thus:

"I ask once more, What do you mean by schism? 'Schism! schism! why, it is a separating from the Church.' Ay, so it is. And yet every separating from the Church to which we once belonged, is not schism, [else you will make all the English to be schismatics by separating from the Church of Rome. 'But we had just cause.' So doubtless we had. 'Whereas schism is a causeless separation from the Church of Christ.' So far so good.] But you have many steps to take before you can make good your conclusion that a separation from a particular National Church, such as the Church of England is, whether with sufficient cause or without, comes under the Scriptural notion of schism.... But whatever state they are in who causelessly separate from the Church of England, it affects not those of whom we are speaking, for they do not separate from it at all."*

Surely this answer is sufficiently ample to cover the whole ground.

We have included a part of our quotation above in brackets, because we design to make it the subject of a special remark, for the purpose of pointing out another of Wesley's errors. It is an error in point of fact. The English never separated from the Church of Rome at all, either with, or without a cause. They never belonged to it. They belonged to the English Church or the Church of England, and to that only. There was a time, indeed, when the English Church was enslaved to the domination of the Roman Pontiff. This domination they rejected in the reign of Henry VIII, and the Roman Catholics, or the Church of Rome, separated from them and were refused communion for so doing. But no one word or act of the English Church, or the English people, ever implies a separation from the Church of Rome. It is true, indeed, that they repudiated and protested against its errors and corruptions; but separate from it they never did. The act of separation was wholly and altogether on the other side. In his letter to Mr. Hall, already quoted, Wesley admits that they were dependent for their ordination on "those who were dependent on the Bishop of Rome."† How "dependent on the Bishop of Rome"? Common error says that they had derived all their authority from him. But a statement more incompatible with the facts, could not be made. For over five hundred years, the English Bishops and the English Church were no more dependent upon the Bishop of Rome, than they

* Vol. V, p. 167. † Vol. III, p. 362.

were upon any, and every other foreign Bishop. This appears incontrovertibly, from the reply of the British Bishops to Augustine the Romish missionary. And for five hundred years more, the Bishops of the eleven southwestern Dioceses were appointed without the Bishop of Rome having any thing to do with it, or even so much as knowing of the appointment, unless the knowledge were obtained by his own inquiries. Nor, at any time, did the Pope claim any thing more than the right to confirm the election of the Bishops—to appoint his ordainers, and to invest him with the insignia of his jurisdiction. The election was made, by the Diocese over which he was to preside, and the ordination was generally performed by English Bishops exclusively, and always there were some of them assisting. Now the election to the office, and the ordination, or perhaps we might say, if it were necessary, that the ordination alone gave the Bishop all the authority that belonged to his office, as a Bishop in the Church of Christ. All the other rites and performances were mere circumstantials. They doubtless had their use. And some of them have undeniably had their abuses. But none of them were essential. From none of them did the Bishop claim the authority of his office. But it was through these mere circumstantials alone, that the derivation of the Bishop's authority is connected with the Bishop of Rome or the Pope. He never claimed that he gave them their authority, or that they, as an order, were dependent upon him for it; but only that no person should be put into that order, of whom he did not approve for a Bishop.

It is most manifest, therefore, that Mr. Wesley could derive no justification for his course, from that of the English Reformers. Though he seems not so to have understood it, there was no similarity between them They, as lawful Pastors and Governors of the Church, freed it from thraldom and purified it of errors; he was seducing members from its communion, to build a Church of his own.

In further considering Mr. Wesley as the founder of Methodism, we have to consider him as acting in two distinct fields: in England, where he did not design to found a rival Church—and in America, where it is evident that he did contemplate such a result.

His design in regard to England was, from first to last, to stir up the members of the English Church to greater zeal and a more earnest piety, and to gather into its fold many who were careless and indifferent to the subject of religion altogether. And yet Wesley was setting at defiance those "whom the Holy Ghost had made overseers" over him, be-

cause they did not choose to reverse the divine order, and let him oversee and govern them. He was willing to adhere to the Church, "a High Churchman in the strongest sense," and "obey them that have the rule over him," "submitting himself to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake," so long as they would let him have his own way; and when they would not, then his was an immediate inspiration, a necessity was laid upon him, and woe unto him if he did not preach.

We are no advocates of unlimited and unconditional submission to any authority except that which is immediately from God. In all the relations of life, which involve authority on one part, and the consequent duty of submission and obedience on the other, there is a point at which the exercise of private judgment becomes both a right and a duty. It may sometimes be difficult to ascertain precisely where this point is. But, it can hardly be pretended, that in the case of Wesley it was in his favor. The doctrines which he taught were, in his estimation, no other than those contained in the English Prayer Book and other Formularies—no other than those which were at that time taught without censure or molestation, by a large and perhaps the largest part of the Clergy of the Church. The Church imposed upon him no terms of communion which he regarded as sinful. Why then, we ask, should he oppose the authority of the Church? He might have had his Daily Public Worship and his Weekly Administrations of the Holy Communion. Hence he might have kept with any degree of scrupulousness all the days of Fasting, as well as those of Feasting, which the Church has marked in her Calendar, and he might have been as faithful in his pastoral duties, as he could have desired. But no. He seems to have felt that he had a call to a sort of "Universal Pastorship" —a feeling which, by the way, has inspired many a breast, both before and after Wesley, and in various stations of life, from a Hildebrand on the Papal throne, to those little hildebrands, the self-appointed Visiting Committees of our own times, who manage to attend to everybody's business but their own.

In this matter, therefore, Mr. Wesley was guilty of two errors of a most serious character. He was intruding himself into the field of labor that belonged to others, thwarting their plans and counteracting their usefulness, episcopizing in another man's diocese—ἀλλοτριοεπισκοποῦντες—which the Apostle condemns, (1 Pet. iv, 15,) and he was disregarding the godly admonitions of those in authority over him.

But it is time to speak of Wesley in his other character—as the founder of the Methodist Church in America. We have

seen, that while he strenuously opposed the formation of a separate sect in England, he had no such scruples with regard to this country.

Wesley first came to America in 1735, and after a stay of about three years he returned to England. On the 2d of Sept. 1784, he appointed Mr. Thomas Coke and Mr. Francis Asbury to be superintendents or Bishops of the new sect in America, and Mr. Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey to be Presbyters, and to administer the sacraments of Baptism and Lord's Supper among them. This is announced in a letter addressed to Coke and Asbury, and the other brethren in North America.*

The Church of England had always held, that there are three orders in the Ministry, Deacons, Priests, and Bishops, and that the latter alone have the authority to ordain. Mr. Wesley, as we have seen, was very suddenly convinced by Sir Peter King's book, that Bishops and Presbyters were the same order, and that he, in fact, though called a Presbyter only, was a Bishop, equal in authority to any in the realm. Situated as he was, the conviction was in the highest degree convenient for him. It followed, of course, that he possessed the power of ordination; and this power it had now become necessary to exercise.

We shall not here stop to argue the question, whether Bishops and Presbyters are essentially the same order, neither shall we pause to consider, whether Presbyters alone have the power to ordain. But admitting, for the present, that both notions are true—(though in point of fact they are most false)—we will show that Wesley's act was without validity and force.

For what was Wesley doing? He was laying the foundation of a new Church, a new fellowship and communion. Up to that day, there had been nowhere on the face of the earth, a Methodist Church. It was no branch of the English Church, or of any other that had existed before it. Now this was an act for which no provision is made in the Scriptures, and which no possible conjuncture of circumstances is foretold or contemplated, that can call for or justify. Ministers, whether of one order or another, are sent to preach, to baptize, to ordain, and to perform any or all other functions, for the purpose of propagating "the Faith once delivered to the Saints," and of perpetuating that Church which the blessed Saviour built on a rock, and declared that the gates of

* Vol. VII, p. 311.

Hell should never prevail against it, but that He, its Founder and Head, would be with it always, even unto the end of the world.

There cannot therefore be a rightful performance of these acts, for the purpose of preaching a gospel which is avowedly another than that which Christ gave, or to build a Church, that shall rise in rivalry and opposition to the one which He himself loved and gave Himself for, thus founding it in His own blood.

It does not seem that Wesley, or his followers, were entirely satisfied with what he had done. In a letter to Mr. Asbury, one of the men whom he had appointed superintendents or Bishops, dated Sept. 1788, that is, just *four years after* he had appointed or ordained them, Mr. Wesley says:

"How can you, how dare you suffer yourself to be called Bishop? I shudder, I start at the very thought! Men may call me a knave or a fool, a rascal, a scoundrel, and I am content; but they shall never by my consent call me *Bishop!* For my sake, for God's sake, for Christ's sake, put a full end to this! Let the Presbyterians do what they please, but let the Methodists know their calling better."*

As early as 1770, says Dr. Bangs, "their preachers had been considered as laymen, having no authority to administer the ordinances. . . . . To avoid this difficulty, some of the southern preachers began to ordain each other!!"† But on the arrival of Coke and Asbury, they took the matter of ordination into their own hands.

It is a singular fact that both these men corresponded with our Bishops, SEABURY and WHITE, with a view to a union with us. Asbury's letter to Bishop Seabury, we have not at hand, but Dr. Coke, in his letter to Bishop White, says:

"I am not sure but I went further in the separation of our Church in America than Mr. Wesley, from whom I had received my commission, did intend. He did indeed solemnly invest me, as far as he had a right so to do, with Episcopal authority, but did not intend, I think, that an entire separation should take place. . . . . He went further, I am sure, than he would have gone, if he had foreseen some events which followed. And this I am certain of—that he is now sorry for the separation."‡

His letter is dated April 24th, 1791. In speaking of some of the difficulties in the way of the accomplishment of his desire for a union, he says, that "his desire for a union is so great, that they almost make him tremble." One of these difficulties was the fact, that the Methodists had a large number

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* Vol. VII, pp. 187, 188.

† *Bang's* account of the Methodists, in Rupp's Collection.

‡ White's Memoirs, pp. 343, 344.

of *uneducated* preachers, whom on that account the American Bishops could not ordain, and who would not give up their calling as preachers.

But what is stranger than all, we have before us a copy of the "Northern Christian Advocate," for Aug. 29, 1849, in which there is a long article designed to prove that Mr. Wesley was actually ordained Bishop, by one Erasmus, a Greek Bishop. Says this article in the Northern Christian Advocate, "Dr. Samuel Seabury, late Bishop of Connecticut, was in London in 1784 and 1785, and intimately acquainted with Mr. John Wesley, *and was so fully convinced that he was in fact a Greek Bishop, that he would have been consecrated by him, if Mr. Wesley would have signed the testimonium as a Greek Bishop.*"

We commend this last fact to the attention of those whom it concerns. Any thing can be proved, or disproved, if history, or what goes under that name, can be thus made to suit the wants of the case.

But it is strange, that after Mr. Wesley had been convinced that Presbyters and Bishops were one and the same order, and that he was himself a Bishop, "as much as any man in England or in Europe,"* and had said "men may call me knave or fool, a rascal, a scoundrel, and I am content, but they shall never by my consent call me a Bishop," that now his followers, as if distrusting his belief that he was a Bishop in virtue of being a Presbyter, and disregarding the indignant terms in which he refuses ever to be called a Bishop —come forward to prove that he was actually promoted to the order of Bishops in a clandestine manner, and that he may claim "an uninterrupted succession through the Greek Bishops from St. John"!

From all these facts it is abundantly evident, that neither Wesley, nor the first Methodists, were satisfied with their ecclesiastical position. They do not indeed seem to have had ıy very distinct ideas on the subject of Church polity. In ngland, we may specify three distinct eras in regard to the evailing views of Church polity. From the commencement the Reformation until the close of the century, but little s said by the English divines about Episcopacy. It was called for. The one question with them, was a reforma-ı. They were a branch of the Church already; they had lesign to found another; they did not care to change the y of the one to which they belonged; and the question

* Vol. VII, p. 312.

therefore, between Episcopacy and some other mode of organization, claimed but little of their attention, and hardly, in fact, came to their thoughts. Their great idea was to preserve their identity with the Church of Christ, and yet be free from Romish jurisdiction and Mediæval corruptions. But with the Calvinists, after the accession of Elizabeth, a desire for Presbytery was manifested. Then came the discussion of the forms of Church government; and Bancroft's famous sermon at St. Paul's Cross, marks the second period. Then were produced the immortal works of Hooker, and of such men as Bilson, Morton, Field, and others, showing that Episcopacy is the divine regimen of the Church, and that without it all ministrations must be held to be invalid. But after the Revolution (1688) a different state of things ensued. The sound Anglo-Catholics had, to a very great extent, been ejected, and their places filled by men of more sectarian sympathies. And then it began to be held and taught, for the sake of the friendship of the non-Episcopal sects, that Episcopacy was a mere outward form, unessential in itself, and under some circumstances, at least, inexpedient to be retained. The difference between a branch of the Church of Christ, and a mere sect, was generally regarded as a matter of mere form. He who thought this matter of so much importance as to act consistently and be exclusive, was a High Churchman; he that did not so regard it, was called a Low Churchman. The idea of the identity of the Church, as distinct from, and independent of, all particular forms of Church government, hardly appears in the writings of that age. To this fact we must trace many of the evils of our day.

But the scruples of the early Methodists, and of the founders of Methodism, have vanished. A change has come over them. They seem now to depend entirely upon their conviction that they are pious, that the spirit of God is with them, and for more than this, they care not. "If we have the right spirit," say they, "outward forms are of no great consequence." But who is to decide what is the right spirit, and what is to be the standard by which it is to be tested? We have endeavored to show, in the foregoing pages, that Wesley had not altogether the right spirit. It was a sad, an absurd mistake in him, or his spirit, to suppose that God had suspended or superseded all his ordinary laws and administrations, and given John Wesley a sort of universal oversight—Pastorship or Bishopric. All Protestants are agreed in believing, that a similar opinion entertained by the Bishop of an Italian city, commonly called the Pope, is a sad mistake, the manifestation of a most *anti*-Christian spirit.

It is not possible that that is the right spirit, which regards the Church that our blessed Saviour loved and gave himself for, and purchased with His own blood, with indifference—that speaks of the "washing of water" with which he sanctifies and cleanses the Church, a mere form, and regards the Sacrament of His body and of His blood as no means of a special grace—that treats the mode of worship—the Liturgical—which our Saviour always used, as formal and lifeless, inconsistent with genuine piety—and that regards it as superstition to keep with peculiar and appropriate commemoration the days on which our Saviour was born, betrayed, died, rose again, and ascended into heaven.

We have already alluded to Wesley's peculiar notions about schism. We have treated them with disapprobation, because although in a sense true, they depart from the meaning usually attached to the word, and are designed and calculated to mislead and do much evil.

We have aimed fairly, and candidly, to set forth the views of Mr. Wesley, without malice as without prejudice, and without "calling names." To his own Master he standeth or falleth. Even already the sect that he founded, has been rent several times, and large parts of it have fallen into errors, which he would have regarded as ruinous to the soul. And in them all, we see a sad departure from his spirit. They join with the other sects in opposing the Church in which he remained, and to which he was so much attached—like certain that we read of, of old—who said, "this is the heir, come let us kill Him that the inheritance may be ours," forgetting that if the Church were destroyed, they would not be one whit the better entitled to the promises and blessings made to and conferred upon it.

But still, the Methodists are, in many respects, the most hopeful of any of the sects by which we are surrounded. They have many ties and attractions to the Church; many cords by which they can be drawn back, especially the more intelligent among them, that are wanting in the case of the others. Let but the views and spirit of Wesley prevail, among those who call themselves by his name, and claim to be his followers, and the sect, or Church, which has grown out of his well intentioned but misguided zeal, will ere long cease to exist. They will be found on the side of the Lord and His Church, in His controversy against the world, the flesh, and the devil.

Art. VI.—ACTION AND REACTION BETWEEN AMERICA AND ROMANISM.

Sketches of the early [Roman] Catholic Missions of Kentucky, &c., by M. J. Spaulding, D. D. Louisville: B. J. Webb & Brother. 308 pp. 12mo. 1844.

One of the most remarkable features of the times, is the prominence to which the old Roman Catholic controversy has again risen. And as of old, every man must have a tilt at it, with some kind of weapon or other. The only weapons of right temper—sound argument and calm reason—are exceedingly rare. And what might at first seem extraordinary, some of the productions of the most wise and dispassionate writers, are found to be strangely contradictory. This may be partly owing to the wonderful complexity of the subject; but more probably, to the particular stand-point, from which the observer contemplates the almost boundless field.

At one moment it is plausibly maintained, with sufficient pertinacity, that the system of Rome is the concentrated and sublimated result of worldly policy, grown a thousand years old, by experience wide as the world, and as keenly sagacious as Italian intellect, under the most powerful of stimulants, can render it; and that this system is as fixed and unchangeable as the foundations of the seven-hilled city. That to look for change, or even slight amendment, is as absurd, as to expect the planets to deviate from their fixed and eternal orbits.

But at another time, we hear a great deal about the difference between the manifestations of this system—at Vienna and at Paris—in Spain and in England—in Mexico and in the United States. We are told, that Romanism is insane with Absoluteism in one part of Europe, and frantic with Radicalism in another; that it is gorgeously showy where the people are fascinated with gewgaws, and severely simple where the taste is different; that it is pompously ceremonial for the vulgar, and sublimely intellectual and spiritual for the refined; in a word, that in the worst of senses, its priests become all things to all men, that they may gain the more.

Some of this can be explained by considering the character of the system; that it has grown up and become compacted, in the midst of compliances like these—that in fact, its very

nature, as a consummate system of human policy, has grown out of these very compliances. In a word, it never would have been tempted to try to become what it is, but by the desire to overmaster such difficulties—and never could have become what it is, if its schemes and machinations had not been wonderfully successful. That system, in itself, must be marvelously elastic, which stretches from the equator to the poles, and seems, for a time, to accommodate itself, with equal facility, to the tastes and habits, the governments and pursuits, the prejudices and passions, of all sorts of men, in all sorts of times.

But more of this wonder can be explained, perhaps, by the fact, that the system is not simply recorded in books, or incorporated into the principles of an administration; but from age to age, it has a practical embodiment in the official men of that age. If the system is as unyielding as iron, the men who administer it, are proverbially as pliant as gum-elastic. And hence, the Rome of the Trentine Council, is one thing—the Rome of actual reality, is quite another thing.

There are, however, weightier considerations lying remotely behind all this, which must be taken into account, before the confessed phenomena can be satisfactorily explained. Certain elements are unchangeable—a vast many modifications to which they are liable, possess an almost infinite versatility.

Rigidly in the present line of remark, it does not come in our way to expatiate upon what here occurs at once to the mind of a dutiful son of the Romish Church, to explain the whole puzzle by which we are perplexed, when he insists that it is the divine truth of the system, which makes it permanent as the rocks which give outline to the earth, and yet plastic as the atmosphere which clothes it with beauty, and animates it with the myriad forms of vegetable and animal life. For we are in fact speaking of the human part of Romanism, as a system of mental policy. But when the thought once occurs, it were an inexcusable want of candor, of which any scholar ought to be ashamed, not to admit, that no system of error can be long-lived and wide-spread, which either does not recognize, or is not based upon a large admixture of truth—and that it is Christianity, however sadly diluted or strangely distorted, which still retains such power, as to impart to Romanism much of its vitality. And to a well-regulated mind it is a glorious thought, and the source of sublime satisfaction, that somehow or other, this heaven-born Christianity cannot, by any admixture of error, however extravagant or base, be shorn of its

power to make men, to some slight extent, wiser and better—and here and there, to redeem one soul and another from the ruins of the Fall, and to exalt them to the happiness of a blessed immortality. The admission then, far from constrained, is very cordial, that it is the Truth, adulterated and perverted as it is by Romanism, which yet imparts to the system no small degree of its wonderful vitality. It still lives, because Truth cannot die; but the life which it lives, it mischievously employs in destroying the power to save and to bless, which divinely belongs to that Truth.

True enough indeed it is, that there is a sense in which Romanism is unchangeable. As far as its policy emanates from Rome, and as far as it consists in governing men by playing off one set of infirmities, passions, and interests, against another set, so as to restrain their excesses, and to render them all subservient to the aggrandizement, dignity, and power of the clerical order, it is a system whose deep foundations lie in the very nature of man. Let such a system be once set up, and the men who live by it, can never, will never, if they can help it, give it up.

But there are a vast many respects in which Romanism is just as changeable, as any thing, and every thing else, of earth and of man. It changes by reason of its own affinities and repulsions within. It changes more, by means of the thousand agencies which act upon it from without.

The providential history of a discovery of a country, or of a form of religion, or of any thing vast in its relations, running through whole races of men and long ages of time, is always interesting; and, involving results most eventful to our race, its study assumes an importance fully equal to its interest. The invention of the mariner's compass, the discovery of America, and that great event in the history of Christianity, commonly called the Reformation, are thus mutually connected, and are destined to transmit their united influences to the end of time. So remote is the relation subsisting between some of these events, that it might seem extravagant to trace them to similar causes, and foolish to attempt to combine them, for any practical purpose, in one point of view. And yet the type of Romanism, as it existed in Spain, when her hardy adventurers flocked in thousands to take advantage of the magnificent discoveries of Columbus, has left its impress for all time on the destiny of races, and the history of a continent; and passing strange will it prove, if no reaction is felt, upon the existing or future type of this form of religion, either here in America, or in its seat nearer home, in the Papal countries of the

old world. Can there be any doubt, but that the religion of Cortez and Pizarro, or, rather, of those who accompanied them, left its impress upon the civilization which followed their times, or that the gold they sent or carried home, and the tone of moral sentiment which they there diffused, have not exerted a terrible retributive reaction upon the character and destiny of Spain? Mexico is a fair and faithful exponent of the legitimate influence of this same type of religion; and time only is wanting for the reaction of the system, to work its revenge upon the nation and the priests, who, for base ends, have perverted the pure original type of our holy religion.

But America was destined to experience, from another quarter, the operation of this singular class of re-agents. The massacre of St. Bartholomew revenged itself upon France, by leading directly to those influences which made Romanism what it was in that beautiful country, in the times of Louis XIV; and that, again, as naturally gave birth to the infidelity of Voltaire, and the atheism, anarchy, and butcheries of the French Revolution. And yet from out of the depth even of this chaos, some of the most amiable and lovely, some of the most potent and pervading influences of Romanism upon America, have sprung forth. Our reason for placing the volume we have, at the head of this article, was to point to one of many signal examples of this influence. Better emigrants to a new country there have seldom been, than those Romanists, of Saxon origin, who went from Maryland to Kentucky. Yet, strange to say, they seem to have brought no Priests of their own race along with them. A few, of Irish origin, occasionally appear; but those who figure most largely in these pages, and upon the whole appear most admirable, by reason of their pure and simple love of letters, in the midst of rude backwoodsmen; of their pure and blameless morals, (for the most part;) of their hardy and self-sacrificing habits; and of their wise and comprehensive schemes, for the promotion of the cause of education, are chiefly French Priests, scattered abroad, by the horrors of the French Revolution. They appear to have been simple-hearted, sincere men, of high families; in whose case, exile and the loss of all things for Christ's sake, awakened, not unnaturally, many of the noble sentiments and aims of the early missionaries and martyrs of our faith. The names of Bishops, David and Flagett; of Priests, Nerinck and Derigaud; and of Mother Catherine, (Miss Spaulding, a relative of the New Bishop of Louisville,) are not unworthy to be associated with those of Archbishop Carrol, and Bishop Chevereaux of Boston, "men who counted not their lives dear

unto themselves," "for the word of God and the testimony of Jesus," according to what we esteem their poor and imperfect understanding of those sublime and glorious themes.

Deep and powerful has been the impress of the Roman Catholic mind of the French race, upon the character of Romanism in America, and particularly in the west. But yet it is not to be compared at all with the far greater influence of America, upon the character and the destiny of Romanism in France. From the view taken of the causes of the influx of French Roman Catholic clergy in Kentucky, it might naturally be expected that the supply would soon be greatly diminished, and, at no very remote period, entirely cut off. The event which suggested our present contribution, marks that period as having at length arrived. The new Roman Catholic Bishop of Louisville, the Rt. Rev. Dr. Spaulding, is the first native born Kentuckian, who has attained to this honor—his venerable superior, the Rt. Rev. Dr. Flagett, to whom Dr. Spaulding was consecrated coadjutor,* being the second Bishop of French extraction, having himself been first consecrated as Bishop David's coadjutor. Dr. Spaulding taking the place of the Rt. Rev. Dr. Chabrat, the third Bishop of Kentucky of French extraction, who, it is understood, recently repaired to Rome, to lay his resignation, as Bishop Flagett's coadjutor, at the feet of the Pope. The line of French Roman Catholic Bishops in Kentucky, is probably forever at an end. Whether this be an event for us to mourn over, or rejoice at, will appear differently to different minds, according to the views which they take of the grave question, of which our running title contains the sum and substance, "Action and Reaction between America and Romanism." If there be more power in Romanism, to mould and transform America, than the reverse, then the event referred to, is full of melancholy import, for modified Romanism, as exemplified in the Rt. Rev. Dr. Spaulding, is quite another ingredient of power from Romanism (still largely modified) as embodied in the persons, the lives, and the administrations of his predecessors. But if, on the other hand, America possesses far more power in its reaction upon Romanism, as we earnestly believe, then we have far more reason, than otherwise, to rejoice at this event.

Examine this question, first, in its wider relations. Estimate the power of Romanism, at the moment of the discovery of America, by a multiple of the political and priestly power,

* Dr. Spaulding was of course, after the queer practice of his Church in such case, consecrated as a Bishop *in partibus*, under the title of some outlandish African See.

wealth and influence upon its side, compared with the multiple of the same all-powerful ingredients (as far as human estimates are concerned) on the side of those who protest against her; and side by side of these place these same multiples at their present value. Perhaps America does not account for all this difference. It is one, however, in which America, as far as Spain, Portugal, France, and England are concerned, has had a great deal to do; and surely it is an estimate over which no opposer of Rome will be likely to weep.

There was a long period (say, in round numbers, from 1800 to 1830) when, in these United States, the preponderance of Protestant immigration was such as to give just occasion to Bishop England, of Charleston, to deplore that, whereas, if Rome had her own with increase, she ought to number five millions in America; in point of fact, she could claim not more than a million and a half. Chiefly for lack of clergy, America, during this period, or somewhat more, probably, has deprived Rome of three and a half millions of subjects.

Now for a long period, (say nearly 20 years,) the preponderance of immigration has been immeasurably more in favor of the Romanists. The lack of Clergy most of this time, has probably resulted in the alienation of twenty to thirty thousand annually from that system. The present supply of Clergy at home and from abroad is far more nearly adequate to the demand, but never, by any arts of proselytism can they gather in from abroad as many as have been irrevocably scattered by the dispersion of emigration, without aim and without concert. There cannot be a shadow of doubt, that the hopes of Romanists and the fears of their opposers, result mainly from this temporary balance of emigration, and this sudden and large increase of the Clergy, though in fact vastly insufficient to supply the demand; and, that when the tide turns, (as turn it must and may soon, if the influence of America abroad shall speedily render Romish absolutism less intolerable,) the two elements, America and Romanism, will be left more fairly to their own actions and reactions.

Deriving their ideas of the state of things in America from what they know of England, it is very natural for the Irish Clergy, (a large, influential, and highly impulsive portion of the American Roman Catholic Hierarchy, by the way,) to congratulate themselves upon the entire separation, here, of Church and State, and, relieved from the oppressive and irritating restraints of British legislation, to exult in the persuasion, that Romanism asks only a wide field and fair play, to exhibit wondrously its supernatural powers to command the

respect and win the affections of the multitude. And to this they are the more tempted by the singular fact, that in one of those secular phases to which the human mind is known to be subject, a marvelous hankering after the venerable and the austere—the pompous and the mysterious, the showy and the meretricious, has taken possession of whole classes of the young and imaginative, the tasteful and the refined. Flattered by the recent accession of a few converts from us, while in the old world crowds are rushing from her as from a pestilence, the Romish Priesthood boast that they are about to carry all before them; and that the Protestants are only to be conciliated (once they were studiously let alone) in order to be won. And a more silken and sunny system, than the hoary and hideous Romanism of old is now made to appear in the eyes of the polite and the fashionable, no heart anxious beautifully to harmonize the service of God and mammon, could possibly desire.

Still it is a grave question, whether they may not find themselves, in the result, very grievously mistaken. On the whole, not a single trait of the American character is found in harmony with the genius of Romanism; not one of its habits of thought run in such worn out channels; not one of its institutions coincides with the structure of its Hierarchy, or fosters the spirit, without which Rome has no tools to work with.

When Romanism has fairly confined a single individual mind in its crucible, it is truly wonderful how easily it is melted down, and recast into the desired mould. Meantime, however, America, like an atmosphere, surrounds and pervades the entire structure of Romanism, acting as a kind of universal solvent, gradually rounding off all its sharp angles and crumbling the whole into dust. Already Romanism in America is quite another thing from what it is in Italy, and was, of late in Austria; or than it is in Ireland.

It were easy to illustrate this point by large and copious references, or by apt and striking anecdotes. But the general nature of these remarks, for the most part, would preclude it. The well read and the observant, have noticed the significancy of certain local controversies in New York, and even in New Orleans, in which the ancient right of the Bishop to hold Church property in his own name, and to nominate Priests to certain cures without regard to the wishes of the people, have been warmly contested. And though it is believed that every such question, thus far, has resulted in the triumph of the old authorities, yet it has not been by any means without heart burnings. The fire is smouldering, it is not extinguished.

The race, which, at the most bloody sacrifice, has vindicated its inherent right of self-government, against ancient tyrannies, is not likely tamely to submit forever to a privation of those ancient rights of the laity to a voice in the affairs of the Church, for their devotion to which, all antiquity bears witness, that the laity of Rome were for ages remarkably distinguished.

In a community flooded with attractive literature, people will read and will think. The human mind can never wear a despot's chain again. In America or in Italy, these links, once broken, are never to be reunited. And yet almost the whole literature of the age is anti-Romish. For example, at a County Court, not a hundred miles from the place where we write, one Romanist remarked to another that he was then reading D'Aubigne's History of the Reformation, (we regret he had not a more reliable author,) and that he found it as interesting as a novel. "Take care!" said the other, "you had better not let your Priest know that you are engaged in that work!" "Tell my Priest," was the prompt rejoinder, "that I read what books I have a mind to! Thank God, there are no shackles upon the Press, or upon the minds of men here in America! Truth, in the end, must be known; and surrounded by light, it is Truth only that can stand."

At the close of this article, to refer to the leading idea with which it opened, if time should prove that there is an inflexibility about Romanism, as far as its mandates emanate from the Vatican, wholly irreconcilable with the spirit and genius of American institutions, then, beyond peradventure, if under such a pressure it will not bend, it must break; and the people will arise as one man to cast off a yoke, found in Europe to be sufficiently galling, but felt in America to be absolutely insupportable.

If, on the other hand, Romanism should prove to be sufficiently honest and ingenuous to yield to the force of truth, it will be easy to do away with its worst features, and then who can say, that that system, thoroughly reformed in America, especially by contact with a pure branch of the Church, shall not be merged in a Spiritual Body, in which the fondest aspirations of all pious hearts shall find realized their purest aspirations after the elements of One Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church!

AMERICAN ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.*

Art. VII.—The Rt. Rev. Bishop White's Narrative of the Organization, &c. of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Pennsylvania. [Concluded.]

By Rev. Francis L. Hawks, D. D., LL. D.

The 30th Annual Convention.—It was held on the 7th and 8th days of June, 1814. There were present eleven Clergymen, besides the Bishop, and twenty-six Lay Deputies. After Prayers read by the Rev. Dr. Abercrombie, and a Sermon delivered by the Rev. Mr. Wiltbank, the Rev. Jackson Kemper was chosen Secretary. As usual, the Bishop delivered an Address, relating his acts in the Episcopacy during the last year. The Parochial Reports were read. It was resolved, that for information of the Churches of the Diocese there be inserted on the Journal of this Convention, a full statement of the funds for the support of the Episcopate. In consequence of this resolve, the Treasurer, Dr. Glentworth, made a report, which was ordered to be inserted on the Journal. The members of the Convention were invited to a meeting of the Society for the Advancement of Christianity in Pennsylvania, to be held this afternoon in St. James' Church. From the minutes of the General Convention there was read an extract recommending the posture of standing to be used in the singing of Psalms and Hymns. There was also laid before this Convention a resolve of the General Convention, referring to the Bishops and to the Standing Committees in the several States, to consider of the expediency of establishing a Theological Seminary, to be conducted under the authority of this Church; reports on the subject to be made to the next General Convention. The Bishop declared himself ready to receive at this or at any future State Convention, opinions relative to the subject. The Committee appointed by the Convention of 1812, and continued by that of 1813, on the Canons, and on the Regulations and Rules of Order, reported: 1st, a form in which the Canons shall be published; the instrument thus drawn up to be added to the present Journal in an Appendix; 2d, a form in which the Regulations have been enacted, revised, and amended, from time to time; 3d, in reference to Rules of Order, to be adopted by this Convention: all to be inserted in the Appendix. After due consideration, the report was adopted. The committee also reported a list of the Clergy and congregations, which was ordered to be inserted in the Appendix. There was laid before the Convention the report of a Joint Committee of

* Copyright secured according to law.

the two Houses of the General Convention, in reference to a copyright of the Book of Common Prayer; in consequence of which the said body had committed to the Bishops to consider of the propriety of granting the said privileges; to inquire in their several Dioceses and elsewhere, as circumstances may permit, whether the measure can be adopted consistently with law and the approbation of the Convention in the different Dioceses, and to report to the next General Convention. It was determined, that from the present time, the annual day of this Convention shall be on the 1st Tuesday in May of every year; no business to be transacted on that day, and the proceedings of the next morning to be begun with the Service and a Sermon. The order of the Convention of 1812, for the reading of the Pastoral Letters of the Bishop, having been re-considered, the same was revoked, and it was ordered, that on there being printed any Pastoral Letter of the Bishops in General Convention, it shall be the duty of the Secretary of this Convention to send a copy thereof to every Clergyman in the Diocese, and copies to the Church Wardens of the several congregations, to be for the perusal of them under such regulations as circumstances may permit. The same order was taken in relation to the two Pastoral Letters already printed, and it was provided, that the Pastoral Letters may be read by any minister to his congregation, if he should judge the same expedient. It being stated that there are in the hands of the Bishop and Secretary as many copies of the Journals of this Diocese as will furnish a complete set for every congregation, it was made the duty of the Secretary to send a complete set to the Church Wardens of every congregation, under the expectation of its being preserved among their records, to be consulted on any question concerning the Constitution and Discipline of this Church. It was resolved that the same provision be made in regard to the three Pastoral Letters, and that each set of the above documents be bound, the expense to be paid out of the contributions of the different congregations. The minutes of the Standing Committee and Council of Advice were read. Dr. Glentworth was re-appointed Treasurer of the Convention. Deputies to the General Convention, and the Standing Committee and Council of Advice, were chosen. The next Convention was appointed to be held at the time fixed by rule, in St. James' Church, in the city of Philadelphia.

The 31st Annual Convention.—It was held on the 2d of May, 1815, and the Rev. Jackson Kemper was chosen Secretary. There were present thirteen Clergymen, besides the Bishop, and twenty-six Lay Deputies. On the next day Divine Service was celebrated by the Rev. John C. Clay, and a Sermon was delivered by the Rev. Dr. Beasley. Agreeably to the Canon, the Bishop delivered his Annual Address, relating his acts in the Episcopacy during the last year. There were presented to the members copies of the last Annual Report of the Society for the Advancement of Christianity in Pennsylvania. The Secretary reported that in compliance with the resolution of the last Convention, complete sets of the Journals, and

of the Pastoral Letters, bound in one volume, were ready for delivery. The Convention was informed that there had been a revival of the Corporation for the Relief of the widow's and the children of deceased Clergymen; and that the Corporation was now ready to receive the contributions of the Clergy. The Parochial Reports were read. The Secretary read the minutes of the Standing Committee and Council of Advice. It was resolved that hereafter the Holy Communion shall be administered at the opening of every Annual Convention. Thanks were voted to Rev. Dr. Beasley for his impressive and instructive discourse. The Bishop was requested to endeavor that in each of the churches in the vicinity of Philadelphia, there shall be administered the Word of Salvation and the Holy Sacraments, at least four times in every year. Dr. Glentworth was re-appointed Treasurer. Deputies to the General Convention, and the Standing Committee and Council of Advice, were chosen. The next Annual Convention was appointed to be held in St. James' Church, Philadelphia, at 5 o'clock, P. M.

The 32d Annual Convention.—Its session was on the 27th and 28th days of May, 1816. There were present fifteen Clergymen, besides the Bishop, and thirty Lay Deputies. The Rev. Jackson Kemper was chosen Secretary. On the 27th the Convention organized, and on the 28th the session was opened with the Service read by the Rev. Mr. Wickes, of Delaware; and a Sermon delivered by the Rev. Slater Clay. Mr. George Sheets was ordained to the Holy Office of Deacon; and the Holy Communion was administered by the Bishop. Agreeably to Canon, the Bishop delivered an Address, relating his acts in the Episcopacy during the last year. The thanks of the Convention were voted to the Rev. Slater Clay, for his impressive and instructive sermon. The Parochial Reports were read. On inquiry made concerning supplies to the churches in the vicinity of Philadelphia, as recommended by the last Convention, the Bishop stated in general terms that the same had been effected, as far as was practicable. A committee was appointed to take into consideration the subject proposed by the Bishop in his last annual report, of founding a Theological Seminary in this State; and it was made the business of this committee to ascertain whether there be any moneys which may be appropriated to this purpose, to devise the best mode of raising the necessary funds, to propose a plan on which the Seminary may be instituted, and to make report to the next Convention. The minutes of the Standing Committee were read by the Secretary. There was unanimously adopted the resolution, that whereas the bequest of the late Andrew Doz, Esq. was appropriated to the Bishop, who should have the city of Philadelphia in his Diocese; and whereas a considerable sum of money has been contributed eastward of the Alleghany Mountains, in pursuance of resolutions of 1806 and 1814, for completing the said fund; and whereas it was intended and is implied, that the money so raised shall be applied to the purpose contemplated by the donor of the foundation of the fund; and it is expedient to prevent any misapprehension which might arise

from a change of circumstances; it is therefore declared that the sums of money hereafter raised in pursuance of the aforesaid resolution, and all such sums as shall be hereafter raised in pursuance of the same, shall be appropriated to the Bishop, who shall have the city of Philadelphia in his Diocese. A description of the ground rents and of a mortgage belonging to the bequest of the late Andrew Doz, were ordered to be entered on the Journal. The Standing Committee were authorized to supply any vacancy that may occur in their body. Deputies to the General Convention, and a Standing Committee and Council of Advice, were chosen. It was determined that the next Annual Convention shall be on the day appointed, in St. James' Church, Philadelphia, at 5 o'clock, P. M.

THE 33D ANNUAL CONVENTION.—It was held agreeably to appointment on the 6th and 7th of May, 1817. There were present nineteen Clergymen, besides the Bishop, and thirty-three Lay Deputies. The Rev. Jackson Kemper was chosen Secretary; Divine Service was celebrated by the Rev. James Montgomery, and a Sermon was delivered by the Rev. Joseph Clarkson. After which, Joseph Walker was ordained to the Holy Office of Deacon, and the Holy Communion was administered. The Bishop delivered his Annual Address, relating his acts in the Episcopacy during the last year. A committee was appointed to prepare a Report on the State of the Church in the Diocese, agreeably to a resolution of the last General Convention. The committee appointed by the last Convention on the subject of a Theological Seminary, reported the following particulars, as the expression of the opinion of the Church in this Diocese: 1st, That there be a recommendation to the Church in the several States to raise a fund, the income of which may be applied as the general wisdom of the Church may direct; 2d, That wherever there is such a Convention of the Clergy, as that they can assemble often and at convenient times, they may be requested to bestow their services gratuitously, for the accomplishing of the object; and, 3d, That the income of the contemplated fund be applied to such local endeavors, if thought expedient, so as to secure the attention of one or more of the Clergy, to devote themselves altogether, or in part, to the educating of young men for the ministry, until a general plan be adopted, if that should hereafter be considered more eligible. The committee further recommend, that the Deputies to the ensuing General Convention be empowered to concur in whatever the general wisdom of the Church may devise. The report was adopted by the Convention. A committee was appointed to report on the communications from the Church in Pittsburg, referred to in the Bishop's Address. The minutes of the Standing Committee and Council of Advice were read by the Secretary. The Parochial Reports were read. The Treasurer made his reports. The committee appointed to prepare a Report of the Church in this Diocese, to be presented to the next General Convention, with the advice and consent of the Bishop, were allowed to perform that service at their leisure, and it was resolved that in

future every such Report be referred to a committee, at least one year before the General Convention, and presented to the Diocesan Convention for their concurrence. It was determined to apply to the heirs of the late Thomas Penn, formerly proprietor of the province of Pennsylvania, requesting a grant to the Bishop, and the Standing Committee of this Diocese, of the right possessed by said heirs in virtue of a gift of a certain manor by their ancestors, to send to the University of Pennsylvania, two youths, to be maintained, clothed, and educated at its expense, and a committee was appointed to take measures for the accomplishing of this object. The committee on the communication from Pittsburg reported that the case involving some delicate points of ecclesiastical law, it were best left to be settled by the Bishop, with the assistance of the Standing Committee and Council of Advice. The Convention concurred. Deputies to the General Convention, and a Standing Committee and Council of Advice, were chosen. Thanks were voted to the Rev. Mr. Clarkson, for his Sermon. It was appointed that the next Convention be held in St. James' Church, Philadelphia, at 5 o'clock, P. M.

The 34th Annual Convention.—It held its sittings on the 5th and 6th days of May, 1818. There were present seventeen Clergymen, besides the Bishop, and forty-one Lay Deputies. The Rev. George Boyd was chosen Secretary. Divine Service was performed by the Rev. A. Carter, and a Sermon was delivered by the Rev. Jackson Kemper. The Holy Communion was administered. Albert A. Muller, Jacob M. Douglass, Charles M. Depuy, were ordained to the Holy Office of Priests, and Henry R. Judah, Samuel C. Brinckle, and Manning B. Roche, to the Holy Office of Deacons. The Bishop delivered his Annual Address, relating his acts in the Episcopacy during the last year. The committee appointed at the last Convention to apply to the Hon. Thomas Penn for a grant of the privilege of nominating two youths to be maintained and educated by the University, reported their performance of that service, and their having reason for expecting a favorable result. The Treasurer reported the balance in his hands, and as Treasurer of the Episcopal Fund, he reported the amount to be $4,589. There was laid before the Convention from the House of Bishops, a proposed alteration in the Constitution, transferring the time of their meeting from May to October. The Parochial Reports were read. The thanks of the Convention were voted to the Rev. Jackson Kemper for his Sermon delivered at the opening of the session. Deputies to the General Convention, and a Standing Committee and Council of Advice, were chosen. The Convention declared it to be desirable that during their session one of the churches in the city should be open for divine worship in the evening, and they requested of the Bishop that he would make such an arrangement.

The 35th Annual Convention.—This Convention assembled as required by an existing rule, on the 4th of May, 1819, and continued

their session on the next day. There were present fourteen Clergymen, besides the Bishop, and twenty-two Lay Deputies. The Rev. George Boyd was chosen Secretary. At the opening of the Convention, Divine Service was performed by the Rev. Charles M. Dupuy, and a Sermon was delivered by the Rev. Levi Bull. The Holy Communion was administered, and Charles G. Snowden was admitted to the Holy Order of Deacons. The Bishop delivered his Annual Address, relating his Episcopal acts during the last year. The minutes of the Standing Committee and Council of Advice during the year, were read by the Rev. Jackson Kemper, the Secretary. The Committee on the Request made in reference to two young men to be educated in the University, were not yet ready to report. Dr. Glentworth, Treasurer of the Episcopal Fund, reported that there had been added to it $312.88, the smallness of the sum being accounted for from their not having been yet the usual collections of the churches in the city. The Dr., as Treasurer of the Convention Fund, reported the balance in his hands. The Parochial Reports were read. Deputies to the General Convention, and a Standing Committee and Council of Advice, were chosen. A committee was appointed to prepare a State of the Church for the next General Convention. The thanks of the Convention were voted to the Rev. Levi Bull for his Sermon.

The 36th Annual Convention.—It was held on the 2d and 3d days of May, 1820. There were present nine Clergymen, besides the Bishop, and twenty-three Lay Deputies. Divine Service was performed by the Rev. Levi Bull, and a Sermon delivered by the Rev. George Boyd. The Holy Communion was administered, and Samuel Sitgreaves, Jr. was admitted to the Holy Order of Deacons. The Rev. George Boyd was chosen Secretary. The Bishop delivered his Annual Address, relating his acts in the Episcopacy during the last year. Dr. Glentworth, having removed to another State, was under the necessity of relinquishing his offices as Treasurer of the Convention and of the Bishop's Fund. His accounts were laid before the Convention. Thanks to him were voted for his services. It was resolved that in future, on every assembling of the Annual Convention, there shall be chosen a Treasurer of the said Funds, who shall remain in office until the next Convention, his accounts to close on the Tuesday before the meeting, to be submitted to the Standing Committee, and to be reported by them to the Convention. The Convention proceeded to the election of a Treasurer, and John Read, Esq. was unanimously chosen. The Parochial Reports were read. It was declared to be the duty of the Clergy to state in their reports the numbers of adult baptisms, (if any,) and to give an account of the adults, and Sunday Schools in their congregations. The Deputies to the General Convention were instructed to use their best endeavors for the immediate and permanent establishment of a General Theological Seminary. But if the plan of such a Seminary should be abandoned by the General Convention, it was declared to be the

duty of the Standing Committee in this Diocese to make the most strenuous exertions, with the approbation of the Bishop, to raise a fund for the support of a Theological Professor, and to adopt all such measures as shall seem to them expedient to ensure to the Church a ministry of pious and learned men. The thanks of the Convention were voted to the Rev. Mr. Boyd for his Sermon. The Convention recorded their opinion that it is highly desirable to have such an alteration in the Canons of the General Convention as will make the first examination a requisite for admission of a candidate for Holy Orders. Deputies to the General Convention, and a Standing Committee and Council of Advice, were chosen. It was resolved that the Convention highly approve of the design referred to in the Bishop's Address, of the establishing of a General Society for Foreign and Domestic Missions, and hope that such an institution will be formed by the General Convention.

The 37th Annual Convention.—It was held on the 1st and 2d of May, 1821. There were present eleven Clergymen, besides the Bishop, and twenty Lay Deputies. The Rev. George Boyd was chosen Secretary. At the opening of the Convention, Divine Service was performed by the Rev. Levi Bull, and a Sermon was preached by the Rev. George Sheets. The Bishop delivered his Annual Address, relating his acts in the Episcopacy during the last year. A committee was appointed to devise a plan for the future admission of churches into the Union of this Church. There was communicated from the General Convention a proposed article of the Constitution, so as to authorize the presiding Bishop, in the case of the prevalence of epidemic disease, to appoint a convenient place for the holding of the Convention. The Parochial Reports were read. The committee to whom was referred the devising of a plan for the admission of a congregation to Ecclesiastical Union, reported a plan to that effect. A committee was appointed to consider of the expediency of applying to the legislature for a charter of incorporation of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of Pennsylvania, report to be made to the next Convention. The Deputies to the General Convention, and a Standing Committee and Council of Advice, were chosen. It was resolved that the next Convention be held in St. Peter's Church, in the city of Philadelphia. Thanks were voted to the Rev. Mr. Sheets for his Sermon at the opening of the Convention. A committee was appointed for the publishing of the Constitution, Canons, and Regulations of the Church in this State, and to distribute them among the churches. A committee was appointed to publish a Journal of this Convention, and they were authorized to add the Canons of the last General Convention. The Bishop, in his Address, having expressed himself unreservedly in relation to Theological Education, it was resolved by the Convention, that they concurred with him in the sentiments which he expressed. The Trustees of the Fund of the Episcopate reported it to be $6,152.60.

THE 38TH ANNUAL CONVENTION.—It was held on the 7th, 8th, and 9th of May, 1822. There were present eighteen Clergymen, besides the Bishop, and twenty-eight Lay Deputies. The Rev. Manning B. Roche was appointed Secretary, and the Communion was administered. At the opening of the business of the Convention, service was performed by the Rev. Charles M. Dupuy, and a Sermon was preached by the Rev. James Montgomery. The Bishop delivered his Annual Address. The committee appointed by the last Convention to publish the Canons, &c., reported that they had published five hundred copies, and were ready for the distribution of them. It was declared that each of the Clergymen of the Diocese, and of the Lay members of this Convention, should be entitled to one copy, and each of the congregations to eight copies, the remainder to be deposited with the Secretary for the use of those Clergymen and congregations who may hereafter become connected with the Convention. The minutes of the Standing Committee and Council of Advice for the past year were read. Thanks were voted to the Rev. Mr. Montgomery for his Sermon delivered at the opening of the business of the Convention. Thomas H. White was chosen Treasurer. It was resolved that in future the annual meeting of the Convention shall be held on the first Tuesday after the first Wednesday in May. A resolution was passed relative to the supply of vacant congregations; and to carry it into effect, a committee was appointed. It was resolved that the Secretary, in giving notice of the annual meeting of the Convention, transmit a proper form of certificate for the appointment of Deputies. It was resolved that the attention of the Clergy and congregations be earnestly and affectionately requested to the regulation concerning collections for the Episcopal Fund. It was resolved, that whereas the General Convention has instituted a Society for Domestic and Foreign Missions, and recommended it to the support of the members of the Church, this Convention highly approves of the pious design, and recommends to all the churches in this Diocese to further by their contributions and their prayers an object so immediately connected with the prosperity of the Episcopal Church in this country, and the enlargement of the Redeemer's Kingdom abroad. A committee was appointed to draft, with the advice and consent of the Bishop, a Report of the State of the Church in this Diocese, for the General Convention. There passed a resolve approbatory of the services of the Bishop. The committee appointed at the last Convention to consider of the expediency of applying to the legislature for a charter of incorporation, reported that owing to certain circumstances, nothing effectual had been done in this business. It was resolved that the next Annual Convention be held in the city of Lancaster. It was resolved that the interests of the Theological Seminary be earnestly recommended to the active care of all the members of the Church throughout the Diocese. A Committee of Accounts were appointed, to whom were to be referred all claims on the Convention; the Treasurer to pay no accounts but

those certified by them to be correct. It was resolved that a committee be appointed to consult with the Bishop upon some mode for supplying the vacant congregations with occasional services, and that it shall be the duty of all Clergymen, whether with or without parochial cure, to comply with such regulations as shall be concluded on; and in case the vacant congregations so supplied fail to defray the expenses of such visits, the Treasurer be authorized to pay such expenses on the order of the committee: provided that no appointment be made without the approbation of the Bishop. The Parochial Reports were read. It was resolved that the Committee appointed on the State of the Church report to the next Convention. It was resolved that all accounts for printing be referred to the Committee of Accounts. Deputies to the General Convention, and a Standing Committee and Council of Advice, were chosen. A Canon concerning the trial of a Clergyman was passed. It was resolved that a committee be appointed to publish the Journal of this Convention; and to add a list of all the Clergy and congregations of the Diocese, in which the titles of the Clergy, and the townships and counties in which the churches are situated, shall be mentioned. The committee was appointed. It was recommended to the Clergy that in presenting their Parochial Reports they may bring forward whatever facts may exhibit the state of religion in their respective parishes. The Trustees of the Episcopate Fund reported the State of it, and that there had been added to it the sum of $634.63.

The 39th Annual Convention.—It was held on the 13th and 14th of May, 1823. There were present sixteen Clergymen, besides the Bishop, and thirty-two Lay Deputies. The Rev. Mr. DeLancey was chosen Secretary. At the opening of the business, morning Prayer was conducted by the Rev. Dr. Abercrombie, and a Sermon was delivered by the Rev. Gregory T Bedell, and the Communion was administered. Bishop White delivered his Annual Address. As a substitute for the 24th regulation, it was resolved that a Treasurer for the Convention, and a Treasurer of the Episcopal Fund, shall be chosen on the annual assembling of the Convention, to remain in office until the assembling of the next Convention; their accounts to close on the Tuesday before the meeting, to be submitted to the examination of the Standing Committee, and report to be made to the Convention. John Read, Esq. was chosen Treasurer of the Episcopal Fund, and Thomas H. White was chosen Treasurer of the Convention. The Committee on the State of the Church represented that unavoidable circumstances had prevented their making a report. The Deputies to the General Convention were constituted a committee to prepare, with the sanction of the Bishop, a report on the State of the Church, to be presented to the said body. It was resolved that the 4th Article of the Constitution of the Church in this State be so amended as to read, after the words "Deputy or Deputies," the words "worshipers in the said Church." The Committee appointed to inquire as to the number of Trustees which

this Convention is entitled to nominate to the General Theological Seminary, proposed that this Convention should nominate six absolutely, and one on the condition of its appearing at the next meeting of the General Convention that the total contributions to the Seminary from this Diocese amount to or exceed $4,000. The minutes of the Standing Committee were read. A Standing Committee and Council of Advice were chosen. There was appointed a Committee of Accounts. The Parochial Reports were read. It was resolved that the next Annual Convention of the Church in this State be held in Norristown, Montgomery County, and that it shall be on the first Tuesday after the first Wednesday in May. It was resolved that every Clergyman who does not comply with the 1st section of the 9th regulation of this Church, be requested at the next Convention to assign a reason for the same. The committee appointed to consult with the Bishop upon some mode of supplying the vacant congregations with occasional services, gave a report of the visitations made, expressing themselves gratified by the opinion that much good had been done, although not all which had been anticipated. They also reported a list of the vacant congregations. It was resolved that the Committee of Publication be required to form a digest of the information presented in the said report, to be inserted on the Journal. A committee was again appointed to report to the next Convention a plan for raising a fund and providing means to supply the vacant congregations and vicinities; in the meanwhile the said committee, with the approbation of the Bishop, to take such measures as they may find practicable for the accomplishing of the object, with the same powers which were granted to the committee appointed by the last Convention. It was resolved to be the duty of the Clergy in future, in any place where the Convention is to be held, to provide, if possible, private accommodations for both the Clergy and the Lay Deputies who may attend the same. The Convention then went into an election of Trustees of the General Theological Seminary. The accounts of the Treasurers of the Episcopal Fund and of the Convention were read. The Treasurer of the Convention was authorized to pay such parts of the expenses of the General Convention as may be apportioned to this Diocese. The Secretary of the Convention was appointed the Committee of Publication. The Trustees of the Episcopal Fund reported its stock at present to be $7,733.57.

The 40th Annual Convention, at Norristown.—It was held on the 12th and 13th of May, 1824. There were present twenty-five Clergymen, besides the Bishop, and forty-four Lay Deputies. The Rev. William H. DeLancey was chosen Secretary. At the opening of the business, Prayers were read by the Rev. Charles Williams, and a Sermon was delivered by the Rev. Benjamin Allen, and the Communion was administered. The Bishop delivered his Annual Address, relating his acts in the Episcopacy during the last year. The minutes of the Standing Committee and Council of Advice were read. The reports of the Treasurers of the Convention

Fund, and of the Fund for the Episcopate, were read. The Clergy, being called on, reported verbally what had been done in respect to the Episcopal Fund. The committee appointed by the last Convention to make a report of a plan for raising a fund to supply vacant parishes and vicinities with religious services, presented the required report, which was recommitted, with the addition of another member. It was resolved that the next Convention shall be held in the city of Philadelphia, in St. Paul's Church. It was resolved that this Convention, concurring with their Bishop in the interest expressed by him in his address on the subject of the General Theological Seminary, heartily recommend that institution to the zealous support and the fostering care of Episcopalians throughout the Diocese, as being an important mean, under Divine Providence, of supplying a learned and efficient ministry for the promulgation of the doctrines, and for the preservation of the worship and of the discipline of the Protestant Episcopal Church. The committee on the subject of the supply of vacant congregations and vicinities, having made a report containing four resolves tending to that object, they were adopted by the Convention. The amendment of the 4th Article of the Constitution, proposed to the last Convention, was adopted by the present. It was resolved that the next Convention be held on the first Wednesday after the first Tuesday in May. The Parochial Reports were read. The Convention voted their thanks to the Rev. Mr. Allen for his Sermon delivered at the opening of the business of the session. It was resolved that five hundred copies of the Constitution, of the Canons, and of the Regulations of this Church, be printed for the use of the members. It was resolved that the members of this Convention, before its adjournment, furnish to the Secretary their respective addresses. It was resolved that hereafter it shall be the duty of the Secretary, in his notices of the meeting of the Convention, to mention the hour at which they are to organize. A Standing Committee and Council of Advice were chosen. A Missionary Committee was appointed. The Treasurers of the Fund for the Episcopate and of the Convention were chosen.

The 41st Annual Convention.—It sat on the 11th, the 12th, and the 13th of May, 1825. There were present thirty Clergymen, besides the Bishop, and sixty-one Lay Deputies. The Rev. William H. DeLancey was chosen Secretary. Prayers were read by the Rev. Jehu C. Clay, and a Charge was delivered by the Bishop. The Communion was administered, and the Rev. Samuel Marks and the Rev. Robert Piggott, Deacons, were ordained to the Holy Office of Priests. The minutes of the Standing Committee and Council of Advice for the past year were read; as also the report of the Treasurer of the Convention and the Treasurer of the Episcopal Fund. It was resolved that the Secretary of the Convention be directed to furnish each clergymen and the vestry of each congregation with two copies of the Constitution, Canons, and Regulations of this Diocese; and that the residue be kept by the Secretary for the time

being, for the further uses of this Church. The Treasurers of the Convention and of the Episcopal Fund were re-elected. The Parochial Reports were read. The Convention suspended business, in order to attend Divine Service, it being the Festival of the Ascension. It was resolved that the next Convention of the Church in this Diocese shall be held in the Borough of Reading. Deputies to the General Convention, a Standing Committee, and Council of Advice, and a Missionary Committee, were elected. Thanks were voted to the Bishop for his Charge delivered at the opening of the Convention, and a copy was requested for publication. A committee was appointed to report the state of the Church in this Diocese, to be laid before the next General Convention. A committee was appointed to attend to the publication of the Journal. The Missionary Committee were authorized to append to the Journal an abstract of their proceedings during the last year. It was resolved that a Church form of incorporation for an Episcopal Church in this State be appended to the Journal. It was resolved that the Parochial Reports handed in at the present Convention shall be placed in the hands of the Bishop, to be acted on by him in the same manner, previously to their publication, as if they had been regularly transmitted to him before the meeting of the Convention, according to the 45th Canon. It was recommended to the vestries of the several churches to consider of the expediency of making provision for securing to the families of their respective ministers the benefit of the fund for the relief of the widows and the orphans of deceased Clergymen. It was resolved that the next Annual Convention shall be held on the Tuesday after the first Wednesday in May, at 6 o'clock.

The 42d Annual Convention.—It was held in Reading, May 9th, 10th, and 11th, 1826. There were present thirty-seven Clergymen, besides the Bishop, and fifty-seven Lay Deputies. The Rev. William H. DeLancey was chosen Secretary. The Church was consecrated by the Bishop, under the name of Christ Church. The business of the session was opened with Prayers, read by the Rev. Dr. Abercrombie, and a Sermon delivered by the Rev. Mr. Bedell. The Bishop, as usual, delivered his Annual Address, relating his acts in the Episcopacy during the last year. There were read the minutes of the Standing Committee and Council of Advice; also the reports of the Treasurers of the Episcopal Fund and of the Convention. A committee was appointed for the purpose of submitting some other plan than the one now in existence for the distribution of the funds. On a statement made, of there being likely to accrue a considerable sum to the Episcopal Fund, by the will of the late Rev. Dr. Pilmore, and that for the securing of the executors, a funding bond will be required, it was resolved that the said Fund be pledged to secure and protect such persons or such body corporate as may become sureties in the refunding bond required. It was resolved that the Standing Committee be requested to take such measures to obtain a charter of incorporation as will more effectually promote the

original design of the Convention in the formation of the said Fund. A committee was appointed to report the number of the Trustees of the General Theological Seminary to which this Diocese is entitled. The minutes of the Missionary Committee were read. The business of the Convention was suspended for their attendance in Church on the ordination of a Priest and of a Deacon. The Parochial Reports, presented by the Bishop, were read; and it appearing that three reports were wanting, the Bishop was authorized to insert them, when received, on the Journal of this Convention. The committee appointed to ascertain the number of Trustees of the General Theological Seminary to which this Diocese is entitled, reported the number to be nine. The Standing Committee was requested to prepare the form of a charter for the Church in this State, and report to the next Convention. In relation to the charter of St. Stephen's Church, Thomsontown, it was resolved that the Convention, disapproving of the principle of requiring the approbation of the communicants as necessary to the election of a Rector, recommend that this clause be stricken out; and that St. Stephen's Church be thereupon admitted as a member of this Convention. It was resolved, unanimously, that the thanks of the Convention be presented to the Rev. Jehu C. Clay for his appropriate and excellent Discourse at the opening of the session. The thanks of the Convention were voted to the inhabitants of the Borough of Reading for their hospitality to this Convention during its session. Deputies to the General Convention, a Standing Committee, and Council of Advice, and a Missionary Committee, were elected. Trustees of the General Theological Seminary, and Treasurers of the Episcopal and the Convention Funds, were elected. It was stated that the Articles of Association of St. Stephen's Church, Thomsontown, had been amended in pursuance of the resolution of the Convention, whereupon it was resolved that the said church be admitted to the Union. It was resolved that the next annual meeting be held in Harrisburg. A committee was appointed to attend to the publication of the Journal. It was resolved that the next Convention shall be held on the Tuesday after the first Wednesday in May.

Journal of a Special Convention.—This Convention was constitutionally called by the Bishop, with the view of recommending to them the election of an Assistant Bishop of the Diocese. Its session was on the 25th, the 26th, and the 27th of October; and was held in St. Peter's Church, in the city of Philadelphia. There were present fifty-four Clergymen, besides the Bishop, and one hundred and twenty-two Lay Deputies. The Bishop delivered a statement of the changes which had taken place in the Diocese since the Annual Convention. At the opening of the session, Prayers were read by the Rev. John Rodney; a Sermon was delivered by the Rev. Richard Hall, and the Bishop administered the Communion. It was resolved that the names of all Clergymen present claiming seats be read over, and the certificates of Lay Deputies in the same

situation, that all such as appear objectionable be settled at once by this body, and that all who are not objected to be considered of course as members. N. P. Hobart, Esq., at the desire of the Secretary, was appointed his Assistant. The President was instructed to ask whether objections existed to the right of any Clergyman named to a seat in this Convention; on which objections were made to the claims of five. On the reading of the certificates of the Lay Deputies, objections were made to those from two of the churches. It was resolved that each of the bodies into which this house had divided, name two persons, who shall be at liberty to name a fifth, and that these five persons shall proceed without delay to investigate the circumstances connected with the cases of all the persons objected to, either Clerical or Lay, and report the facts to-morrow morning. The committee of five appointed to investigate the cases of the Clergymen and of the Lay Deputies whose claims had been objected to, made a report on the circumstances of each case; whereupon it was resolved that all the Clergymen and the Lay Deputies concerned are entitled to seats in this Convention. The Bishop delivered an Address, stating his motives in the exercise of his constitutional right in the call of the Convention, and detailing the points of character which in his opinion ought to be especially in view in the choice of an Assistant Bishop. On a motion made, and on the Bishop's pronouncing it to be out of order, there was an appeal from his decision. By the permission of the Convention, the appeal was withdrawn. It was resolved to be expedient to proceed to the election of an Assistant Bishop; and at the desire of the Convention, the Bishop implored the blessing of God on the proceeding. The names of the Clergy were called over, and they severally delivered in their ballots. The tellers having reported that the Rev. William Meade, of Virginia, had 27 votes, and the Rev. Bird Wilson 26 votes, the Bishop pronounced the Rev. William Meade to be duly elected. But on its being suggested that there were fifty-four Clerical members present, and that one of them had not voted, the tellers made a supplemental report to that effect; on which the Bishop stated that there was no constitutional majority for any candidates. It was resolved that all proceedings in the election of an Assistant Bishop be postponed until the next stated meeting of the Convention. The thanks of the Convention were voted to the Rev. Richard Hall for his Sermon delivered at the opening of the session of the Convention. The Bishop delivered an Address, judged by him to be suited to existing circumstances, which was ordered to be inserted on the Journal. The session was concluded with Prayer, with singing the last four verses of the 122d Psalm, and with the Benediction by the Bishop.

The 43d Annual Convention.—It was held in the Borough of Harrisburg, on the 8th, 9th, and 10th days of May, 1827. There were present fifty Clergymen, besides the Bishop, and one hundred and forty-four Lay Deputies. The Rev. Dr. DeLancey was chosen Secretary, and Nathaniel P. Hobart, Esq. his Assistant. A committee

was appointed to apply for the use of the Chamber of the House of Representatives. The Convention adjourned to the newly erected church in this Borough, which the Bishop consecrated by the name of St. Stephen's Church. The Rev. Levi Bull read Prayers, and a Sermon was delivered by the Rev. Bird Wilson, D. D. At the same time there was an ordination to the Holy Order of Priests, and the Holy Communion was administered. The committee appointed to apply for the use of the Chamber of the House of Representatives, reported that the same had been obtained. Accordingly, the Convention adjourned to that place. The Bishop delivered his Annual Address, relating his acts in the Episcopacy during the last year, and referring to the question of an Assistant Bishop, which had been before the Special Convention in October last, and was expected to come under the consideration of the Convention now assembled. On motion made that the Rev. Lucius Carter, late of Maryland, be admitted to a seat in this Convention, it was determined in the negative. The minutes of the Standing Committee and Council of Advice, were begun to be read, but were suspended in the progress, on the Convention's proceeding to the choice of an Assistant Bishop. The Bishop implored the Divine blessing on the proceeding. The order of the Clergy, (two-thirds of those entitled to vote being present, and two-thirds of the congregations entitled to vote being represented,) proceeded to nominate and appoint by ballot some fit and qualified Clergyman to be Assistant Bishop of this Diocese, during the life of the present Bishop, and to be the Bishop of this Diocese after his demise. On counting the ballots, it appeared that the Rev. Henry U. Onderdonk, of the Diocese of New York, was elected. Accordingly, his nomination and appointment was announced by the Bishop to the Lay Members of the Convention. On the question being put whether the Lay Representatives will approve of the appointment, and the ballots being taken, it was determined in the affirmative. It was resolved that a testimonial in favor of the Rev. Henry U. Onderdonk, conformable to the form prescribed by the 3d Canon, be prepared and laid on the table of the Secretary, and that the members be invited to subscribe the same. It was prepared and signed by the constitutional number of the Clergy and Lay Deputies. At the desire of the Convention, a committee was appointed by the Bishop to wait on the Assistant Bishop elect, and to solicit his acceptance of the office. It was resolved that the annual income of the fund provided, and to be provided, under the resolutions of the Convention, for the support of the Episcopate, be applied to the use of the Rev. Henry U. Onderdonk, so long as he shall be Assistant Bishop or Bishop of this Diocese, subject to such future regulations as to amount, as shall be adequate to his competent support. The minutes of the Standing Committee and Council of Advice, were read by their Secretary. The charters of a certain church, noticed in the said minutes, were referred to a committee, to report thereon. A letter from the Board of Managers of the Colonization Society, ad-

dressed to this Convention, having been read, it was resolved to be inexpedient to act thereon; and the Secretary was instructed to communicate a copy of this resolution to that Board. The Secretary having read a communication from the General Convention, submitting certain resolutions respecting proposed alterations in the Rubrics, &c., it was resolved that the consideration of them be postponed to the next stated Convention, and that the communication be printed on the Journal of this Convention. A Standing Committee and Council of Advice, Deputies to the General Convention, and a Missionary Committee, were elected. Treasurers of the Episcopal Fund and of the Convention were elected. The committee to whom was referred the claims of certain churches to seats in this Convention, reported in favor of all of them, with the exception of one, because of defects in its articles of their association, whereupon, with that exception, they were admitted into Ecclesiastical Union. The Bishop presented the Parochial Reports, which were read. The reports of the Treasurer of the Episcopal Fund, and of the Convention, were also presented and read. The thanks of the Convention were voted to the inhabitants of the Borough of Harrisburg, for their politeness and hospitality to the members. The thanks of the Convention were voted to the Rev. Dr. Wilson, for his Sermon delivered in the beginning of the session. A committee was appointed to take into consideration the Constitution, Canons, and Regulations of the Church in this Diocese, and to report to the next stated Convention such alterations as they deem expedient. It was ordered that the Journal be printed. It was resolved that the next Annual Convention be held on the 3d Tuesday of May, 1828, at 6 o'clock, P. M. The Convention then united in singing the last four verses of the 122d Psalm, when, after a short Address and Benediction by the Bishop, the session ended.

The 44th Annual Convention.—It was held in St. Peter's Church, and in St. James' Church, Philadelphia, on the 20th, the 21st, the 22d, and the 23d days of May, 1828. There were present fifty-three Clergymen, besides the Bishop and the Assistant Bishop, and one hundred and nineteen Lay Deputies. The Rev. William H. DeLancey was chosen Secretary, and Nathaniel P. Hobart, Esq. was chosen Assistant Secretary. At the opening of the business of the Convention, Prayers were read by the Rev. William C. Mead, and a Sermon was delivered by the Rev. George Weller, and the Holy Communion was administered. The Bishop delivered his Annual Address, relating his acts in the Episcopacy during the last year. The Assistant Bishop also delivered an Address. The Bishop laid before the Convention a communication from the Board of Directors of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, requesting the Bishops and the other ecclesiastical authorities in the several Dioceses, to recommend to the Clergy and congregations to cause collections to be made in aid of the said Society. An attention to and compliance with the request was recommended by the Bishop.

The committee appointed by the last Convention to consider of alterations in the Constitution, the Canons, and the Regulations of the Diocese, made report, with correspondent resolutions. These underwent various modifications, and then it was resolved that the Convention approve of the amendments, and order them to lie over for final adoption by the next ensuing Convention. The consideration of so much of the report as relates to the Constitutions, Canons, and Regulations, was postponed and recommitted to the committee, with the instruction to report to the next stated Annual Convention. It was resolved that the Committee on the Constituton, &c., be requested to prepare their report on the subjects recommitted to them, before the first day of March next, and transmit copies of the same to the Clergy and to the vestries of the several Churches. A Standing Committee and Council of Advice, Deputies to the General Convention, and a Missionary Committee, were elected. Treasurers of the Episcopal Fund, and of the Convention, were elected. The thanks of the Convention were voted to the Rev. Mr. Weller, for his Sermon delivered at the opening of the business of the session. It was resolved that this Convention highly approve of the formation of the Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union, at the meeting of the General Convention in 1826, and heartily recommend it to the support and patronage of the members of the Church in this Diocese. The Bishop presented the Parochial Reports of the Clergy, which were read to the Convention. It was resolved that the next Annual Convention be held in St. Andrew's Church, Philadelphia, on the 3d Tuesday of May, at 6 o'clock, P. M. Thanks were voted to the citizens of Philadelphia, for their politeness and hospitality to the members of the Convention. The Convention united in singing the last four verses of the 122d Psalm, when, after a short Address, with Prayer and the Benediction by the Bishop, they adjourned.

The 45th Annual Convention.—It was held in St. Andrew's Church, Philadelphia, on May the 19th, 20th, 21st, 22d, and 23d, 1829. There were present forty-six Clergymen, besides the Bishop and the Assistant Bishop, and seventy Lay Deputies. The Rev. William H. DeLancey was chosen Secretary, and Nathaniel P. Hobart, Esq. was chosen Assistant Secretary. At the opening of the business, the Morning Service was read, by the Rev. Samuel Bowman, and a Charge was delivered by the Assistant Bishop. The Bishop delivered his Annual Address, relating his acts in the Episcopacy during the last year. A similar Address was delivered by the Assistant Bishop. Two memorials were presented from the inhabitants of Pittsburg, praying for the establishment of a Western Theological Seminary, to be located in that city. They were referred to a committee. The committee to whom there had been referred the certificates of the Deputies from St. Thomas' Church, Morgantown, and St. Paul's Church, Chester, made a report unfavorable to the right of the persons named in the certificates. The

committee appointed by the last Convention, on the Canons and Regulations, made a report, copies of which they stated to have been sent to the Clergy and the vestries of the Diocese, as required by the said Convention. The minutes of the Standing Committee and Council of Advice were read by their Secretary. The report of the Treasurer of the Convention Fund, relative to arrears due, was referred to a committee. The Convention went into the consideration of the communication from the General Convention, respecting proposed alterations of the Liturgy. The subject, after various discussions at different meetings, during the session, was indefinitely postponed. The committee to whom was referred the certificate of appointment, from the Church in Georgetown, Beaver County, made a report in favor of the claim, which was accepted. A certificate of the appointment of Lay Deputies from St Paul's Church, Chester, was referred to a committee, who reported in favor of the same. It was resolved, that the Convention approve of the Amendments of the Constitution, proposed and approved of by the last Convention. A committee appointed to ascertain the number of Trustees of the Theological Seminary, reported the number to be twelve. The Convention went into consideration of the report on the Canons, which, after various modifications, were established; and all former Canons were declared to be repealed. The thanks of the Convention were voted to the Committee on the Constitution and the Canons, for the ability, assiduity, and zeal with which they have performed the arduous and important task confided to them. The thanks of the Convention were voted to the Rt. Rev., the Assistant Bishop, for the Charge delivered by him at the opening of the Convention, and he was requested to furnish a copy for publication. It was resolved, that in the opinion of this Convention, it is expedient to establish a Theological Seminary in the neighborhood of Pittsburg; and that this subject, particularly the organization of the Seminary, be recommended to the consideration of the next Annual Convention. The committee to whom was referred the subject of arrears due from several Churches, made a report; whereupon it was resolved, that the Treasurer furnish an account to each Congregation, showing the amount of arrears due from it; and request that the same may be discharged on or before the next Annual Convention. The Convention went into the consideration of the revised Regulations attached to the Report of the Committee on the Constitution, &c. The revised Regulations were adopted, with the following Amendment:—Episcopal Charges, delivered before the Convention, shall be published by the same, without any motion relative thereto. The resolutions attached to the Report of the said Committee, were ordered to be published, with the Canons and Regulations. It was ordered that the Secretary cause to be printed and distributed, with the Journal, the Constitution as amended, and the Canons and Regulations adopted at this Convention. A committee was appointed to prepare a state of the Church, in this

Diocese, in conjunction with the Bishop, to be laid before the General Convention. A Standing Committee and Council of Advice, Deputies to the General Convention, a Missionary Committee, and Treasurers of the Fund for the Episcopate and of the Convention, were elected. Two applications for admission to Ecclesiastical Union were rejected, on the ground of informality. It was resolved, that the members of this Convention view, with great satisfaction, the interest which appears to be awakening in all parts of our country, in favor of the domestic and foreign operations of our Church; and they earnestly recommend the General Missionary Society to the zealous support of the Episcopalians of this Diocese. The parochial Reports were read. It was resolved, that the thanks of the Convention be rendered to the authorities of St. Andrew's Church, for the use of the same; and to the inhabitants of Philadelphia, for their politeness and hospitality to the members of the Convention. It was ordered, that the Secretary cause to be printed 1000 copies of Bishop Onderdonk's Charge, and 1000 copies of the Constitution, &c., as amended and adopted. It was ordered, that 750 copies of the Journal be printed and distributed. The Convention, after singing the last four verses of the 122d Psalm, with Prayer and Benediction by the Bishop, adjourned, *sine die*.

The 46th Annual Convention.—It was held in St. Peter's Church, on May the 18th, 19th, and 20th, 1830. There were present thirty-two Clergymen, besides the Bishop and the Assistant Bishop, and fifty-four Lay Deputies. The Rev. William H. DeLancey was chosen Secretary, and the Rev. William C. Mead, Assistant Secretary. The business of the session was begun with Prayers, read by the Rev. Richard W. Morgan, with a Sermon, delivered by the Rev. Dr. DeLancey, and with the administration of the Communion. The Bishop, and the Assistant Bishop, delivered their respective Annual Addresses, relating their acts in the Episcopacy in the last year. The minutes of the Standing Committee and Council of Advice, were read, also the reports of the Treasurers of the Fund for the Episcopate, and of the Convention. It was resolved, that the respective Churches be called on, to state whether payments of arrears, or any part thereof, may be expected, and when. It was resolved, that the Clerical members be inquired of in regard to the Episcopal Fund, whether they have made collections for the same during the past year; and what has been the amount of the collections made by them. Calls having been made on the Lay Deputies, and on the Clergy, agreeably to the two foregoing resolutions, it was ordered, that the Treasurer of the Convention attend in this Church to-morrow morning at nine o'clock, to receive the moneys due to the Convention Fund, from the several Churches. It was resolved, that the Treasurer of the Convention, with two members of the Body, named by them, be authorized to compromise the claims on such Churches as may be in arrears. Respecting the Fund for the Episcopate, reports were made by those of the Clergy

in whose Churches there had been collections. The subject of a Western Theological Seminary was referred to a Committee. The Parochial Reports were read. The Committee on the question of a Western Seminary having made a report, it was resolved, agreeably to the same, 1st, that this Convention concur in the opinion expressed by the last Convention, in regard to the expediency of establishing a Theological Seminary in the vicinity of Pittsburg; and 2dly, that the organization of such a Seminary is not at the present time a matter of such urgency as to require immediate legislation; but that it is desirable to effect such an organization, as soon as circumstances may warrant the proceeding. A Standing Committee and Council of Advice, Deputies to the General Convention, a Committee for the supply of vacant congregations, and Treasurers for the Fund of the Episcopate, and of the Convention, were elected. It was ordered, that 1000 copies of Dr. DeLancey's Sermon be printed for the use of the Convention. An addition to the 18th Canon was adopted. It was resolved, that the question of a Branch, or Branches of the Theological Seminary, be recommended to the consideration of its Trustees. It was resolved, that 750 copies of the Journal be printed, under the direction of the Secretary. The next Annual Meeting was appointed to be on the 3d Tuesday in May, at 6 o'clock, P. M. After singing the last four verses of the 122d Psalm, with Prayer and Benediction by the Bishop, the Convention adjourned, *sine die*.

The 47th Annual Convention.—It was held in St. Peter's and St. James' Churches, Philadelphia, May the 17th and 18th, 1831. There were present, twenty-three Clergymen, beides the two Bishops, and fifty-one Lay Deputies. The Rev. Dr. DeLancey was chosen Secretary, and the Rev. Wm. C. Mead, Assistant Secretary. The opening of the business was preceded by Divine Service, in which Morning Prayer was read by the Rev. James Depuy, and a Charge was delivered by the Bishop, who also administered the Communion. The Bishop delivered his Annual Address, as did also the Assistant Bishop, relating their respective acts in the Episcopacy during the last year. There were laid on the table, the minutes of the Standing Committee, the report of the Treasurer of the Convention, and that of the Treasurer of the Episcopal Fund, which were read. The Trustees of the General Theological Seminary, representing this Diocese, reported that, as instructed by the last Convention, they had laid before the Trustees a proposal for the establishing of a *Branch* Seminary, to be located in Pittsburg; and that the Board declined the measure, as inexpedient at present. It was resolved, that the Treasurer of the Convention Fund furnish to the Secretary, after the Convention shall adjourn, a list of such Churches as shall be found in arrears, with the amount, to be published with the Journal. The Parochial Reports were read. There was submitted a report of the last Convention of the Diocese of S. Carolina, containing a claim, indirectly asserted, to a certain benefit

eventually to accrue from the legacy of Frederick Holme, Esq. It was now noticed, only so far as respectfully to deny its validity, lest silence should be hereafter misconstrued. The Convention expressed their approbation of the Charge delivered by the Bishop. The Standing Committee and Council of Advice, and Deputies to the General Convention, were elected, also Treasurers of the Episcopal Fund, and of the Convention. It was ordered that 1000 copies of the Journal and Charge be printed under direction of the Secretary. It was resolved, that the next Convention be held in St. James' Church, Philadelphia, on the 3d Tuesday in May, 1832, at 6 o'clock, P. M. The Convention then adjourned, after having united in singing the last four verses of 122d Psalm, and after the Benediction by the Bishop.

The 48th Annual Convention.—It was held in St. James' Church, Philadelphia, on the 15th, 16th, and 17th of May, 1832. There were present twenty-two Clergymen, besides the two Bishops, and forty-six Lay Deputies. The Rev. William Cooper Mead, D. D., was elected Secretary, the Rev. Dr. DeLancey having declined a re-election. Before proceeding to business there was Divine Service; when then the Rev. Samuel Bowman read Prayers; and the Bishop delivered a Charge and administered the Communion. The Bishop delivered his Annual Address, as did the Assistant Bishop, relating their respective acts in the Episcopacy during the last year. A committee was appointed to inquire and report the number of Trustees of the General Theological Seminary, to which this Diocese is entitled. The Minutes of the Standing Committee and Council of Advice were presented, as were the Reports of the Treasurers of the Convention, and of the Episcopal Fund. The last of those reports was read. An hour was appointed when the Clergy should be expected to report, whether they have complied with the regulation of the last Convention, by collections for the Episcopal Fund, and what has been the amount of such collections. A committee was appointed on the subject of Charters for Churches, applying to be admitted into Union with the Convention of this Diocese. It was resolved, that the Convention entertain a grateful sense of the long-continued and able services of their late Secretary, the Rev. Dr. DeLancey. The committee appointed to ascertain the number of Trustees of the General Theological Seminary, to which this Diocese is entitled, reported the number to be eleven. The Committee on Charters reported that their appointment was not in accordance with the provisions of the 15th Canon; whereupon the committee was discharged, and a new committee appointed. The Clergy were called on to report their collections for the Episcopal Fund; thirteen reported their collections and the amounts. The Parochial Reports were read. A committee was appointed to prepare and report a form of Parochial Report, to be hereafter used in this Diocese. The Committee to whom was referred the resolution of appropriating a portion of the Convention Fund toward de-

fraying the expenses of the Clergy in attending the Convention, made a report, which, after amendment, was adopted, and a committee was appointed to carry the resolution into effect. The committee to whom was referred the subject of Charters, made a report in favor of sundry Churches, which was accepted. The committee appointed to prepare the form of a Parochial Report, presented a form, which was accepted, and the Secretary was directed to have the same printed on the circular, which he is required to send to the Clergy and the Vestries, one month before the annual Convention, with a request that the form be filled up, and handed or sent to the Bishop, to be read at the Annual Convention next ensuing. A committee was appointed to report to the next Convention, on the subject of a proposed revision of the 6th of the revised Regulations. A Standing Committee and Council of Advice, Deputies to the General Convention, a committee for the supply of vacant Congregations, and Treasurers of the Episcopal Fund, and the Convention Fund, were elected. A committee was appointed to draft, in concurrence with the Bishop, in accordance with the 17th Canon, a Report of the State of the Church in this Diocese, to be presented to the General Convention. A resolution was passed regulating the distribution of the Convention Fund. It was resolved in furtherance of a resolution of the Convention in May, 1825, recommending to the Vestries throughout the State, to avail themselves in favor of their Clergy, of the benefit to be obtained for their families, from the funds of the Society for the widows and children of deceased Clergymen; to direct the Standing Committee to confer with that Corporation, to ascertain if there should be consent to the measure, on what terms the benefit will be granted, and to report to the next Convention. It was ordered that 750 copies of the Journal, and 1000 copies of the Charge, be printed under the direction of the Secretary. It was resolved that the next Annual Convention be held in St. James' Church, Philadelphia, on the 3d Tuesday in May, at 6 o'clock, P. M. The session ended with singing the last four verses of the 122d Psalm, and with the Benediction by the Bishop.

The 49th Annual Convention.—It was held in St. James' Church, Philadelphia, on the 21st, 22d, and 23d of May, 1833. There were present thirty Clergymen, besides the two Bishops, and fifty-five Lay Deputies. The Rev. William C. Mead, D. D., was unanimously chosen Secretary. The business of the session was preceded by Divine Service, in which the Rev. Levi Bull read Prayers. A Charge was delivered by the Assistant Bishop, and the Bishop administered the Communion. The two Bishops delivered their Annual Addresses, relating their acts in the Episcopacy during the last year. It was resolved, that the Rev. Robert Davis, a member of former Conventions, is entitled to a seat in this Convention, as a Clergyman in infirm health. In consequence of the report of a Committee appointed by the last Convention, on the 6th of the revised Regulations, it was resolved that the same be altered, by strik-

ing from the first line, the words "enjoined as the duty of," and inserting instead thereof the words "recommended to," and that the 4th section be repealed. A committee was appointed on the subject of a resolution of the last Convention, appropriating a portion of the Convention Fund towards defraying the expenses of the Clergy in attending the Convention of the Diocese. A committee was appointed to inquire into the practicability of devising some method for defraying the expenses of the Assistant Bishop in his Diocesan visitations. There was laid before the Convention, from the Trustees of the Episcopal Fund, an assignment made by the residuary legatees of the late Paul Sieman, Esq., of a certificate for 500 dollars, in the said fund. The thanks of the Convention were voted to the residuary legatees for their liberal donation. There was laid before the Convention, for their adoption or for their rejection, from the Secretary of the late General Convention, certain proposals of that body, in reference to the Book of Common Prayer. A committee was appointed to examine and report on Charters of Churches on the table, in order to the admission of those Churches. There were presented the Minutes of the Standing Committee, and the accounts of the Treasurers of the Convention Fund and of the Episcopal Fund. A report was read from a Minute of the proceedings of the Standing Committee, in pursuance of a resolution of the last Convention. The Parochial Reports were read. The Committee on new Churches reported in favor of certain Churches, which were accordingly admitted. The committee appointed to inquire into the right of the Rev. Cyrus Jacobs to a seat in this Convention, reported in his favor, which report was accepted. There was laid before the Convention, the report of a committee appointed by the Standing Committee, to carry into effect a resolution of the State Convention, relative to the Corporation for the relief of the widows and children of deceased Clergymen. The report stated that it is expedient to recommend to the Society, certain alterations in their fundamental laws. On the effecting of this, the report sanctions the subscriptions of Vestries and of individuals. The report was adopted, and the Secretary was instructed to communicate it to the said Corporation. It was resolved, that until the next stated Convention, the expenses of the Assistant Bishop, on Episcopal visitations, not exceeding $250, be paid out of the Convention Fund. A committee was appointed to receive applications of Clergymen for mileage, and to apportion the money appointed for that purpose. It was resolved, that the Convention cordially approve of the Diocesan Sunday School Society, of Pennsylvania, and recommend it to the favorable regard and coöperation of all the members of the Church. Messrs. Hale and Gormly were appointed to receive dues, in behalf of the Treasurer of the Convention Fund. It was resolved, that there be printed 750 copies of the Journal of this Convention. A committee was appointed to examine the account of arrearages due to the Convention Fund, with power to remit or to

compromise with the delinquent Churches. It was resolved, that 1000 copies of the Constitution and Canons be printed. It was resolved, that the Treasurer of the Convention be authorized and directed to pay the expenses of the Deputies to the late General Convention. It was resolved, that the next Convention be held in St. Andrew's Church, in this city. Deputies to the General Convention, a Standing Committee and Council of Advice, a Committee on the supply of vacant Congregations, and Treasurers of the Episcopal and Conventional Funds, were elected. The session was ended with the singing of the last four verses of the 122d Psalm, and with the Benediction by the Bishop.

THE 50TH ANNUAL CONVENTION.—It was held in St. Andrew's Church, Philadelphia, on the 20th, the 21st, and the 22d of May, 1834. There were present, besides the two Bishops, thirty-six Clergymen, and seventy Lay Deputies. The Rev. William C. Mead, D. D., was unanimously chosen Secretary, and the Rev. R. A. Henderson, Assistant Secretary. The business of the Convention was preceded by Divine Service, in which the Rev. Samuel A. McCoskry and the Rev. George E. Emlen read Prayers; and a Charge was delivered by the Bishop, who also administered the Communion. There were present, besides the two Bishops, thirty-seven Clergymen, and sixty-two Lay Deputies. The Bishop and the Assistant Bishop delivered their respective Addresses, detailing their acts in the Episcopacy. A committee was appointed to examine and report on certain presented charters, with a view of admitting their respective Churches into Union. A resolution was moved and unanimously adopted, expressive of the regret of the Convention for the decease of the Rev. Dr. Montgomery. The Parochial Reports were read. The committee appointed by the last Convention respecting arrearages due on the Convention Fund, made a report, which was acted on. A committee was appointed to take the place and prosecute the objects of the former committee. A resolve was passed approbatory of the formation of the Prayer Book Society. The Secretary presented the minutes of the Standing Committee, and the accounts of the Treasurers of the Convention and the Episcopal Funds. There were elected a Standing Committee, Deputies to the General Convention, a Committee on the supply of vacant Congregations, a Treasurer of the Convention, and a Treasurer of the Episcopal Fund. Sundry Churches incorporated agreeably to the requisitions of the Canons, were received into Union. In consequence of the frequent dissolution of the pastoral connection of the Clergy with their congregations, in a great measure to be attributed to the inadequate provision for the support of the Clergy, it was earnestly recommended to the several congregations in the Diocese to adopt measures for the obtaining of glebes and parsonage houses for the use of their respective ministers, in addition to the promised stipends. The Secretary was directed to send a copy of the recommendation to the Wardens and Vestries of

parishes, as he may think expedient. It was resolved that the Secretary be directed, aided by a committee of two persons, to cause 500 copies of the Constitution and Canons to be printed; and that fifty copies be bound for the use of the Convention. A committee was appointed to take into consideration the 4th article of the Constitution, and report to the next stated Convention whether any, and if any, what alteration ought to be made therein. A committee was appointed to consider of measures for the supply of the deficiency of the Convention Fund for the present year, and to ensure regularity of contributions to it in future. It was resolved that the next Convention be held in St. Andrew's Church in this city. The Convention then united in singing the last four verses of the 122d Psalm, when, after Prayer and Benediction by the Bishop, the Convention adjourned, *sine die*.

EARLY CHURCH IN NORTH CAROLINA.

The following letter was written by one of the most faithful and industrious clergymen that North Carolina ever had. He possessed, in an unlimited degree, the love and confidence of Bishop Ravenscroft, as letters from the Bishop, now in my possession, will show.

The letter is curious, as presenting the singular fact of ordination among the Lutherans, with an express reservation of the right on the part of the ordained to attach himself to the ministry of the Protestant Episcopal Church, should the providence of God ever afford him an opportunity. The field of Mr. Miller's labors was among the mountains in the Western part of the State, and there, with immense labor, he acted the part of a pioneer. The correction of an error of fact occurs in the letter respecting Mr. Pettigrew, the first Bishop ever elected in North Carolina, and one of the first of her native clergy. He was elected in 1794, and Bishop White, in his Memoirs, states that the Convention of North Carolina applied for his consecration; that Mr Pettigrew set off to attend the General Convention, but was unable to reach Philadelphia in time, and therefore abandoned the journey. The Bishop conjectured that the death of Mr. Pettigrew soon after, prevented further action. (Bp. White's Memoirs, p. 172.)

Mr. Miller however states, that Mr. Pettigrew had another reason for not seeking consecration, and the probability is on the side of Mr. Miller's opinion, because he had the information on which he formed it, from Mr. Pettigrew himself. F. L. H.

MARY'S GROVE, APRIL 15TH, 1830, BURKE CO., N. C.

REV. AND DEAR SIR:—

Your circular came safe to my hand some weeks since. Its subject is one upon which information must be desirable, and I hope will be gratifying to the whole Church in the United States of

America. As to the very small congregation where I now live, that is, St. Andrews, it was not organized until the year 1821. Since that time, no event that is worthy of public notice, has taken place; a lot of two acres of land was given by Mr. Thomas Fleming, where the building stands, which is merely a long house fitted up for temporary use. There is also a lot of two acres given by John Perkins, Esq., on John's river, where they are building a chapel. At the time when the congregation was organized, and for many years anterior to that event, my public labors were principally devoted to Christ Church, in Rowan county, and St. Michael's in Iredell, and occasionally at Salisbury. The organization of the congregations in both these places, arose, in some measure at least, from my insipid labors amongst them for upwards of thirty years before their regular union with the Church in this Diocese. The former was organized as a congregation during my connection with the Lutheran Synod; the latter, that is, St. Luke's, in Salisbury, by our lamented and venerated Father in God, Bishop Ravenscroft. I will state some facts respecting both, in the sequel. But the first congregation with which I formed any official connection in this section of our country, was that of Whitehaven, comprehending Whitehaven and the lower and upper Smyrna, in the county of Lincoln, in the year 1786. They were chiefly emigrants from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, who had settled that section of the State. They were a mixed people, Germans, English, Irish, and some Scots originally, but at that time a very destitute people of any regular religious instruction. My first essay in that capacity was with the Methodists, who then professed to be members of the Episcopal Church, and being by nature of a sanguine and enthusiastical temperament, much of their system, at that period of my life, and feelings, was congenial enough. But in the year 1784, Dr. Coke passing through that section of Virginia where I then lived, I rode with him to a conference in Franklin county, in this State. Our chief conversation during the time I was with him, which was for some weeks, was on the subject of organizing what they call their Episcopal Church, on which we could not agree, as the idea was early and deeply fixed in my mind, and I may truly say my conscience, that the Apostolical succession must ever descend and continue unbroken with the Church of God. And however inconsistent with this assertion some of my subsequent conduct may appear to be, yet at this moment I am certain that it is the truth. Notwithstanding my dissatisfaction with their avowed schism in forming themselves into a separate communion, I continued with them through the year 1785, in what was called the Tar River circuit, where, in some measure, I lost my health, for the recovery of which I came up into this section of country, early in 1786, where I have remained. During my continuance with them, I must say, that they always treated me with respect, and at this time, I mean 1786, when I withdrew myself from any connection with them, they publicly declared that they had

no charge against me whatever, but that it was my own voluntary act, in consequence of my disapprobation of their conduct and rules. In this situation I stood when the people of Whitehaven applied to me to take charge of them as a congregation, merely as a lay reader. The most of them and their forefathers were, and had been, members of the Episcopal Church; as for myself, I was born and brought up until my fifteenth year, in what was then called in Scotland, the Jacobite Episcopal Church, under the ministry of the then venerable Bishop Rail, who was, when I left my native land, upwards of eighty years old; and notwithstanding my age and separation from my family at that period of my life, and the consequences of our Revolutionary War, rendered my opportunities of acquiring correct information on her just claims to a divine and Apostolical institution, small and few indeed, yet the impression made on my mind of its truth was unconquerable. Under these impressions and circumstances, it was very natural for both parties to agree in their resolution of adhering to the Church. With this resolution to be binding on both, I agreed to become their public reader, to catechise their children, and even to bury their dead. A congregation was organized, church wardens and a vestry were chosen, and application made to the General Assembly for an incorporation. Prayer Books were not then to be got; we had a few of the English ones, and I procured two of the first edition from Philadelphia, and I had a catechism printed at Salisbury, to which I added an explanation of the two Covenants, and the Feasts and Fasts of the Church, with some religious terms not generally known. The most of the congregation were under the necessity of receiving the sacraments from the hand of a Lutheran minister, who lived in the vicinity, especially baptism. With him I formed an intimate acquaintance, and in consequence of that, with his ministerial brethren, who lived in the adjacent counties of Rowan, Guilford, and Randolph. Their congregations were at that time in a very declining state, and overrun by impostors assuming the ministerial office without any regular authority whatsoever. To remedy these evils, they pressed me with the plea of necessity, to accept of ordination from their hands, and mentioned that the Rev. Dr. Pilmour, of Philadelphia, had done so in the time of the Revolutionary War. There is now and was then, a considerable number of Presbyterian clergy in this section, and the most of them with whom I had any intimacy recommended the same course, and the congregation earnestly urged me to accept of it, and that they would be perfectly satisfied with my ministrations. In short, as I thought then, and as I do now think, contrary to my own better sentiments, I consented to receive Ordination from them, not as a Lutheran minister, but as an Episcopalian! And in the letters of Orders that they gave me at the time, they bound me to be subject to the discipline and rules of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the United States of America. In my administering the Ordinances and Offices, I paid as strict an attention to the Rubrics as circumstances and situations would admit.

In the year 1803, at the request of the congregation and the Lutheran ministry and their congregations, and after several consultations held for the purpose, a Convention met in Salisbury, and formed an Union, and a Constitution, which was adopted, the leading features of which were copied from the General Constitution of the Protestant Episcopal Church, drawn by myself. Under this Constitution we acted until the year 1818; and our success in introducing order and regularity throughout our charges, and in extending their boundaries, was far beyond any expectation entertained by us at its commencement. This was the situation in which I was placed when it pleased the great Head of the Church of God, in His mercy, to revive her long-declining and almost obliterated cause in this State. The beloved and Rev. Adam Empie, who was then the Rector of St. James' Church in Wilmington, in this State, and one of the honored and principal instruments, under God, of that blessed, and I may say, glorious work, had in that year, 1818, entered into a correspondence with me on the subjects of my standing in the Church, and of the state of religion in this section of the country. To him I stated my real situation, and that of the people then under my care, and my and their connection with the Lutherans. This union was, from first to last, only our own individual acts. The Church was not, and could not be, in any sense responsible for them or their consequences. And, at the time when I was ordained by them, I had expressly reserved my right and liberty with those under my care, to return and unite in full, and without any impediment, with the bosom of the Protestant Episcopal Church, whenever it should please God to revive her in this State, and this was inserted in my letters of Ordination given by them. And by the spirit, terms, and obligation of our union, they were bound to forward this object to the utmost of their ability. Had this been done, I have every reason to believe, that the state and prospects of both the Lutherans and the Episcopalians, would have been in this section of the country far more promising than they are. However, it surely teaches us this useful and important lesson, how vain, if not absurd, the wide-spread delusion of the present day is, "that the successful attempt of amalgamating the different sects, creeds, order, and worship of all those who call themselves Christians, will, or can produce that union and unity of Faith and practice enjoined by the sure word of God." Of this, under the most favorable circumstances that perhaps may ever again occur, I have had full proof. And it furnishes us with an experimental demonstration, how impossible it is to attempt, in any degree, a compromise with error, schism, or heresy, without injuring the truth. And it shows us, at the same time, the necessity of a candid and manly adherence to the Apostolical institutions of our beloved Church. It was in this, that I, alas, failed in an important duty, due alike to my God and Saviour, to his holy Church, and myself; but neither sorrow nor lamentation will recover the ground that has been lost to the Episcopal cause in this

section of the country, in consequence of that fatal error of mine. For although my motives were then as pure, and my love and veneration as ardent and strong in behalf of that cause, as they are at this day, when matured with increase of years and experience; yet so it was, that the natural temperament of my mind, and the affections and feelings of my heart, and to my shame and sorrow I have to add, that no small degree of public applause expressed in favor of so liberal minded a man, had their fatal influence in leading me into that unhappy error. And all that I can now hope for, or expect from it, is, to stand as a beacon to warn my brethren from approaching the fatal rock.

The only motive that has induced me to obtrude thus on your time and patience, this imperfect outline of facts, is of a twofold nature: 1st, The impossibility of my being able to give you any just idea of the insipid means by which the germ of Episcopacy was kept alive for so long a period of privation, and where so many circumstances were combined for its destruction, in this remote and destitute region. 2d, The earnest request of our beloved, venerated, and much lamented Diocesan, that I would leave some record of the circumstances by which I had been seduced into the unhappy errors into which I had been drawn, even contrary to the convictions of my own mind, impressed upon it from my earliest recollections, as an admonition and warning to my brethren and their successors. And should you join in opinion with him, that any notice of it would have a beneficial influence of that kind, I know of no way that that influence would be better promoted, than by your taking such notice of it, as you may deem necessary to that end. Should that be the case, and should you deem any further information necessary, on any of the particulars mentioned, let me know it, and it shall be forwarded.

I shall now confine myself to three objects, as far as they are known to me: 1st, The state of the Church in this State before the Revolutionary War. 2d, During the period of that war; and, 3d, Since that period—and what may be defective in either of these particulars, I hope will be forwarded by others from this Diocese. The first item that I possess on the first particular, is copied from a note annexed to a sermon preached before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, in the parish Church of St. Mary-Le-bow, on February 19th, 1768, by the Right Rev. John Lord Bishop Lincoln. "That in North Carolina, the late Governor Dobbs informed the society, in his letter dated March 29th, 1764, that there were then but six Clergymen in that province, although there were twenty-nine parishes, and each parish contained a whole county." That was 66 years ago. In the same note it is stated, "that in the province of New Jersey there are twenty-one churches and congregations, and eleven of these are entirely destitute of a minister, and there are but five Clergymen to do the duties of the other ten." In Pennsylvania, including the lower counties, the case

is similar. In the city of Philadelphia, there are three churches and congregations, and but two Clergymen; in the rest of the province the number of churches is twenty-six, and that of the Clergy but seven." This note is extracted by the Bishop from an appeal to the public in behalf of the Church of England in America, by Dr. Thomas Chandler, printed in New York, 1767, page 35. In the year 1768 the said Society had in their employment in what is now the United States, 71 missionaries; in New Hampshire two, in Massachusetts nine, in Rhode Island four, in Connecticut seventeen, in New York nine, in New Jersey ten, in Pennsylvania eleven, in North Carolina seven, in Georgia two—in all, 71. Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina are not included, because the Clergy there were not sent by the said Society, but by the Bishop of London or the Church of England. I am in the possession of the names and stations of those that were then in the other States. In North Carolina there was at that time the Rev. Mr. Earl, missionary in Chowan county, N. C.; the Rev. Mr. Stuart, Beaufort county; the Rev. Mr. Reed, in Craven county; the Rev. Mr. Barnett, in Brunswick county, and the Rev. Messrs. Cupples, Stuart, and Cramp, to be placed in such parishes as his Excellency Gov. Tryon should please to appoint. This was about seven years before the Revolutionary War. Between this time and that event, the Rev. Mr. Charles Pettigrew and the Rev. Mr. Blount went to England and received ordination. There were, prior to the year 1768, two churches and congregations in Halifax county, in this State, under the pastoral charge of the Rev. Mr. Burges, whose earthly remains lie interred in one of the churches, and was succeeded either before or during the Revolutionary War, by the Rev. Mr. Taylor, who also lived and died with them.

Subsequently to the year 1768, the Rev. Mr. Draig came to Salisbury in Rowan county, which was then St. Luke's Parish, and so far succeeded as to be able to have a small chapel erected in what is called the Jersey Settlement, about nine or ten miles east of Salisbury. But the opposition made to his settlement as Rector of that Parish, by the Presbyterians, was so very rancorous as to raise great animosity in their minds against all his endeavors to that end—they being by far the most numerous body, having then several large congregations well organized in the adjacent counties, and one of them in the vicinity of Salisbury. I well remember an anecdote told to me on the subject by Dr. Newman, John Cowan, Sen'r, in their lifetime, and indeed by several others in the vicinity of Salisbury, some of whom may yet be living. "That on Easter Monday, when an election, according to the then law of the Province, was to be held for the purpose of electing Vestrymen, the Presbyterians set up candidates of their own persuasion and elected them, not with any design either to serve or act as Vestrymen, but merely to prevent the Episcopalians from electing such as would have done so." This caused much bitter animosity to spring up between the parties, and so,

much discouraged the Rev. gentleman. Perhaps the approach of the Revolutionary War had its influence also; but be that as it may, after a four years' fruitless effort to organize an Episcopal congregation in this section, he left it as he found it, without any. I find also from the abstracts of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, the following: "That Governor Tryon, in his letter to the Society, dated April 30th, 1767, favors them with an account of the state of religion in the Province, and the number and destination of the several ministers settled in it, and observes with pleasure that religion was making a very regular progress. He recommends the greatest caution in the choice of gentlemen sent over as ministers in this province, where the inhabitants are strict inquisitors into the moral characters and behavior of the Clergy, and that they will attach but little esteem, and do but little good, if their lives are not truly exemplary, and agreeable to their profession. The Society's Missionary in Brunswick county, in his letter dated August 22d, 1767, writes, that from June 24th, 1766, to June 24th, 1767, he had baptized 149 white children and 9 adults, 18 negro children and 12 adults, in all 188; that in the course of the year he rode 1,400 miles to the out parts of the Parish, besides occasional journeys in neighboring Parishes to preach and baptize on week days; that nine times in the year he preached at the Boundary House, situated at boundary line between the two Carolinas, where there was a large congregation, then tolerably acquainted with the Liturgy, which at his first coming they were totally ignorant of." In addition to this, the Rev. Mr. Micklejohn came into North Carolina in the train of Governor Tryon, and was by him placed in St. Matthew's Parish, Orange County, and lived in Hillsborough, where a Church was built, and remained standing through the Revolutionary War. Soon after the commencement of which, he removed into Granville Co., where he lived to a very old age. So that it is evident that near the commencement of that war, or a short time before, there were then in North Carolina at least eleven or twelve Episcopal Clergymen.

Thus, in my very imperfect manner, I have stated what I know of the state of the Church before the Revolution; but I have no doubt that much additional and useful information on the subject might yet be obtained, by procuring the abstracts of the Anniversary Meetings of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. That Society was incorporated in June, 1701; and as the Rev. Dr. Milnor, of New York, is at this time in London, either the abstracts or copies of them could easily be obtained.

As to the period during the Revolutionary War, we still know less of the real state of the Church. Various circumstances took place during that tempestuous season, that operated to her prejudice. The Missionaries who were her ministers were all or most of them Englishmen or Britons, and in a great measure dependent on the Society I have so often referred to, and from which they received

fifty pounds sterling annually each. The oath they had taken at their ordination no doubt had its influence also; but be that as it may, few of them took an active part in our struggle. The Rev. Mr. Cupples was an exception in this case, for he took a warm and active part in our cause, as did Messrs. Pettigrew and Blount. These Rev. gentlemen were both natives of the State. Indeed, the Revolution itself, like all other wars, had a tendency to weaken and impair both moral and religious obligation and principle; and the Clergy, for the want of the means of any thing like a regular support for themselves or their families, were under the necessity of turning their attention to some other pursuit, to enable them to procure the means of subsistence. Thus a wide door was opened for the entrance of the various sects who had and were daily springing up, to spread their schisms and errors far and wide, many of whom opposed the Church with a bitter spirit and warm zeal, so that at the close of the war the prospects of the Church were at a low ebb indeed. Still there were at least four of her ministers who had remained steady at their posts, ever ready to administer her ordinances and consolation to all who applied for them, at their hands. These were the Rev. Messrs. Pettigrew, Cuppels, Blount and Micklejohn; perhaps also the Rev. Mr. Taylor, in Halifax, but of that I am not certain. Seed was yet left, and a few praying Simeons and Annas yet remained. In this gloomy situation the Church in this State remained until the year 1790, when an abortive attempt was made by her few remaining children and friends to revive their drooping spirits. In that year a Convention was by them appointed to meet at Tarborough, on the 12th day of November, which met accordingly. The Rev. Mr. Micklejohn was chosen President, and John Norwood, Esq., Secretary. They passed several resolves, with a view to organize an Annual Convention of the Clergy and Laity of the Episcopal Church in this State. They appointed Deputies to represent them in the next General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, to be held at New York in Sept., 1792; also a Standing Committee for the Church in this State, &c. This was the first public effort of the Episcopal Church in North Carolina, after the Revolution, to recover her former standing. The first Convention, it is true, had resolved that there should be an annual meeting in each year thereafter, yet such was the apathy at this time, that for the two subsequent years no Convention met; but during this interval the Rev. Dr. Halling, of Newbern, had applied to the Standing Committee and obtained from them the credentials necessary to his ordination, and was in consequence ordained by the Right Rev. Bishop Madison, of Virginia, and succeeded the Rev. Dr. Cutting, as the Rector of Christ's Church, Newbern. The Rev. James L. Wilson of the Clergy, and Dr. John Leigh of the Laity, proceeded to New York, as Deputies to attend the session of the General Convention; but before they reached that city, the session was closed. A committee of it was still sitting, to arrange the proceedings of

the Convention for publication, to whom they delivered their credentials, and it was supposed both by them and us, that the Church in this State would then have been admitted into union with the General Convention; but that was not the case. In the year 1793, by the exertions of a few leading members, another Convention met at Tarborough, Nov. 21st, of which the Rev. James L. Wilson was chosen President, and Wm. Clements, Esq., Secretary. The meeting was but partially attended, and the principal business done by them was merely the appointing another meeting to be held on the last Wednesday in May, 1794, at Tarborough, to take into consideration the state of the Church in this Diocese, and of electing a Bishop for the same. Of this, a general notice was published, and from them I received a certificate of my appointment as a member of the Standing Committee of this State, and a request to attend the Convention; with which I complied, and took with me a representative of the Laity of Whitehaven Parish, who represented the Parish in the Convention. The Rev. Charles Pettigrew was chosen President, and William Clements, Esq., Secretary. The Clerical members were the Rev. Mr. Pettigrew, the Rev. Mr. Wilson, the Rev. Mr. Blount, the Rev. Dr. Halling, the Rev. Mr. ——, a gentleman from Murphysboro', whose name I do not remember, and myself. The Rev. Mr. Micklejohn was not present. The result of this session was the election of the Rev. Charles Pettigrew to be Bishop of the Diocese of North Carolina. He was opposed in sentiment to the election at that time, as premature, and informed me then, and afterwards, that his principal object in consenting to it was to prevent the sacred and holy office from being conferred on an improper person, and this well accounts for his never making any application for consecration.* It is a melancholy reflection for me to be obliged to say, that no beneficial effects resulted from all these efforts to revive the spirit and cause of Episcopacy in the State of North Carolina. Yet such was the fact. They were by no means commensurate with the wishes and hopes of its real friends, for the prospect rather became more dense in gloom. One great cause of which, was the wide spread spirit of infidelity which, during this period, had reached its grand climax in this State, and had infected almost all grades and classes of society. Not a few of those who had professed themselves to be, and whose forefathers were the children and real friends of the Episcopal Church, were to be found in the front ranks of this horrid phalanx. I may add to this, that Mr. McDougal proved to be an impostor, which had a very pernicious influence on the minds of many who were friendly to the cause of the Church, in that opulent section of the State. He was then living in Halifax, and had the charge of the two congregations that had formerly been under the care of the Rev. Messrs. Burges and Taylor. This furnished the adversaries of that cause with a very specious weapon

* See Rev. Dr. Hawks' introductory note.

against it, which they were but too ready to wield with all their force, so that under the pressure of these complicated difficulties, our wonder will cease that the efforts of the few remaining friends of the Episcopal Church in this State had so little effect, and that a declination, instead of a revival, took place. The Clergy were not only discouraged and dispirited, but were obliged, in most cases, to turn their attention to other objects, in order to procure the necessaries of life. Twenty-three years, the stream of time rolled along, and no star appeared in any quarter of our horizon, to cheer the gloom that had enveloped our hopes and our spirits. From 1794 to 1817, all was dark and dreary, yet the great Redeemer had not forgot his gracious promise, "that the gates of hell shall never prevail against His Church." It was then that the day-star from on high visited us in mercy; when two heaven-sent heralds of the everlasting Gospel came to Wilmington and Fayetteville in this State, and there laid the foundation of the restoration of the Episcopal Church and cause in North Carolina.* From that period the Journals of our Conventions will be your safest guide as to her progress. Here I would offer an apology, if I had room, for the mingled and mixed manner in which the few facts known to me of the state of the Church, are here arranged, but as that is not the case, I must subscribe myself, your very sincere friend, and, I humbly hope, affectionate brother in the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ,

ROBERT JOHNSTONE MILLER.

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* Rev. Adam Empie, Wilmington; Rev. Bethel Judd, Fayetteville.

Art. VIII.—BOOK NOTICES.

The Doctrine of the Church of England, as to the Effects of Baptism in the case of Infants. With an Appendix, containing the Baptismal Services of Luther and the Nuremberg and Cologne Liturgies. By William Goode, M. A. F. S. A., Rector of St. Antholin, London. New York: Stanford & Swords, 1850. 8vo. pp. 562. New Haven: A. C. Heitmann.

The object of Mr. Goode, in this volume, appears to be to show that a certain view concerning the effects of Infant Baptism, cannot be affirmed as the necessary doctrine of the English Church, because such a view is inconsistent with the private opinions of the men by whom the Formularies of that Church were adopted or prepared. In other words, that the English Reformers were Calvinists, and therefore could not have held that Grace is given in all cases of Infant Baptism. This we take to be the position of the writer, throughout the 562 pages of this large octavo volume. It would be difficult, we think, to prove that any class of divines in the English Church, has ever held such a baptismal theory as that which he combats. All Church of England theologians would deny, that such a "New Birth" as Mr. Gorham holds to, is effected in Baptism. It would be equally difficult, we imagine, to reconcile his own acknowledgment of the salvability of all baptized infants of true believers, such infants dying in infancy, with extreme opinions largely entertained during the fifty years after Edward VI. The historical fact is, that very strong opinions respecting the doctrine of the divine sovereignty and decrees, were current throughout a great part of the Western Church, subsequently to the times of Augustine. Augustine spent the better part of his life in opposing Pelagianism. He became the oracle of the more devout Orders of the Romish Church, among whom principally the Reformation sprang up. In England, especially after the return of the Marian exiles, these views were pushed to a violent extreme, reaching to a limited Atonement; the irresistibility of Grace; the reprobation of the non-elect, &c., &c.; an extreme which even then found vigorous remonstrants; and which naturally prepared the way for the doctrinal reaction, a half century afterward, in the times of Laud. Meanwhile the Baptismal Formularies remained essentially unchanged. The Sacrament of Baptism stood forth, in the English and Continental, as in the earlier Liturgies, the Sacrament of Regeneration. The English Reformers did not construct a new Baptismal Service; but took the ancient Offices as their guide; nor was the question ever raised as to the admissibility of *all* infants to this Sacrament. The Catechism, and the Order for Confirmation, were framed in harmony with the same ancient teaching.

In the progress and growth of modern systems of divinity, to which the writings of the Schoolmen in the outset contributed not a little, the doctrine of Regeneration became a subject of vigorous controversy; and there are, at this day, several distinct senses in which it is strenuously held. Thus,

1st. Regeneration is regarded as nearly synonymous with sanctification; it is held that this is effected in and by Baptism; that this Sacrament not only extinguishes the guilt and power of original sin, but also *creates* positive holiness of character. The Romanists hold very nearly this view; but we know of no English divines who teach it, although individuals have employed very strong and unguarded language.

2d. Regeneration is regarded as a change of relations, from a state of nature to the Kingdom of Grace, whereby the subjects become "members of Christ, children of God, and inheritors of the Kingdom of Heaven;" as affirming the remission of original sin, and in the case of adults, also remission of actual transgression; and as attended by the gifts of the Holy Ghost, not only effecting these benefits, but also conferring power to overcome the infection remaining in the

regenerate, and enabling them ever after to live a godly and Christian life. This Regeneration is also held to be effected by the Holy Spirit in Baptism, and hence is sometimes called Spiritual Regeneration. The great mass of the best authorities in the English Church support substantially this view, or use language essentially in harmony with it. Individuals would, however, employ language more or less strong, in defining terms.

3d. Regeneration is spoken of as of two kinds, Baptismal and Moral; the former as little more than a change of outward state or relations; the latter as of wholly a spiritual nature, having no necessary connection with the former in respect either to time or degree.

4th. There remains still another view of Regeneration, that which considers it as wholly of a moral character, and as having no relation to, or dependence upon, the Sacrament of Baptism. In this sense the term is now employed by Puritan writers generally; and is sometimes so employed in popular language by Churchmen, though always incoherently.

It is worthy of special remark, we again observe, that the Baptismal Formularies, both of ancient and modern times, have always agreed in connecting Regeneration with the Sacrament of Baptism. Nor does their language, in this respect, seem to us to go one whit beyond the very letter of the New Testament; and yet it is equally clear that the Holy Scriptures invariably recognize, as evidences of the New Birth, the actual exercise of Repentance, Faith, Love, Obedience, and all other Christian graces.

In respect to Infant Baptism, where alone the chief difficulties have arisen, the two extremes of error seem to us to have been, either in failing to recognize the gift of the Holy Spirit conferred in that Sacrament; or, in ascribing to Baptism, an agency, and results, which conflict with the necessary laws of moral accountability, with almost universal experience and observation, and with the whole practical scope and tenor of God's Holy Word. If Baptism really accomplishes all that is sometimes ascribed to it, the greater part of the New Testament, and of all Liturgies, ancient and modern, may conceivably become, nay, ought to become unmeaning language. Indeed, the theory that, in Infant Baptism, the Holy Spirit, instead of the remitting, enabling, prompting, and coöperating gift then imparted—a gift, which, in the language of Hooker, "giveth to the powers of the soul their first disposition towards future newness of life;" a gift, which precisely answers the necessities of our moral nature; we say a theory that, the Holy Spirit, over and beyond all this, *creates certain inherent positive qualities or properties of character*, changes, in a moment, the relative position of other vital doctrinal truths. The Romish notion of Justification, with its correlatives and sequences, follows inevitably.

These remarks on the general subject of Regeneration, will show in what light the book of Mr. Goode, as we think, ought to be viewed. Even admitting, (which we do not,) that the English Reformers were strict Calvinists, still, his own quotations from their writings show clearly enough, that they held religiously to the principle perpetuated in the Baptismal Formularies. If it can be shown, that they entertained private theories, irreconcilable with those Formularies, we do not see that any thing very valuable is gained either for them or ourselves. As a controversial work, Mr. Goode's book is ingenious and learned, and is probably the most elaborate treatise of the day, upon one side of this subject. It deserves to be read thoroughly and intelligently. Without questioning his honesty of intention, we have felt obliged, again and again, to doubt the impartiality of many of his general statements, and the pertinency to his purpose of some of his quotations. Neither do his extracts from the Reformers always express a fair view of the authors cited.

It should not be forgotten, that there is little comparison, between the state of religious doctrine outside of the Church of England, at the period of the Reformation, and at the present day. A rigid Calvinism has given place to the loosest Pelagianism, and this again seems sliding down into an indefinable Neologism. In this country, a similar process is becoming equally strongly marked. At the same time, also, the conception of the Church as the medium of Grace, and "the

pillar and ground of the truth," is becoming more and more painfully indistinct. Strange indeed would it be, if a transition of three hundred years, did not bring along with it new tendencies, new dangers, new duties, of which the early Reformers never dreamed. We have the same Faith, but not the same foes. The Cranmers, the Jewells, and the Hoopers of our time, must contend not only against the effete superstition of Rome tottering to its base, but against a wide-spread Rationalism, which, like a pestilential miasma, pervading our whole atmosphere, silently consumes the heart, while itself is impalpable and beyond our reach.

THE DOCTRINE OF HOLY BAPTISM; with remarks on the Rev. W. Goode's "Effects of Infant Baptism." By Robert Isaac Wilberforce, A. M., Archdeacon of the East Riding. Philadelphia: H. Hooker, 1850. 12mo. pp. 300. New Haven: Sidney Babcock.

What is the doctrine of the English Church respecting Infant Baptism? To this question, Mr. Goode, in the work just noticed, replies, that it is not necessary to believe that all baptized infants receive the grace of that Sacrament. Mr. Wilberforce meets Mr. Goode upon this ground, and examines his positions, one by one. He aims to show that all baptized infants do receive the grace of Baptism; that the doctrine of Divine decrees, as held from Augustine's time in the Western Church, is consistent with this view; that the Formularies of the English Church were not drawn up by Calvinists, and that the English divines always maintained the doctrine of Baptismal Grace. In connection with these points, he considers other important subjects, as, what Regeneration is; its time and manner; the Church's estimate of Holy Baptism; and the practical importance of Baptismal Regeneration.

We wish to present the conviction as one of importance, that it is idle to attempt to ascertain the authoritative view of Baptismal Regeneration, as taught in the English Church, by an appeal to the popular theological literature of the Reformers, or to what may seem to us, necessary inferences from their known or supposed private opinions. There were a multitude of questions in scholastic divinity then in dispute, of which we practically and theoretically, know little; such as the distinction between "habits of grace" and "actual grace;" questions which gave shape and coloring to their opinions, and which belonged to their times, and not to ours. We think Mr. Wilberforce has met Mr. Goode successfully on certain important historical points; and especially that he has shown the Reformers to have adopted the Formularies and Offices of the Church, without qualification or reserve. In defining the nature of Regeneration in Baptism, he speaks of it as "*the gift of a renewed nature;*" and yet he contends that this does not interfere with "the absolute necessity of conversion," even in infants; which conversion he defines to be "the act by which the accountable principle in man obeys the suasion of those motives which incline it towards its Maker's service." We see also that he follows up his favorite theory in this book, that the *humanity* of Christ is the principle of our Regeneration; in place of the old, and, in our judgment, essential doctrine, that the HOLY GHOST, "who proceedeth from the FATHER and the SON," is the Life-giving power, the Soul of Christ's Mystical Body, the Church, of which we are made members in Baptism.

The treatise of Mr. Wilberforce is a most valuable book, and should, without fail, be read by all who have perused the work of Mr. Goode, to which it is a reply. We cannot doubt that the Baptismal controversy of the day, will tend to unite all Churchmen in a more hearty reception of those Scriptural views of Baptism, by which the ancient and modern Liturgies of Christendom have been pervaded.

COSMOS: a Sketch of a Physical Description of the Universe. By Alexander Von Humboldt. Translated by E. C. Otté. In two vols. 12mo. pp. 376, 368. New York: Harper & Brothers. New Haven: Durrie & Peck.

This great work of Baron Humboldt was first published in Germany in 1845, and the present is the third English translation. The first translation was de-

fective, in that the translator adhered closely to the forms of expression and structure of sentences in the original German. Whether in all cases he understood the meaning of his author, may be questioned. His style was not elegant, nor his translation always accurate. The second translation, by Mrs. Sabine, was in much better taste, but it left the foreign measures unexplained, was published expensively, and omitted portions of the work, as offensive to English prejudice The version before us, while faithful to the original, is in a lucid and nervous style; and the translator has shown his additional qualification for his task, by his frequent and judicious notices of the latest discoveries in physical science, which are given in marginal notes. Cosmos itself is the crowning work of one of the most extraordinary men the world has ever seen. It is a work grand, we may say sublime, in its conception, severe in its investigations, clear and methodical in its arrangements, and exhibits an extent, variety, and accuracy of knowledge, truly wonderful.

The term *Cosmos* the author uses as including "the assemblage of all things in heaven and earth; the universality of created things constituting the perceptible world." The whole work consists of three volumes, and contains the substance of *sixty-one* Lectures, delivered at Paris in French, and at Berlin in German, in the years 1847-8. The first volume presents a sketch of all that is known of the physical phenomena of the universe. The second volume is divided into two parts; the first treats of the incitements to the study of nature; the second, and most important, gives a historical sketch of the progress of discovery in physical science and the corresponding advances in human civilization. The third volume, an independent work, has been published by Bohn, and is not in our hands.

Humboldt, in this work, descants on the subjects treated of, and deals in general assertions, illustrated by striking examples. In the notes he refers to authorities, and cites additional examples or proofs. He philosophizes on nature in the Baconian method, that is, empirically; which he pronounces the only true method in physics; and yet he frequently uses the phraseology of the Hegelian, and other modern German schools.

There is one feature of this work which we cannot pass by without expression of regret. Like certain other learned writers of the neological school, he has placed his own chronological conjectures against the historical statements of the inspired page; and does not hesitate to speak of the Mosaic account of the creation of man as a mere *myth*, unworthy of credence. Unlike Prof. Agassiz, however, he adopts the theory of the original Unity of the human race, against which he finds no anatomical or physiological objections. But he is very careful to have it appear that this is with him a philosophical conclusion, and not an authoritative historical fact. Of course, all this is mere deism, and is a fresh illustration of that miserable system of rationalism which has almost rooted an implicit faith out of the heart and mind of Germany. If Christianity had not once already fought this ground all over with Infidelity, and driven it completely routed from the field, as in the case of the Zodiacs of Dendera and Esneh, we might possibly feel more of apprehension. But after the wonderful corroboration which modern science has given again and again to the testimony of Mosaic history, it is too late to be alarmed by the mere groundless hypotheses (and they are nothing more) of Baron Humboldt. This source of objection is, however, rather an incidental point in the work before us, than a part of its structure; it deserves attention, but it should not deter from a thorough examination of what must unquestionably be pronounced one of the greatest productions of the age.

As we have mentioned the name of Mr. Agassiz, lately appointed Professor in Harvard University, we take the liberty of advising, that he confine his instructions to the department in which he shows no inconsiderable aptitude and attainment; and not presume to dogmatize upon the higher themes of Revealed Truth, at least, until he has given them some attention.

WILLIS' ANCIENT ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE, &c. &c. With twenty Lithographic plates. 4to. 120 pp. New York: Stanford & Swords, 1850.

We regret that a thorough review of this work was received too late for this number. It will not be out of place hereafter. We can only say, therefore, that

we hope every reader of the Church Review, who wishes to see the subject of Church Architecture considered, historically, intelligibly, and in a most captivating style, will get this elegant volume of Mr. Willis.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND, from the Invasion of Julius Cæsar to the Abdication of James the Second, 1688. By David Hume, Esq. A new edition, with the Author's last corrections and improvements. To which is prefixed a short account of his Life, written by himself. In six volumes, 12mo. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1850. New Haven: Sidney Babcock.

The enterprising publishers here offer to the public Hume's History of England, neatly printed, on good paper, handsomely bound, with a copious index, at the unaccountably low price of forty cents a volume. Although Hume was a high tory, a decided infidel, and took no pains to conceal his contempt of Puritanism, yet from the first publication of his work (1754—1761) to the present day, it has maintained its place as a standard authority. This popularity of Hume as a historian, is to be attributed to his industrious acquaintance with and clear statement of the facts narrated; to the philosophical aspect which he gives to historic details; to the uncommon purity of his language; to the easy flow of his style; and to the freshness of interest which he thus constantly throws over the historic page. Hume lacked any true appreciation of Christianity as a supernatural and living element, and upon this point neither Churchman or Dissenter places the slightest reliance upon his opinions.

THE HISTORY OF THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE. By Edward Gibbon, Esq. With Notes, by the Rev. H. H. Milman, Prebendary of St. Peters, &c. A new edition, to which is added a complete Index of the whole work. In six Vols. Vol. I. 8vo. pp. 590. New York: Harper & Brothers. New Haven: S. Babcock.

Amid the vast multiplicity of books—readable and elegant books—which our great publishing houses are constantly throwing out upon the public, it is a serious question, whether such a work as Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, is at the present day generally studied. And yet no person should claim to be respectably well read in history, without it. The period of which the author treats, is the great connecting link between ancient and modern civilization; and he performed his task in such a masterly manner, that there is scarcely a remote probability of his being superseded within a century to come. The edition published by the Messrs. Harpers—that of Milman—is the best that has appeared. Aside from the corrections of Gibbon's false reasoning, into which, in speaking of Christianity, the author's infidelity betrayed him, the Editor has brought together a mass of valuable matter in marginal notes, the result of his own varied reading, also the notes from Guizot's French translation, and, as far as they extend, the learned notes in a German translation by Wenck. The work is neatly published, and this edition is by far the cheapest extant.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND, from the Accession of James II. By Thomas Babington Macaulay. Vols. I and II. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1850. 12mo. pp. 524, 526. New Haven: S. Babcock.

The Messrs. Harpers, who were, we believe, the original publishers of Macaulay's History in this country, have issued an edition, (uniform with Hume's History, noticed above,) in a style, and at a price, which must defy all competition.

THE CONQUEST OF CANADA, by the author of Hochelaga. In two vols. 12mo. pp. 352, 366. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1850.

A perusal of this work has more than confirmed the favorable opinion which we had formed of it from notices in the English papers. Its title does not, however, fully indicate its contents; 304 out of 351 pages of the first volume, are devoted to an account of the progress of geographical discoveries in America—first by the Northmen, as early as 1001, and subsequently by the English, Spaniards,

Portuguese, and French, with sketches of early navigators. Then follows a description of New France, its physical character, its geology, lakes, rivers, productions, animal and vegetable; an account of the Indians, their origin, habits, and character, and also a still earlier aboriginal race; then a notice of the origin and progress of colonial establishments on the Atlantic coast, in Virginia, Massachusetts, New York, Maryland, and Pennsylvania; and then a sketch of early Canadian history. He then describes the gradual growth of difficulties, which at length embroiled in a war the French in Canada with their rival neighbors in the south, until the final declaration of war between England and France, in 1756. The events of that war in Canada are minutely traced down to the final surrender of Quebec, in 1760. His style is always animated, sometimes extremely forcible. He writes like an intelligent man, a man of good sense, and generally with a spirit of impartiality. His work breathes with the spirit of an Englishman's pride, and yet is full of noble and generous sentiments. In his Notes and Appendix, he has brought together a great mass of historical and biographical facts of much value. As a specimen of his power of condensing thought in a single sentence, he says, speaking of the Jesuit Missions, "in the triumph of Christianizing the heathen, he despised the task of humanizing the Christian."

The "Conquest of Canada," marked in itself a most important period in the history of our country, and led, by almost necessary consequence, to the Revolution which immediately followed.

THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER, AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE SACRAMENTS, &c. New York: Stanford & Swords, 1850.

We have recently had exhibited to us, at the store of Stanford & Swords, several editions of the Prayer Book, in various styles of binding, some of them very elegant and tasteful. The publishers have a quarto edition for the desk, with Bibles bound to match, which deserve attention. Copies superbly bound, have been ordered for the new Churches in New London and Norwich. There are editions of the Prayer Book in circulation, some of which have fallen under our notice, which contain typographical errors and wrong punctuation, of a most shocking character. Stanford & Swords' later editions, we believe, may be safely trusted, in both these respects.

THE PSALMS, translated and explained by J. A. Alexander, Professor in the Theological Seminary at Princeton. Vol. I. New York: Baker & Scribner, 1850. 8vo. pp. 436. New Haven: T. H. Pease.

This is a department of literature to which our country has thus far made but few contributions. The work before us exhibits no lack of accurate scholarship. It was not designed to be of a controversial, doctrinal, or devotional character, but to be a literal translation of the Psalter, with brief explanatory comments. Its marked feature, is its rigid adherence to the form of expression in the original, and to the Hebrew tenses; preserving thus the spirit and strength of that Oriental language. The basis of Prof. Alexander's work, is the Commentary of Hengstenberg, whose results he has compactly embodied, without being a servile copyist. In respect to the Messianic Psalms, it is gratifying to find the author steadfastly eschewing those loose rationalistic interpretations, which are prevailing so extensively in the Congregational and Presbyterian theology of the day.

ELEMENTS OF SCIENTIFIC AGRICULTURE, or the connexion between Science and the Art of Practical Farming. Prize Essay of the New York Agricultural Society. By John P. Norton, M. A., Professor of Scientific Agriculture in Yale College.

This is the first attempt in this country to supply a want which is beginning to be generally felt. The work is elementary and is designed for Schools, but it may and will be read with profit by the farmer, and by all who are interested in the agricultural resources of this country. It is characterized by the author's usual plainness and intelligibility of statement, and perfect freedom from extravagance. The approbation bestowed on it by the New York State Agricultural Society, is

a sufficient recommendation for all those who need more than the name of Prof. Norton. The publisher, as we are glad to see, has got up this first edition in a style which will make it generally attractive.

POEMS FOR THE SEA, by Mrs. L. H. Sigourney. Hartford: H. S. Parsons & Co. 1850. 12mo. pp. 152.

Mrs. Sigourney is emphatically the poet of domestic life, and of the affections. Here, her pen rarely fails to draw forth the warmly gushing fountains of the soul. In these "Poems for the Sea," we think the finest touches are where, as in "The Sailor's sick Child," "The Brother," and the "Burial at Sea," the heart beats in unison with the wild or gentle heavings of the element on which the scenes of her poems are mostly laid. The Christian fervor of her muse contrasts gratefully with the miserable flippery of many of our modern poets.

BISHOP WILSON'S SACRA PRIVATA, with a Memoir of his Life, &c. New York: Stanford & Swords, 1850. 18mo. pp. 173.

A new and elegant edition of a work, associated with the holiest hours, and most devout aspirations.

STEPS TO THE ALTAR. Published by Stanford & Swords.

Contrary to our custom, an inconsiderate notice of this manual found its way into the April number of the Review. We feel obliged to say, that the book contains, along with much that is truly excellent, sentiments which are highly objectionable.

M. TULLII CICERONIS DE OFFICIIS LIBRI TRES, with English Notes, by Thomas A. Thacher, Assistant Professor of Latin in Yale College. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1850. 12mo. pp. 194.

No pains have been spared on the part of Professor Thacher, or the publishers, to furnish an edition of this elegant work of the great Roman orator, every way adapted to the private study and the recitation room. The text is that of Zumpt, of acknowledged accuracy, and the Notes, which are judiciously prepared, are mostly compiled from the editions of Zumpt and Bonnell, with frequent reference to the Heusingers, Degen, and other modern critics. The course of classical instruction in Yale College is becoming far more thorough than heretofore. We are glad to see that there is no disposition on the part of several of our older institutions to "popularize" their course of study; in other words, to send out a swarm of sciolists, superficial smatterers, of whom just now there is in our country no lack. The Colleges of the country, like the Universities of England, are among the few conservative elements left; and it is no wonder that the radical press is striving to mould them to its purposes.

A PRESBYTERIAN LOOKING FOR THE CHURCH. By one of Three Hundred. New York: Gen. Prot. Ep. S. S. Union, 1849. 12mo. pp. 178.

This volume forms the *first part* of a work, of which the second will soon be put to press. The author is the Rev. F. S. Mines, now of California. It has already created considerable sensation. It is written with great energy of style and boldness of manner. It is almost impossible for some who have been brought up in the quiet ways of the Church, to appreciate the earnestness and distinctness of attachment of those, who have sacrificed the early associations of youth, to the convictions of conscience. The principles of the Church are realities with such men, from whom it may be more convenient to turn away with a self-satisfied sneer, than to meet them face to face, honestly and fairly. (Vide NEW-ENGLANDER, Vol. VIII, No. 1.)

A LIFT FOR THE LAZY. New York: Geo. P. Putnam, 1850. 12mo. pp. 196.

A curious book, in which the author has collected a strange medley of odds and ends; such as the origin of many words and phrases in common use, scraps of history, dissected proverbs, literary blunders, &c., &c. Almost everybody will find in it some things that are new, and much that is amusing.

THE DIVINE LIFE AND THE NEW BIRTH, &c. By the Rev. James Craik, Rector of Christ Church, Louisville, Ky. New York: Stanford & Swords, 1850. pp. 30.

The object of the author in this pamphlet seems to be to divest the doctrine of Infant Baptism of some of its acknowledged difficulties; and the view which he has so ably presented has, as we know, been approved by some of the soundest divines of the Church. His main idea is that, in consequence of the Redemption of Christ, Spiritual Life is imparted to all mankind; and that Baptism is the New Birth into the Church where that Life is nurtured unto its full and perfect development. The most striking proof which Mr. Craik offers of his position, is the distinction which he draws, and insists upon, between *Life* and *Birth*, and his assumption, that Regeneration pertains to the latter, and not to the former.

Now, with all due respect to the author, we beg leave to suggest, whether there are not, after all, some difficulties with his theory of explanation. The *primary* meaning of Ἀναγεννάω, to regenerate, (which regeneration he maintains is effected in Baptism,) is not to *bear again*, but to *beget again*; and hence Regeneration, primarily, signifies not *being born again*, but *being begotten again*. The word γεννάω, from which the former is derived, has the same primary signification. When spoken of women, however, it signifies to bear, and, passive, to be born. The translators of our English version have not always observed this distinction, nor do they seem to have had any definite rule in rendering this class of words. Thus in 1st John v, 1, "Whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ, *is born* of God, and every one that loveth Him that *begat*, loveth him also that *is begotten* of Him." Here the same word is translated, in this one verse, "begat," "is born," and "is begotten." We doubt, therefore, whether the meaning which Mr. Craik assumes for the term Regeneration, is so certain and unequivocal, as to become the basis of so broad a theory.

Without, however, attaching any great importance to this objection, we find another, of a more general character. Over and beyond the relation which CHRIST sustains to heathens, Jews, infidels, and Mahometans, the Holy Scriptures represent Him as the Author and Giver of Life to those who are united to Him. He is the Vine into which we are engrafted; and from which we receive not only Life, but a *new order* of Life. The inserted scion bears fruit, *not its own, or like its own*. The new relation is not a continuation or perfection of that which is natural, but is a *super*natural relation. Nor is the *capacity* of this scion to receive a new order of Life, whatever that capacity may be, to be confounded with an *identity* with that new order of Life. In other words, the Church of Christ is something more than an instrument for developing that life which all men have alike by nature. It is a means of union with Him Who is the immediate Giver of Life. The Holy Scriptures, the Baptismal Office, the Catechism, and the Liturgy, seem to us to recognize this view of the origin and nature of the Christian Life. What the relation of Grace is which God sustains to men, independently of, and aside from, the Christian Covenant, is one of those points which is not revealed.

The pamphlet of Mr. Craik has attracted far more attention than is ordinarily given to publications of this class. Several of our most learned and esteemed divines, high in the confidence of the Church, have, as we know, approved of the general view of the author. It has not, however, escaped criticism; and we offer the above suggestions, with the highest appreciation of the earnest and thoughtful spirit of the writer, and by no means to provoke controversy, but rather to elicit truth.

Since writing the above, we have received a *second edition* of Mr. Craik's Essay, published at Louisville, and containing a "Second Part," of a dozen pages. This edition is dedicated to Bishop Meade of Virginia, with an acknowledgment of "his prompt and cheering approval of the leading principles" of the Essay. After such an endorsement, we are less reluctant to publish our own strictures, because its source will effectually silence *some* of the opposition which the Essay has received; opposition with which we have no sympathy. The Second Part presents more fully the phenomena of the spiritual life which the author supposes to be imparted to all men.

A Sermon for the Times. By Rev. W. Y. Rooker, Rector of St. Paul's Church, Louisville, Ky. 8vo. pp. 16. 1850.

We are sorry to see, from any clergyman of the Church, a sermon breathing such a spirit of arrogance and bitterness. It appears to be a rude and violent attack upon the Essay of the Rev. Mr. Craik, (just noticed,) a brother Presbyter of the same city. It more than intimates that the Essay inculcates "another Gospel to the one Paul preached;" and that the author is "unrenewed," "unconverted," and so lacks spiritual discernment! The ingenious view of Mr. Craik, so ably presented, may not be without its difficulties; but such an unchristian assault as this, could never have been prompted by any true appreciation of the subject.

The Sayings of the Great Forty Days between the Resurrection and Ascension: regarded as the Outlines of the Kingdom of God. In five Discourses. With an Examination of Mr. Newman's Theory of Development. By George Moberly, D. C. L., Head Master of Winchester College. From the second London edition. 12mo. pp. 274. Philadelphia, 1850.

The plan of this work is original, though the idea of it was familiar to the ancients,—the views it presents are interesting and important, and the manner of their presentation clear and skillful, and on most points satisfactory. The examination of Newman's Theory of Development is taken from the practical side of the subject, and is well done. There are some minor points in the work upon which we should differ from the author, but these are not sufficient to detract essentially from the merits of an able and important work. Still, we cannot but regret some things, especially in chapters third and fifth; as, for example, the apparent confounding of the *Representative* with the Represented,—among other things, the Church being called the "single vine," which it cannot be, unless the Church is Christ; Scripture and tradition, not so much in bringing tradition up to the standard of Holy Writ, as in using language that seems to bring the inspired record down to the level of uninspired tradition, as when he talks of "the great Baptismal Commission, comprising the tradition of Christian Doctrine," "the sacred tradition of Holy Baptism," and other like expressions; and also the low formal notice assigned to saving faith.

The Salisbury Convention of North Carolina. A Letter to the Bishop of North Carolina, on the subject of his late Pastoral Letter on the Salisbury Convention. By the Chairman of the Committee on the State of the Church. New York: Stanford & Swords, 1850. 12mo. pp. 72.

The author of this pamphlet is the Rev. Dr. Mason, Rector of the Parish in Raleigh, one of the oldest and most respectable Presbyters of the Church. Without examining the contents of the pamphlet in detail, we transcribe a single paragraph, which certainly contains very strange language. Dr. Mason says, (see page 9:) "You have these words: 'The reconciliation, therefore, of man to God by Jesus Christ, is a much more exalted and vital union than is sometimes supposed. A union implying not only that the sacrifice of the incarnate Son avails to our justification; but also that *the gracious communication of His nature puts us into a justified state, makes us again one with Himself; not so much covers us with His righteousness, as fills us with his righteousness; not declares us just on the ground of His own justice merely, but makes us just by the infused power of that justice; not stands without us an ideal holiness, but is formed within us a real holiness.*' As far as I am able to understand this passage, it teaches neither the Calvinistic doctrine of infused righteousness, nor the doctrine entertained by most of the great divines of the Church of England, and by our own divines generally, that we are justified by the merits of Christ, as the procuring cause of our justification, when through faith accompanied by repentance and love, we are in a state to receive or obtain remission of our sins or justification. But you appear to teach that we are justified in consequence of that peculiar union with Christ, from which, if I do not misunderstand your meaning, as I hope I do, we are justified by *His* holiness becoming, not by imputation, but *actually* ours. Can this, Sir, be possibly your meaning? If so, it is neither, I must venture to say, the doctrine of our Church, nor, as a consequence, of the divines of our Church."

The language of Bishop Ives, as quoted by Rev. Dr. Mason, is, to say the least, extremely unguarded; and the Doctor has wisely called attention to it. The Romish doctrine of justification is the determining feature of much of its doctrine and discipline. Priestly Confession, Absolution, and Penance, as taught by Rome, all grow out of this rejection of Christ's Righteousness as the alone ground of our justification before God, and substituting therefor the inherent righteousness of man. The Trentine Council, feeling the force of the blows aimed by the Reformers at this vulnerable point, exhausted its ingenuity in weaving that many-tissued casuistry which attempts to reconcile this man-pleasing and Cross-dishonoring system, with Scripture and Catholic antiquity. Earnestly as we have already discussed private Auricular Confession and other kindred subjects, we regard them as comparatively of trifling importance.

A Letter on the Doctrine of the Church, in regard to Auricular Confession and Private Absolution; being a review of the positions of the Bishop of North Carolina on these subjects. By a Layman of Mississippi. Jackson, (Miss.) 1850. 8vo. pp. 26.

If we are not mistaken in the initials of the author of this pamphlet, it is from the pen of a gentleman who has long been known as one of the most munificent and noble-hearted laymen of the Church in the southwest. He has here shown, that he is as intelligent and able in defending, as he is liberal in supporting the principles of our common Faith. The spirit of remonstrance which is called forth from every quarter, when the Truth and honor of the Church are supposed to be threatened, is a fact worthy of notice.

The writer of the above Letter, as well as Churchmen generally, will be gratified at present indications of a return of confidence and quietness to the Church in North Carolina.

History of Cyrus the Great, by Jacob Abbott. With engravings. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1850. 12mo. pp. 290.

The volumes of this uniform historical series by Abbott, are published in muslin, with richly-illuminated title pages, and numerous tasteful engravings. We scarcely know of a writer, whose pen has such a power of fascination over the minds of youthful readers, as that of Jacob Abbott. His delineation of the character of Cyrus is one of his best efforts; and the connection of that monarch with sacred history, renders his life especially instructive.

Winchester's Drawing Series, in Four Books; accompanied by Exercises in Perspective. By George W. Winchester. Hartford: H. S. Parsons & Co.

The time is near, we trust, when the art of Drawing will become a branch of instruction in all of our public schools. As a means of disciplining the mind, cultivating the taste, and forming a source of future enjoyment, it cannot but exercise the happiest tendency. "Winchester's Drawing Series," seem to us an admirable course of instruction in this department. Commencing with the simplest exercises, they lead on the pupil easily to the most beautiful and tasteful sketches. We have seen them tested, with the most gratifying results.

Latter-day Pamphlets, edited by Thomas Carlyle. No. I, The Present Time. No. II, Model Prisons. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1850. 12mo. pp. 46, 39.

Among all nondescripts, this Thomas Carlyle is the most undescribable. He is a sort of universal croaker, or world's jester; a ranter of ranters; an omnigenous crucible, yielding about one part of sense to ninety-nine of mere twaddy. There are, however, cliques of lavendered empyrics in our modern Athens, and a class of noisy atheistical reformers in our great metropolitical Babel, to whom we especially commend him. Gentlemen! reason, faith, courtesy, are lost upon you; read Carlyle. All that he says is not true, but there is enough of truth for you. *Ex gratia.* "Most sick am I, O friends, of this sugary disastrous jargon of philanthropy, the reign of love, new era of universal brotherhood, and not Paradise to the Well-deserving, but Paradise to All-and-sundry which possesses the be-

nighted minds of men and women in our day." * * * A "Universal Sluggard-and-Scoundrel Protection Society," is not the one I mean to institute in these times." Carlyle says, "*Exeat Fiddlestring!*" to which we respond, *et exeant Fungi.*

THE PICTORIAL FIELD BOOK OF THE REVOLUTION; or, illustrations by Pen and Pencil, of the History, Scenery, Biography, Relics, and Traditions of the War for Independence. By Benson J. Lossing. With six hundred engravings on Wood, by Lossing & Barrit, chiefly from Original Sketches by the author. New York: Harper & Brothers. New Haven: S. Babcock.

This elegant work, issued semi-monthly, will be completed in about twenty numbers, containing forty-eight large octavo pages each, at twenty-five cents a number. It is a pictorial and descriptive record of a journey recently performed, to all the most important historical localities of the American Revolution. The plan is unique and attractive, embracing the characteristics of a book of travel and a history. The wood cuts are really beautiful; and the letter press in every respect worthy of the design.

ECCLESIASTICAL LAW AND DISCIPLINE. A Charge to the Clergy of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Virginia. By the Right Rev. William Meade, D. D. Richmond: 1850. 8vo. pp. 96.

The subject of this Charge is CHURCH DISCIPLINE; its use; its difficulty; its practice under the Old Dispensation; under the New; in the Primitive Church; in the English Church; in the Episcopal Church of America; with an Appendix, on Theatrical and other amusements.

This Charge of Bishop Meade, contains much historical information on the point discussed, and deserves to be read by all the Clergy of the Church.

QUESTIONS ON THE GOSPELS, Part II. Trinity Sunday to Advent. By the Rev. R. Bethell Claxton, D. D., Rector of Christ Church, Madison, Indiana. New York: Stanford & Swords, 1850. 18mo. pp. 82.

This little volume contains three series of questions; the first, to be answered by recitation from the sacred text; the second, is of a more general character, and requires an examination of the facts, and truths, there recorded; the third, is of a more miscellaneous character, doctrinal, practical, and abstract. They seem to have been prepared with great carefulness, and with an earnest desire that the youthful student of the Holy Scriptures may become wise unto salvation.

The following Periodicals and Pamphlets have been received; some of them deserve more attention than we are now able to give them.

Harper's New Monthly Magazine; Vol. I, No. 1. 8vo. pp. 144.

The Ladies' Wreath; Vol. V, No. 2. New York: Martin & Miller.

The United States Monthly Law Magazine; Vol. I, No. 5. New York: 54 Wall street. 8vo.

The Mentor; a Magazine for Youth. By Rev. H. H. Weld. Philadelphia: Stavely & McCalla. Vol. I, No. 1. 8vo. pp. 32.

Rt. Rev. J. H. Otey's Sermon, "Trust in God," preached at the Consecration of the Rt. Rev. W. M. Green, D. D.

Rt. Rev. Bishop Upfold's Sermon, "The Worship of the Sanctuary," preached at the Consecration of Christ Church, Madison, Ind., Feb. 7, 1850.

Rev. R. A. Hallam's Sermon, "Four good things of the Ancient Church," preached at the Consecration of St. Andrew's Church, Meriden, Conn., Feb. 6, 1850.

Obituary Addresses, and Rev. Dr. C. M. Butler's Funeral Sermon, on the death of the Hon. J. C. Calhoun, of the U. S. Senate.

Records of Christ Church, New Brunswick, N. J., by Rev. Alfred Stubbs, Rector of the Parish. 8vo. pp. 32.

An Essay on the Life and Writings of Bishop Butler, by the Rev. Joseph C. Passmore, Professor St. James' College, Md.

Rev. J. R. Kerfoot's Convocation Sermon, "The Faithful Parent." 12mo. pp. 20.

A few Remarks on "the Gorham Case," by a Layman. Philadelphia: 8vo. pp. 30.

Wilberforce, Cranmer, Jewell, and the Prayer Book, on the Incarnation. Washington. 8vo. pp. 56.

Statistics of the State Officers and Members of the Legislature of Connecticut. By William Goodwin. New Haven. 8vo. pp. 8.

Art. IX.—LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

AMERICAN.

Morton Montague, or a Young Christian's Choice, by the Appletons, is an interesting narrative of a deceased Moravian missionary, with a brief outline of Moravian history. Putnam has published a supplement to Roorbach's *Bibliotheca Americana*, containing over four thousand titles of books published during the past year, or omitted in the original work. The design of that work was a good one, but the execution was exceedingly defective, omitting nearly twenty names, under a single letter, which happened to be in our own library. How complete the Supplement is, we cannot say, not having seen it. A second edition of McClelland's *Treatise on the Canon and Interpretation of the Holy Scriptures*,—a text-book prepared for the Theological Seminary of New Brunswick, has been published.

The Pulpit Reporter, is a semi-monthly periodical published in New York City, containing sermons by various eminent divines, taken down by phonographic reporters, and published with or without the author's consent. The plan of the work has attracted considerable attention, and received the approval of many Clergymen: yet we deem it seriously objectionable. It is *stealing* a Clergyman's property—often publishing that which he would not have published, and that, sadly misrepresented by bad reporting, and finally, by publishing Sermons by every species of errorists it becomes a vehicle of poison of every sort.

Rev. Edward Winthrop has published, *Letters on the Prophetic Scriptures*, especially devoted to the subject of the Millennium. *The Doctrine of the Unity of the Human Race examined on the principles of Science*, by John Bachman, D. D., LL. D., of Charleston, S. C., is spoken of as an admirable work, effectually answering those shallow infidel notions which teach a diversity of original types or ancestors, for the several races of men; an opinion which Dr. Morton, of Philadelphia, with considerable show of science, and more recently, Prof. Agassiz, of Cambridge, without any pretence of proof but his own dogmatic assertions, have endorsed. A work on the same subject, by Rev. Dr. Smyth, of the same place, is also announced as among the literary novelties. It is described as a work of much ability and research. *Sabbath Lyrics*, or songs from Scripture, by W. Gilmore, is a fine specimen of Southern literature, both in its matter and manner. A second edition of Hawks' Monuments of Egypt, revised and enlarged, has been published. Rev. Dr. Jarvis has published an *Introductory Chapter to the Second Volume of his Church History*, designed as a specimen, and giving a general view of the plan of the whole work. The specimen is neatly printed, in a large, clear type, and gives assurance of a beautiful volume. The plan embraces more than the resolution of the General Convention,—commencing at the Creation, instead of "the times of the Apostles." This course has been taken, because the author deemed the introductory matter indispensable to a proper understanding of the subsequent history; and coming from this source, cannot fail of being both valuable and interesting. The author will, we hope, be sustained by the coöperation of the Clergy and Laity of the Church. Shelton's Lectures before the Huntington Literary Association, are free, frank, and spicy. Mrs. Neal's Gossips of Riverton, will find admirers, as it may originals of many of the portraits, in every town and village. Eddy's Heroines of the Missionary Enterprise,

containing sketches of thirteen prominent female missionaries, is an interesting record of self-sacrifice and patient martyrdom.

ENGLAND.

Rev. Dr. Hussey, Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Oxford, has a volume of Sermons, mostly academical, to which he has prefixed an answer to Mr. Cureton's attempt to prove that the Syriac Epistles of Ignatius are the genuine originals. His reasons are, that the *external* evidence urged by Mr. Cureton, has not been fully and fairly stated, and that so far as given, is merely negative, and in no sense exclusive; and that the *internal* evidence, arising merely from presumptions, is even more consistent with some other theory than that of Cureton. He also coincides with Mr. Petermann, whose work was mentioned in our last, that the Armenian Version was probably made from the Syriac, and hence, since, there are thirteen Armenian Epistles ascribed to Ignatius, there must have been the same number in the Syriac. Hence, Dr. H. concludes, that the credit of the seven shorter Epistles is unimpeached. Professor Stuart's critical History and Defence of the Old Testament Canon, has been republished in London, with a Preface by Davidson. E. Ash has published Notes and Comments on the New Testament, in three volumes. J. Bryce has written the History of the Church in Scotland, for ten years. A new edition of Heber's Works of Jeremy Taylor, by Rev. C. P. Eden, has appeared. Carwithen's History of the Church of England to the Revolution of 1688, has been edited anew by the Rev. W. R. Browell, two vols. 12mo. Murdock's Mosheim has been republished in England, with additions and a continuation to the present day, by Rev. Henry Soames.

Parker's "Library of the Fathers" has been recently increased by the publication of St. Chrysostom, on II Cor.—Part I. on St. John, by the same Father. Vol. II. of Augustine on St. John. Vol. III. of Augustine on the Psalms. Rivington has published a Commentary on the four Gospels, four volumes, translated from the "Catena Aurea," of Thomas Aquinas. Houghton's (Rev. W.) Examination of Calvinism, and especially of its present modified forms, by the test of Holy Scripture and unanimous teaching of the Church, has reached a second edition. It also contains a history of the Predestinarian Doctrines, and is designed as a refutation of modern Evangelicalism. At the same time we have a Sermon by Harding, (Rev. Tho.) entitled "God's Predestination the confidence of His Saints," containing an Appendix, with remarks on Faber's Primitive Doctrine of Election. Griffin & Co., London and Glasgow, are publishing a History of the Christian Church, by Hinds, Bishop of Norwich, Hampden, Bishop of Hereford, Professor Jeremie, Rev. J. B. S. Carwithen, Rev. J. H. Newman, Rev. J. E. Riddel, and Rev. H. J. Rose, to be completed in three volumes, forming part of the new edition of the "Encyclopedia Metropolitana."

The Ecclesiastical History Society, established in 1847, have republished Strype's Memorials of Cranmer, 3 vols. The Book of Common Prayer, according to the text of the sealed books, with legal and historical notes, 3 vols. Field on the Church, 4 vols. Heylen's History of the Church, 2 vols. Wood's Athenæ Oxoniensis, 3 vols. Irish M. S. Book of Common Prayer, 3 vols.; and has in press and preparing for publication, Wharton's Anglia Sacra, Ware's Commentary on the Prelates of Ireland, with additions by Harris, Strype's Lives of Archbishops Parker, Grindal, and Whitgift, and his Ecclesiastical Memorials, with the Athenæ Cantabrigiensis,—all works of the deepest interest and highest authority, but heretofore rare and costly. The price of the volumes published is about six shillings. Neander's Julian the Apostate, and his Generation, has been translated and published. The *New General Biographical Dictionary*, projected and partly arranged by Rev. Hugh James Rose, is now complete in 12 vols. 8vo. This work contains twenty thousand names.

The Christian Life, a Manual of Sacred Verse, by Rev. Robert Montgomery, is spoken of in high terms by some of the English periodicals. The specimens we have seen of it, are of a high order. The same author is about to publish a work entitled God *and Man*.

ECCLESIASTICAL REGISTER.

SUMMARY OF HOME INTELLIGENCE.

CONSECRATION OF BISHOPS.

Rev. William M. Green, Bishop of Mississippi, Feb. 24, 1850, St. Andrews' Church, Jackson, by Rt. Rev. James Hervey Otey, Tennessee.
" Leonidas Polk, Louisiana.
" Nicholas Hawner Cobbs, Alabama.
" George Washington Freeman, Arkansas.

Two of the consecrating Bishops, Otey and Freeman, received Holy Baptism at the hands of Dr. Green.

ORDINATIONS.

DEACONS.

Name.	*Bishop.*	*Time.*	*Church.*	*Place.*
Elliott, Barnard,	Elliott,	May 26, 1850.	St. Paul's,	Augusta, Geo.
Gallaudet, Thomas,	Whittingham,	June 16, 1850.	St. Stephen's,	N. Y. City.
Horne, George W.,	Brownell,	May 26, 1850.	Christ,	Middletown, Conn.
Mitchel, J. M.,	Cobbs,	Jan. 20, 1850.	Christ,	Tuscaloosa, Ala.
Rankine, James,	Brownell,	June 11, 1850.	St. James',	New London, Ct.
Wheeler, Homer,	Upfold,	Ap'l 28, 1850.	St. Paul's,	Mishawaka, Ind.

PRIESTS.

	Name.	*Bishop.*	*Time.*	*Church.*	*Place.*
Rev.	Birchmore, J. W.,	Eastburn,	May 19, 1850.	Trinity,	Boston, Mass.
"	Chamberlaine, J. C.,	Chase, Ill.	May 12, 1850.	Chapel Jubilee College,	Ill.
"	Douglass, Malcolm,	DeLancey,	May 26, 1850.	St. Peter's,	Auburn, W.N.Y.
"	Flagg, Edward O.,	Brownell,	May 22, 1850.	Trinity,	Norwich, Conn.
"	Goshorn, John M.,	Upfold,	M'ch 29, 1850.	Trinity,	Pittsburg, Pa.
"	Hager, Elijah W.,	DeLancey,	May 26, 1850.	St. Peter's,	Auburn, W.N.Y.
"	Markoe, William,	Kemper,	M'ch 17, 1850.	St. Paul's,	Milwaukie, Wis.
"	McKnight, Geo. H.,	DeLancey,	May 26, 1850.	St. Peter's,	Auburn, W.N.Y.
"	Paddock, John A.,	Brownell,	Ap'l 30, 1850.	Christ,	Stratford, Conn.
"	Palmer, Noble,	DeLancey,	May 26, 1850.	St. Peter's,	Auburn, W.N.Y.
"	Parsons, John A.,	Doane,	June 2, 1850.	St. Mary's,	Burlington, N. J.
"	Pettit, Nathaniel,	Doane,	June 2, 1850.	St. Mary's,	Burlington, N. J.
"	Platt, J. L.,	Gadsden,	May 19, 1850.	St. Phillip's,	Charleston, S.C.
"	Remington, E. F.,	Eastburn,	May 19, 1850.	Trinity,	Boston, Mass.

DEPOSITION.

The Rev. A. M. Loutrell, of the Diocese of Ohio, having been found guilty on trial before an Ecclesiastical tribunal appointed for that purpose, of charges made against him by the proper authorities, has been deposed from the ministry.

REMOVALS.

	Name.	*To Church.*	*Place.*
Rev.	Adams, James,	St. Ann's,	Port Jackson, N. Y.
"	Adams, R. S.,	St. John's,	Cape Vincent, W. N. Y.
"	Atwill, William,	(Missionary,)	Bradford, N. Y.
"	Beach, Amos B.,	Zion,	Palmyra, W. N. Y.
"	Brewster, Joseph,	St. Paul's,	Wallingford, Conn.
"	Calhoun, J.,	Grace,	Galena, Ill.
"	Child, S. A.,	St. Paul's,	Warsaw, Ill.
"	Denison, H. M.,	Christ, (Assist. M.)	Brooklyn, N. Y.
"	Denison, S. D.,	(Missionary,)	Matagorda, Texas.
"	DePul, J.,	(Missionary,)	Mineral Point, Wisc.
"	Evans, Samuel J.,	Grace,	Saybrook, Conn.
"	Foote, George L.,	(Missionary,)	M'Lean, Tompkins Co., N. Y.
"	Goldsmith, Zechariah,	———	Rock Island, Ill.
"	Goodale, Samuel,	St. Luke's	Kalamazoo, Mich.
"	Gregory, Almon,	St. Thomas,	Bath, Steuben Co., N. Y.
"	Harriman, F. D.,	St. John's,	Layfaette, Ind.
"	Hoffman, J. W.,	St. Peter's.	Monroe, Conn.
"	Hutchins, Benjamin,	———	Albion, Ill.
"	Jackson, William G.,	St. John's,	Washington Co., Md.
"	Lawson, Thomas B.,	———	Early Grove, Miss.
"	Lightner, M. C.,	Christ,	Reading, Pa.
"	Lyman, Theodore B.,	Trinity,	Pittsburg, Pa.
"	Manser, George H.,	St. Peter's,	Bennington, Vt.
"	McElhiney, J. J.,	(Missionary,)	Wooster, Ohio.
"	McKnight, George H.,	St. Mark's,	Leroy, W. N. Y.
"	Millett, D. C.,	St. Mary's,	Portsmouth, R. I.
"	Miller, Samuel K.,	(Missionary,)	Waterville, W. N. Y. [Ct.
"	Nichols, George W.,	St. Paul's,	Bantam Falls, etc., Litchfield,
"	Olmstead, Henry, Jr.,	Trinity,	Ansonia, Conn.
"	Potter, Collis J.,	All Saints',	Wolcott, Conn.
"	Ransom, Joseph,	Trinity,	Plattsburg, N. Y.
"	Reed, Sylvanus,	Holy Innocents',	Albany, N. Y.
"	Rees, William Henry,	Trinity,	Branford, Conn.
"	Reid, H. H.,	Christ,	Watertown, Conn.
"	Reynolds, J.,	St. Andrew's,	Kent, etc., Conn.
"	Russell, Lorenzo L.,	St. Philip's,	Laurel, Prince Geo. Co., Md.
"	Sandford, David P.,	———	St. Louis, Missouri.
"	Sill, Frederick,	Assist. Min. St. John's,	North Guilford, Conn.
"	Slattery, George,	Trinity,	Saco, Me.
"	Spencer, J. A.,	Prof. Latin & Or'l La'g,	Burlington Col., N. J.
"	Stanton, William,	St. Stephen's,	Ridgefield, Conn.
"	Stephenson, James,		———, Md. [N. J.
"	Stratton, Samuel C.,	St. Peter's,	Berkeley, (Clarksborough,)
"	Sturges, G. B.,	St. Paul's,	Marion, Ohio.
"	Swope, Cornelius E.,	Trinity,	Chicago, Ill.
"	Tyng, Dudley A.,	Trinity,	Columbus, Ohio.
"	Walker, Robert J.,	Calvary,	Williamsburgh, N. Y.
"	Wilson, W. D.,	Geneva College,	Geneva, W. N. Y.
"	Windsor, Henry J.,	———	East New Market, Md.

CONSECRATION OF CHURCHES.

Church.	*Place.*	*Bishop.*	*Time.*
Allhallows',	Allhallows, Md.	Whittingham,	Ap'l 30, 1850.
Grace,	Elizabethport, N. J.	Doane,	April 2, 1850.
Grace,	Medford, Mass.	Eastburn,	May 11, 1850.

Church.	*Place.*	*Bishop.*	*Time.*
St. Mark's,	Philadelphia, Penn.	Potter,	May 21, 1850.
St. James',	New London, Conn.	Brownell,	June 11, 1850.
St. James the Less,	Philadelphia, Penn.	Potter,	May 21, 1850.
St. James', (Chapel,)	Anne Arundel Co., Md.	Whittingham,	Ap'l 25, 1850.
St. Paul's,	Doyleston, Penn.	Potter,	May 30, 1850.
St. Philip's,	Laurel, Sussex Co., Del.	Lee,	May 22, 1850.

OBITUARY.

Died, at Litchfield, March 17th, 1850, Rev. Isaac Jones, in his 75th year. Mr. Jones was a native of New Haven, and educated at Yale College, where he was graduated in 1792, having won the highest Berkleian prize for superior classical attainments. He entered the Congregational ministry, and was ordained in 1804, over the parish of Bethany, then forming a part of the town of Woodbridge; but conformed to the Church in 1808. He was ordained Deacon, by Bishop Hobart, September 24th, 1810, and Priest, by Bishop Moore, June 29th, 1813. He became Assistant Minister of St. Michael's Church, Litchfield, the same year, where he remained thirteen years. Subsequent to his resignation, he officiated as Chaplain to the County Prison, and Visiting Minister of the Alms-house of Litchfield. From 1831 to 1834, he was Rector of St. Paul's Church, Huntington; from 1837 to 1839, of Union Church, Hitchcocksville. In 1841 and 1842, he was Rector of Christ Church, Bethany, which had been much strengthened by his conversion to the Church. In 1845, he was rector of Trinity Church, Milton, in Litchfield.

Until his last and fatal attack, Mr. Jones had been blessed with an uninterrupted flow of health and spirits; having never suffered from disease, so as to need the attendance of a physician. His time has been chiefly spent in literary pursuits; and the immense mass of manuscripts which have passed under his hand, give evidence of unwearied industry and perseverance.

As a preacher, he was plain and unostentatious, possessing those qualifications which were rather of practical utility, than brilliancy of speech and action. He was remarkable for his social qualities, in which he always manifested the warmest affection of heart. Especially did he take the liveliest interest in the welfare of the young, whose society he cherished and loved with unabated attachment, and a solicitude that was truly paternal. His benevolence was warm, and flowed from the heart. He cherished no hostile feelings against any one; and we doubt whether he had an enemy in the world.

Died, at Sommerville, Ala., May 8th, 1850, Rev. William D. Cairns, Rector of Trinity Church, Columbus, Geo., aged 46. Mr. C. was born at Stratford, Connecticut, August 4th, 1804, and was graduated at Yale College in 1823, where he became a communicant among the Congregationalists. He commenced the study of theology at Princeton, with the view to the ministry in that denomination. The course of Church History here marked out for him, brief and unsatisfactory as it was, opened such fields for investigation, and suggested such trains of thought, that he ceased not from his researches until convinced that truth and duty required his services in the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. At considerable sacrifice, he acted upon this conviction, and at the proper time was admitted to the Holy Order of Deacons, by the venerable and Right Rev. Bishop Moore, in the Monumental Church, Richmond, Va., in 1825.

Talents to have commanded eminence, even apart from that wonderful energy which must have given him success in any profession, were freely and fully devoted to the cause of Christ. The remarkable trait of his mind, which gave direction to his entire character, was a love of truth for the truth's sake, leading to a conscientious, prompt and cheerful discharge of every duty, simply because it was duty. No man, perhaps, ever had less regard to secondary causes; no man ever relied more implicitly upon the plain word of truth.

He labored in Gloucester and Ware, Virginia; Wilmington, N. C.; Hudson, N. Y.,

and as a general missionary, for a time, in Edenton and the vicinity, N. C. Twelve years ago he went to Columbus, Geo. That Church he found in a deplorable condition. It had few communicants, women, timid and desponding. It was oppressed by a heavy debt, contracted by persons who admired the order of its services more than they loved its spirituality. It was persecuted by the misrepresentations of those who would not distinguish between a respect for the Church and a profession of religion in its communion. But he determined to know nothing among them, but "Jesus Christ and Him crucified." That was the sentiment of his first sermon, and it was the principle of his ministry. When the church building was about to be exposed at public sale, he purchased it at his own risk; and, to assist the Vestry, he voluntarily relinquished the half of his salary.

God was merciful to his servant. He lived to see the church debt entirely liquidated, and to know that the tongue of detraction was silenced. He lived to present in this parish one hundred and nine candidates for confirmation, and two for ordination. And he left, after all the fluctuations of our unsettled population, one hundred and fifty-one communicants of the Church.

SUMMARY OF FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

ORDINATIONS IN THE ENGLISH CHURCH.

We make the following abstract of English Ordinations on the Second Sunday in Lent:

By the Archbishop of York, 1 Deacon and 11 Priests.
By the Bishop of Worcester, 19 Deacons and 19 Priests.
By the Bishop of Chichester, 5 Deacons.
By the Bishop of Chester, 17 Deacons and 16 Priests.
By the Bishop of Norwich, 4 Deacons and 18 Priests.
By the Bishop of Peterborough, 2 Deacons and 1 Priest.
By the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, 1 Deacon and 1 Priest.
By the Bishop of Ripon, 2 Deacons and 7 Priests.
By the Bishop of Oxford, 11 Deacons and 5 Priests.
By the Bishop of Carlisle, 2 Deacons, 4th Sunday in Lent, March 10th.
TOTAL, by 10 Bishops, 64 Deacons and 78 Priests.

Trinity Sunday Ordinations.

By the Archbishop of Canterbury, 11 Deacons and 12 Priests.
By the Bishop of Chester, 15 Deacons and 16 Priests.
By the Bishop of Chichester, 5 Deacons and 9 Priests.
By the Bishop of Ely, 7 Deacons and 13 Priests.
By the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, 6 Deacons and 8 Priests.
By the Bishop of Hereford, 5 Deacons and 9 Priests.
By the Bishop of Lichfield, 19 Deacons and 14 Priests.
By the Bishop of Lincoln, 14 Deacons and 10 Priests.
By the Bishop of Ripon, 9 Deacons and 5 Priests.
By the Bishop of Salisbury, 8 Deacons and 10 Priests.
TOTAL, by 10 Bishops, 99 Deacons and 106 Priests.

MISCELLANEOUS INTELLIGENCE.

The first Bishop of the See to be formed by the Canterbury Settlement in New Zealand, will probably be the Rev. Thomas Jackson, Canon of St. Paul's and Principal of the Training College at Battersea.

The Deanery of Hereford has been conferred on the Rev. R. Dawes, Rector of King's Somborne, Hants.

It is probable the first Bishop of the new See of Montreal, about to be created, will be the Rev. Isaac Hellmuth, M. A., Professor of Hebrew and Rabbinical Literature at Bishop's College, Lennoxville, and Missionary in connection with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at Sherbrooke, Lower Canada.

THE UNIVERSITY COMMISSION.—Lord John Russell has recently addressed a letter to Prince Albert, Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, and to the Duke of Wellington, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, announcing a proposal for a Royal Commission to inquire into the *state* and *revenues* of the two Universities. The *ostensible* object of this Commission, as stated in Parliament, is to modernize the course of instruction, by introducing the study of natural and modern science. To this letter of Lord John Russell, very able answers have been returned, signed by a large proportion of the heads, professors, and tutors of the two Universities, protesting against such a Commission, on the ground of its illegality, its inexpediency, its difficulties, and its want of necessity. Writing as we do, at this distance, we cannot pretend to understand the secret causes of this new movement; but from the full reports before us, it looks like an insidious attack upon those mighty fortresses of conservatism.

A PERVERT CONVERTED.—Rev. Mr. Jephson, formerly curate to Rev. Dr. Hook, at Leeds, and who joined the Romish schism several years ago, has returned to the bosom of the English Church.

The difficulties between the Privy Council and the National Education Society, have not been adjusted. The intention of the Council, covertly but steadily aimed at, seems to be, to take the education of the children of England out of the hands of the parochial clergy.

The Rt. Rev. Dr. Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford, has been appointed Tutor to the Prince of Wales.

A submarine telegraphic communication is about to be established between England, near Dover, and France, near Calais. The distance is about 18 English miles, but the line (of seven wires) will be 23 miles, to allow of oscillations. The whole work is to be finished by the first of September.

The Poet Tennyson will be elected to the *laureateship* vacant by the death of the immortal Wordsworth. Tennyson already receives a pension of £300 per annum.

The Papal Triumvirate, having decided that the railroad to Naples will inundate Rome with *useless foreigners*, gave orders that the works be immediately suspended!

Mr. Macaulay has been reëlected to the rectorial chair of Glasgow University. Fifteen votes were recorded for the Duke of Argyll; but no formal opposition was offered.

M. Wallon has been appointed to the chair of Modern History in the University of Paris, in place of M. Guizot, who retires on a pension.

Dr. Layard is at Mosul, prosecuting his researches with energy and success, though he is cramped for want of means. The country is in an unsettled state, and it is unsafe to venture out of the city gates. He has sixty men engaged in exploring the ruins, and some wonderful discoveries have been made. Upon some slabs recently exhumed, the name of Jonah has been distinctly traced. Mr. Cooper, the artist attached to the expedition, is engaged in making accurate drawings. Full particulars may be expected in a second series of "Nineveh and its Remains."

New College at Oxford.—A sum of money has been placed in the hands, and at the disposal of Mr. Justice Coleridge, and Archdeacons Wilberforce and Manning, to be the foundation of a fund of a new College; where the expenses shall be somewhat less, and for the purpose of increasing the supply of well-educated Clergymen for the Church at home; and also to render the advantages of Oxford accessible to other young men who look forward to either of the liberal professions.

The Romanists in England refused to observe either the Fast or the Thanksgiving, upon the days generally observed. They chose a day of their own.

Mr. Tytler, well known as a historian, died in Scotland on the 24th of December. He was a pensioner of the British Crown. Mr. Dick, the author of several popular works, is living in extreme destitution.

The first Church in England, in which the services are to be conducted according to the rites of the Greek Church, has just been completed in London.

Mr. Richardson, the African traveler, and Drs. Barth and Overweg, Prussian *savans*, are about to explore Sahara, Soudon, Bornon, and Lake Tshad, in Central Africa, under the assistance and protection of the British Government.

Golden Lectureship.—The Rev. H. Melville, B. D., has been the successful candidate for this appointment. His services are a lecture every Tuesday morning, and his compensation about £500 per annum.

Romanism in England.—There are reported in England, 674 Romish Chapels, 880 priests, 13 monasteries, 41 convents, 11 colleges, and 250 schools.

Irvingism.—In Vice-Chancellor Sir J. Wigram's Court, on Monday, the 29th Nov., in the case of the Attorney General *v.* Lawes, as to the disposal of £100 a year bequeathed for the use of ministers or members persecuted or aggrieved, or in poverty, for preaching or upholding the doctrines of the late Edward Irving, the Master to whom the case was referred disclosed the following facts connected with the history of the sect. The leader, the deceased Edward Irving, who was formerly a minister of the Scotch Church, withdrew in 1832; since which time the sect had increased throughout England to 35 churches, with upwards of 270 ministers, and 4000 followers. Seven of these so-called churches are in London. The whole are supported by the payment of the tenth part or tithe of the clear income of the members of the congregations, with additional voluntary contributions, the whole of which are placed at Messrs. Drummonds, the Bankers, Charing-Cross, in the names of the seven London ministers, at their uncontrolled disposal. For two years, from the 1st Jan. 1847, to the 31st Dec. 1848, the income from tithes amounted to £21,017; from additional voluntary contributions, to £30,229 7s. 6d. The following were specified as the peculiar doctrines of the Irvingites:

"The doctrine of the permanence of the gifts of apostles, prophets, evangelists, and pastors in the Church; the doctrine of the right of the Church to the continuance of the miraculous powers and gifts of the Holy Ghost given on the day of Pentecost; and the doctrine of the necessity of the presence of this fourfold ministry, (including that of apostles,) and of these powers and gifts in the Church, for the purpose of preparing and perfecting the Church for the second advent of the Lord Jesus Christ; all which doctrines were taught and insisted upon by the said Edward Irving, and were founded upon the doctrine of the true humanity as well as divinity of the Lord Jesus Christ; and the same doctrines became and were the basis of communion, by which the ministers and religious congregations adhering to the said Edward Irving and to the doctrines taught by him after his separation from the Established Church of Scotland, were, and had ever since been, distinguished from other denominations or communities of Christians in this country."

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SCHOOLS IN AMERICAN LITERATURE.

ART. I.—*The Prose Writers of America, with a Survey of the History, Condition, and Prospects of American Literature.* By RUFUS WILMOT GRISWOLD. Philadelphia: Carey & Hart, 1847.

IT is hard to say what is the precise meaning of a school of literary men. If it had a definite sense before, it has been singularly confounded in these latter days. One may well wonder, for example, on what principle critics have allowed themselves, for half a century, to speak of the Lake school of poets. Granting that there was a something held in common by the very different minds of Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Southey, it is very clear that such a something was not taken into the account of the creatures who gave them the epithet of *Lakers*. It was the mere blunder of superficial wit and raillery. They were known to have common bonds of affinity and friendship; and they were supposed to be very fond of ruralizing about the lakes of Cumberland and Westmoreland; and they were laughed at for saying and singing the praises of the lake country, somewhat more largely than was in good taste. Hence, it was very easy to make them out a school, and to dub them with a geographical prefix, which spared critics the trouble of an inquiry into the real elements

of their unity. The Lakers themselves were astonished at their new relations to each other, and to the republic of letters. In vain, however, did they urge the variety of their tastes and styles; in vain did Southey smile at the folly of classing Joan of Arc with Peter Bell, and in vain did Wordsworth protest that he wrote on his own original philosophical principles, without preconcert or confederacy. Even Coleridge, whose literary wares might have saved him from the suspicion of partnership with anybody else in the universe, was obliged to resort more than once to the shopman's trick of advertising "no connection with the firm of Wordsworth & Co.," or, at least, to an elaborate exhibition of his differences with his friends. Several other aspiring poets were shrewdly suspected of discipleship, and reviewers allowed themselves to talk of an organized conspiracy against the literary virtue and critical taste of Englishmen. What was at first a mere joke, seems to have grown into a genuine bugbear. The contrast between such poems as the Excursion and Thalaba should have been sufficient to silence all suspicion of their origin in a common poetical creed; but it was the fashion to regard their novelties, as well as those of the Ancient Mariner and Christabel, as containing some secret principle of literary sedition, and scores of wiseacres were able to detect the hidden Cabala, and to predict the mischief which would result to all posterity, from its unchecked influence in letters.

And yet, as things have turned out, we have good reason to thank the blockheads for coining so convenient an abstraction as that of *the Lake School.* The world, in adopting the phrase, has blundered into a verity. Widely different as is the present estimation of their characteristics as writers, and discriminating as critical judgment has become, between their various styles and principles of composition, it is now seen that high moral properties, which they held in common, deservedly associate them as a school; and since a local name has been given to it, what more suitable than that which identifies them with mountains, and glens, and tarns, and meres, to which they have bequeathed forever the beautiful associations of their poetry and their lives! But the best of it all is the fact, that this happy mistake is elevating the idea of Literary Schools, and tending to a general classification of polite writers, not as heretofore, according to their times, or habits of style, or fashions of phraseology, but according to their moral principles, their sources of thought and action, and their ultimate influences upon their generation, and upon literature in general. In an age so highly utilitarian as our

own, we suspect that even elegant authorship will more and more be reduced to some economical test, and we can scarcely conceive of any nobler *cui bono* than such an one, aiming, as it does, to render even the lightest kind of writing subservient to some good end. Happy will it be for the world, when such an end shall be demanded of all authors who aspire to any thing higher than the reputation of ephemeral triflers; and when, on principles not partisan, nor sectarian, nor provincial, but large, and truly Christian, the popular mind shall be directed by all its teachers, to whatever refines and civilizes, to whatever promotes the best and holiest interests of society, softens and polishes manners, or exalts the standard of right, and to whatever makes war with barbarism, dispels imposture, and counteracts that proclivity to degradation which besets the human race, even in its very best estate.

According to this conception, a School of Letters is a generic, and not a specific term. It allows the widest diversity between writers whom it nevertheless includes under one name. It justifies, for example, that rich classification under which such men as Leigh Hunt, Shelley, and Byron have been grouped, with worse poets, as "Cockneys," seeing that great genius is thus united with small, by virtue of its pandering to the tastes of the gin-shop and the stew; and though it may be justly argued that these three are no more alike than leopard, tiger, and lion, it will be useless to enlarge upon the acknowledged variety of spots, and stripes, and monochrome, when, after all, these diversities are quite consistent with a reduction to one class, as animals of the cat kind. So too of Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Southey: what if one be likened to the bison, another to the elk, and another to the antelope; or what if it be shown that they no more resemble one another than British bull, Runic reindeer, and Oriental dromedary? Are they not, after all, generically alike? They all chew the cud; they are ruminating animals, and very useful ones beside.

To ask whether we have any such schools in American Literature, implies what we have no right, as yet, to assert too arrogantly, that we have such a thing as a literature which is properly American. In raising this fundamental question, however, we grant that we do so rather in a critical, than in a popular sense. Our reader must not suspect us of insensibility to the ennobling fact that America can lay claim to the possession of authors of a high order of genius and achievement, in several departments of Learning and Science; our meaning is, simply, that it might be contended with reason,

by a foreign admirer of our best authors, that their respective works of Science and Taste, do not yet amount to a Literature, appreciable by itself, as distinct from the universal literature of our language. This is an interesting field for inquiry, and the subject might be profitably pursued and illustrated, with reference to the history of Greek and Roman colonization; but it is enough for our present purpose to admit that we have, at least in element, a Literature which is properly American, because, even when it is most nearly allied to the Literature of England, it is such as would not, and could not have existed, independent of its origin in America. This, we believe, the natural and only test of Anglo-American Literature; for, any other test of which we can conceive, must reduce it to a Literature merely provincial and debased, as belonging to the English language, and yet having no relative unity with the noble standards of the English tongue. If any one is inclined to debate this proposition, we decline to argue about it; to us it is quite as self-evident as anything in the Declaration of Independence.

And now we recur to the question, whether we have as yet any schools in our Literature? We answer that we have; and that they are defined, among other notes, by this very test, according as they tend to perpetuate American Literature as part and parcel of the Literature of the English language, or as they seem bent on making it a thing anomalous and local, a thing provincial and monstrous, and separate in principle, in sympathy, and in form, from that to which it naturally adheres, as a branch adheres to the trunk of a majestic tree. If the existence of these schools has heretofore been unsuspected, it is because there are no such schools in the palpable shape of organization, and an avowed plan of operation. We assert their existence on the broad ground of moral discrimination, and we think we can very easily make it appear, that however innocent their authors may be of any antagonist purposes, we have two kinds of American writers in our literary circles, and two kinds of popular American works, on our bookshelves.

The mental parturition of a Literature peculiar to our country, has long been the gravid concern of several heads, from which the full-armed goddess has not yet been seen to issue. Joel Barlow, to begin with, enjoys the unenviable reputation of having conceived the desirableness of inventing an American language; and had he only gone so far as its creation, and had he then committed his Columbiad to its abortive letter, it may be allowed that one argument would have exist-

ed in its favor. Others, whom, as being yet on the stage, we forbear gratuitously to mention, have been content to dream of a national Literature, founded upon a coarse preference of every thing peculiar to the genuine Yankee, and a systematic exclusion of whatever assimilates him to other men, and more especially to his Anglo-Saxon kinsfolk, abroad. In the imagination of this class, we approach the culminating point of American literary glory, in proportion as we invest books, with something like the outward man of Jonathan himself, as it is frequently presented to the London public in the columns of "Punch," consisting of a California hat, starred waistcoat and striped pantaloons, with such illustrative *adiaphora* as the open shirt-collar, the cigar, the bowie-knife, and the spittoon. There are others who differ from this class only on religious principle, having little to distinguish them in point of taste. They are admirers of the same Jonathan, emerging from the process of a camp-meeting or some other fanatical excitement; and in strict accordance with his manners and appetites, they do up works and set them before his voracity, as Sancho Panza said of certain writers of his day, "just as if books were pancakes." A little above these types of authorship must be reckoned that which all the world sees realized in Ralph Waldo Emerson. It aims to produce not so much the domestic Yankee as the Yankee universal, and hence it puts off provincialism of one kind, for the sake of making the most of eccentricities somewhat personal, and which are American only as certain kinds of lunacy are called religious. We utterly deny that religion ever makes a maniac, or that American institutions ever made an Emerson; yet as religion, morbidly conceived and unnaturally excited, has always furnished its quota to Bedlam, so we confess that Americanism can be so wrought up with unbelief and nonsense, as to make transcendental philosophers. But, after all, the true American is a character represented by none of these dreamers, and American Literature will owe nothing but impediments to any of their schemes. In dismissing them, we also dismiss for the present, a more decent and a more dangerous class of practical theorists, whom we propose to speak of more largely by and by. Of one and all, it may be said that their great mistake consists, in taking themselves as the true representatives of what is really American, instead of looking at admitted standards of national character, and drawing their practical inferences accordingly. The true American differs from the Englishman, only as Washington differs from Wolfe, or as Webster differs from Burke, or as Clay differs from Peel, or as Frank-

lin differs from Sir Humphrey Davy, or Benjamin West from Sir Joshua Reynolds. There is no violent distortion, such as the caricaturist delights to exaggerate and immortalize. There are differences, and they are great differences; but the great family features are more prominent, and quite as coincident are the social and civil institutions in which they are formed. No one but a born blockhead can fail to discover the fundamental agreement of constitutional laws, between the mother and daughter countries, and this agreement is owing to the unalterable characteristics of the race, and to the natural process of colonization and independence. The old seed in a new land, bears the same harvest as at home, only a new soil, a new climate, and new tillage, have so far affected the grain, that peculiarities of substance, size, and flavor are easily recognized or detected. Now, we look for an American Literature, according to a like analogy between old and new. America will have her Greeleys, just as England has her Cobbets; our odd fish will always make pairs with somebody across the Atlantic, of course; but the stock and staple will always be represented by a different sort of men: and, just as Davy Crockett would be nothing but an oddity anywhere, while Mr. Lawrence may very well undertake to represent his countrymen at St. James', so we insist that Mr. Emerson is simply and solely Mr. Emerson, and that an author who should truly represent American Literature abroad, would be the very last person to attract attention by eccentricities. It is very likely that should General Houston and Mr. Berrien enter a drawing-room together in any European capital, everybody would know the former for an American, at a glance, and require an introduction to convince them that the latter was not one of themselves; but the inference would be the reverse of truth, if any one should conclude that the majority of American senators was represented by the one, and only himself by the other. The parallel need not be worked out, to enable our readers to apply the principle in Literature.

We have insisted on these illustrations the more fully, because we find this radical mistake of looking for something anomalous and eccentric as the *sine qua non* of our national Literature, somewhat encouraged of late by our trans-atlantic relatives. To Englishmen, Jack Downing and Sam Slick are entertaining novelties, and some Englishmen would be very glad to see us produce nothing but such novelties, leaving the realm of English Letters to them, so far as reason and taste are concerned. Accordingly, if a sensible work reaches them from our side of the sea, such critics pronounce it at

once, a mere imitation. An American book, with them, must savor either of tomahawk or bowie-knife; the air of civilization and refinement, they assume, is unnatural, and sober sense, and good English, are unnational to an American! This is either designed impertinence, or it is a very silly mistake. Do they expect to see Americans in London, with bows and arrows, or stalking abroad with rifles, because we have among us, both savages and backwoodsmen? Do they stare at Macaulay for wearing pantaloons instead of a kilt, when he arrives from Edinburgh, on a visit to the premier? Do they detect anything strikingly Asiatic in old Homer, or smell the Ethiopianisms of Terence? When a British critic demands something palpably American, in every American work, he is only encouraging a sort of affected originality, which might amuse him, but which could not possibly retain his respect; and when he fancies he has found something of the sort, 'tis ten to one, he is only taken with the individualities of some strange fellow, who no more represents his countrymen, than Carlyle represents the moral and literary character of England. Plainly, as we reckon the Syrian and Alexandrian fathers with the Greeks; and as we call the African and French fathers Latins, so, while Americans write the English language, they must contribute to English Literature; and just as clearly, their national glory will consist in the purity with which they can perpetuate it, and in the ingenuity with which, without corrupting or debasing it, they can make it adequate to all the circumstances, necessities, and proprieties of a new state of society, during its progressive changes towards some grand consummation.

Such being our principles of a legitimate American Literature, we come to those opposite elementary schools among us, which we conceive to be distinguished, the one as working against these principles, and the other as demonstrating them, by successful coincidence. We are sorry that local names must be given to these schools, and that the historical philosophy of their peculiarities must be briefly sketched. We conceive that there is a school which has its centre in Boston, and another which may be said to have its orbit about New York; and as the Bay-State is the glory of the one school, and the Knickerbocker State the boast of the other, we might give them worse names than those which we shall venture to adopt, in speaking of them as the Bays and the Knickerbockers.

No portion of our country is so strictly English in the origin of its population, as the six States of New England. It

might be supposed from our principles, therefore, that in New England we are about to find our genuine Anglo-American school. We are sorry that the reverse is the truth. Although the settlers were purely English in origin, it must be remembered that they would never have become colonists, had they not in a measure ceased to be Englishmen. The Puritans, imagining themselves the Israel of God, spared no pains to make themselves, at least, "a peculiar people." As for the special charms of "merrie England," they abominated them as the idols of Egypt; its Literature was to them as the speech of Ashdod; its poetry was as profane as its mince-pie. It is true that they were not without literary propensities of their own: they founded schools and colleges, for which they deserve all honor, and they wrote libraries of theology, for which they deserve a charitable memorial. The readers of Mather's Magnalia will see that they sometimes did "strictly meditate the thankless muse," but we doubt whether their most devoted admirer will maintain that their poetry was the element in which their genius was most gracefully displayed. In short, much as we are disposed to maintain the genuine claims of the Puritan colonists upon our grateful remembrance, it must be allowed that they were not less dissenters from the Church of England, than from the spirit of its Letters and its History. Of all that delights our taste, in the England of Queen Bess, they were absolute non-conductors; and even the King's English, which they brought with them, was so much like the formal cut of their beards, and so disfigured by their peculiar phraseology, and by the new meanings which they gave to old words, that it must be conceded they spoke something widely different from their mother-tongue. In short, as one of their warmest eulogists* has taken the pains to demonstrate, "barbarism was their first danger," and although a good Providence so overruled their doings, that there were preserved among them influences, which in due time mollified their manners, and taught them ingenuous arts, we look in vain for the rise of elegant Literature in New England, until a period of deplorable revolt from the very best things, in the shape of principles, which the colonists brought with them from the land of our fathers. Nor in saying this, do we forget the names of Edwards, and his grandson Dr. Dwight; names never to be mentioned without respect, as those of highly gifted men, in no wise responsible for the religious separation into which they were born, and

* See "Barbarism the first Danger," a Sermon by H. Bushnell, D. D.

which they devoted themselves to modify and elevate, without bequeathing to their successors anything imperishable except their names; names which, in many aspects, may be held up as a rebuke, instead of a glory, to modern New England. But even Edwards and Dwight, though classed by Mr. Griswold among his men of letters, can hardly be regarded as such, in the ordinary acceptation of the term; they aimed at something much better and higher, and they were practically devoted to things of sterner stuff than literature. At all events, they were single and sole; representatives of a family, and not of the people at large, among whom they stalked as intellectual Anakims, and as such were acknowledged and revered. It was left for much smaller men to make literary eminence an aim and end of living, and to do so by first shaking off the religion of New England, and adopting a religion of indifference and unbelief. Thus Literature sprung up in the Eastern States, like a plant without seed, having neither historical nor intellectual relation to those of our English forefathers; and maturing under influences frosty and unkindly, by a kind of hot-bed and bell-glass horticulture, it has bloomed into a garden full of brilliant and curious flowers, but, unfortunately, flowers without fragrance or self-perpetuating fruit.

It may be doubted whether a consistent Puritanism and elegant Literature, can flourish in one and the same mind. In proportion as the one character strengthens, the other is sure to decline. The Puritans founded two Colleges—the one in Massachusetts and the other in Connecticut—and they are still foremost in reputation among the Colleges of our land: but the College in Massachusetts has betrayed the principles of its founders, and the literary element has become its prominent distinction; the College of Connecticut has not yet sacrificed its Puritan element, and accordingly, with all its reputation, it is not distinguished for its elegant literature. Considering the comparatively immense number of her Alumni, it would be natural to expect that such a book as Mr. Griswold's would be a kind of index to her annals; but it is surprising how few of her graduates are enrolled among the prose writers of America, from first to last, and that among our living authors, Mr. N. P. Willis, a clever writer, but of trifling reputation, is the most prominent son of old Yale. It may with great propriety be answered, that her sons are to be found in every post of honor and distinction in the land, foremost in the pulpit, in the judicatory, and the senate; so it is, and so we are very glad to have it, seeing the Church is the richer

for a good portion of these eminent men; but, so, we might reply, it must be, in spite of their Alma Mater, since so large a portion of our educated men, were educated there. In the eminence of such men, their own greatness is proved, however, and nothing more.* It is the business of a College to mould the tastes of her sons, and to give them their appropriate work; and all we argue is, that were the influences prevailing at old Yale, other than those of Puritanism, a very large proportion of her graduates, who have devoted themselves to other pursuits, would have been found among the foremost of our elegant writers. As it is, she gives education an eminently practical turn. The Connecticut "schoolmaster is abroad" through all the States of the Union; his spelling-book is in every nursery of infant mind; his dictionary lies on every printer's desk; and his various wares of elementary science, arithmetic, grammar, geography, philosophy, or whatever else is furniture for the juvenile cranium, are peddled from the Bay of Fundy to Utah: and as a source of all this rich benefit to the country, Yale College deserves a grateful recognition. But as for literature—it is certainly strange, that when little Bowdoin can boast a Longfellow and a Hawthorne; and while Harvard, with a much more meagre roll of Alumni, can number up her poets, historians, and men of letters by the score, Yale College would hardly care to claim her only living author of that class, whose name is generally known.

The formation of a literary school in New England, has been left, therefore, to Massachusetts, around whose little capital the College at Cambridge has gathered so many men of letters, that it challenges to itself, not very modestly, the title of "the American Athens." Breaking its hereditary fetters of Puritanism, that College seems to have made Literature and Scientific Philosophy the object of its existence; and it has accordingly bred a race of literary men, who have attained deserved eminence in various walks of polite learning, while it has also spread through the whole circle of its influence, a malign, but specious form of infidelity, which,

* The Editor adds that the following names of Alumni of Yale, though thought by Mr. Griswold unworthy of a place by the side of *N. P. Willis*, have been heard of in the literary world:—Joel Barlow, John C. Calhoun, Thomas B. Chandler, William Croswell, Jeremiah Day, J. W. Gibbs, Charles A. Goodrich, T. S. Grimke, James A. Hillhouse, Abiel Holmes, David Humphreys, Samuel F. Jarvis, Samuel Johnson, James Kent, James L. Kingsley, W. Ingraham Kip, Jedediah Morse, James Murdock, J. G. Percival, Timothy Pitkin, E. E. Salisbury, Samuel Seabury, Benjamim Silliman, Moses Stewart, Ezra Stiles, Zephaniah Swift, Benjamin Trumbull, Jonathan Trumbull, Noah Webster, Theodore D. Woolsey.

in a great measure, detracts from the merits of their most celebrated productions; and which is much more offensive than the same leaven in Gibbon and Hume, because in the latter, it is paraded as a mere peculiarity of the individuals, while in the former, it is assumed as the conclusion to which the city of Boston has arrived, and to which the Universe must come. Thus originating in a local and morbid reaction against Puritanism, the literature of the Bay School is as unwholesome, as it is provincial. As it is the offspring of mere antagonism, so it seems to exist only with reference to circumstances; having Calvinism always in view, but plastering the uneasiness of a conscience, which is rather unfixed from right, than settled in wrong, by the consolations of a conceit, which assumes that its loveliness is born of its heresy. It betrays its fundamental Puritanism, however, in its aversion to every thing ancestral and historical, showing a marked preference for Teutonic and Scandinavian examples, when a reference to old England would be more natural and graceful. In fact, the Bay School is altogether a school of effort. That which distinguishes them all, is a certain sense of the importance of always doing their very best, and a certain air of always supposing they have done it. As a standard of merit, although a distant view of the German universities exercises some influence over them, they are, generally speaking, satisfied to limit their survey of the world, by the horizon of the Trimontane City. What is done, and said, and thought in Boston, is omnipotent with them; and the society of Boston, with its chief literary circles, and their presiding Laura Matildas, are, to them, as an established religion, from which it is out of character to be a dissenter, in any form. So thoroughly provincial is this school, that it has been ill-naturedly suggested, that the great literary circles of Boston are in fact a grand Mutual Admiration Club, from which all the rest of the world is, by vote, excluded, as altogether terrestrial, if not barbarian.

But the more important characteristic of the Bay School, is its great moral spirit of unrest and discovery. In general, they are social reformers, and each has his own theory of a city, a state, or a world. To use Emerson's quaint phrase, they have "no past at their back." The whole world has always gone wrong in every thing, until now, when it is always just about to be righted, by new inventions and "Boston notions." This strong persuasion engenders new modes of expression, and forced forms of speech, which are fast becoming the *cant* of the Bay writers. For example, an orator or lecturer of

this School begins an address, by saying that "he is about to speak chiefly to the educated, or rather, to the *studying* classes;" one of their poets will "invoke the divine power within himself, rather than the objective Muse of classic mythology;" and one of their divines will insist upon "subjectivity as the grand secret of rational worship;" or, finally, one of their brilliant conversationists will accost you at an evening party, with an elaborate speech upon "unselfishness, as consisting in the total abnegation of the Me." Let us be understood as professedly caricaturing the School as a school, and yet we quote expressions which we have heard, either in words or in spirit, from persons bred in its atmosphere. We know, well enough, that the most eminent names that must be mentioned in connection with this School, are least disfigured by the formalisms of which we speak; but, nevertheless, they are more or less imbued with the spirit which produces such absurdities, and it is nothing but their genius which enables them to shake off its vulgar expressions. In the works of Channing and Everett, for example, we seldom find such verbal nonsense; but in the former, especially, we are constantly encountering the conceited and moon-struck views of human perfectibility, which, in the mouths of less refined reformers, become the most sublimated cant and verbosity.

The writers of this School are often classic and beautiful, but they are always frigid and unlovely. Instead of addressing the affections in the language of joy and feeling, like a brother or a sister, they meet our childlike instincts like a school-dame, whose artificial smile invites us to the amusement of a drill in the pent-up room, when we are panting to be led to fields and pastures. Effort, effort, effort! Every sentence is parturient and bursting with ideas. Every word is worked like worsted into the design; and every work is a brocade of embroidery, with spangles thickly set on. Your admiration is perpetually challenged by sentences that swell with metaphor; and by metaphors wrought into allegories; and by allegories that are only the foundation-muslin of a running moral; and by morals that terminate like a rocket, in a brilliant discharge of starry and serpentine antitheses. Splendid, and delightful, and charming, are the only adjectives that supply exclamations to the spectator, while he beholds these beautiful successions of legerdemain; but there it ends. Considering the vast amount of admiration which has been called forth by the writings of the School in question, it is astonishing how little hold it has upon the popular mind and heart. Mr. Longfellow's exquisite versification has fixed a few poet-

ical proverbs in the mouths of thousands; but what Bay poet, or Bay proser, has made for himself such a nest, in the heart of the nation, as some that might be mentioned of a different school? The fact is, this literature has no life, except in the provincial religionism of Boston. Let Boston cease to be Socinian, and respiration is at an end with this creature of its atmosphere. It will be a bloodless corpse, as it now is a cold-blooded specimen of mortality; beautiful as the mermaid, and as delusive as her song.

Of course, there are literary men in Boston who belong not to its School. Allston, and his kinsman Mr. Dana, and the admirable Prescott, are instances in point; yet, even in the writings of these men of truly liberal genius, we see traces of the elements among which they have lived; just as in Bryant, who lives in New York, we discover much that is from that source, though he may with reason be claimed by the Bays, as one of themselves. This leads us to suppose, that when the present forms and provincialisms of their nascent school shall have passed away, there may be a mature and permanent school subsisting as the result, in which all that is valuable, in the present, shall be preserved under nobler combinations, and more liberal auspices.

In recognizing another, and, in some respects, an antagonist school, as existing in New York, we must not be understood as supposing that there is any thing answering to the compact, mutual-assurance confederacy, which exists at Boston. The Knickerbockers—for such must be their nickname, for want of a better—have no local habitation, or central academy, or common focus of any kind. They have not even a periodical publication to represent them, unless the Literary World be allowed to stand in the place which more ponderous works should occupy, for the magazine which bears the title of "the Knickerbocker," is singularly misnamed. The influence of Columbia College upon the literary taste of New Yorkers has always been felt more than it has been seen; yet, we fear, it must be allowed to have been far less efficient of good than it would have been, had something of that business-like energy which characterizes New England Colleges, been compounded with its admirable spirit of taste and elegant scholarship. There is no denying that its standard of taste and classical learning has been higher than that of the majority of American Colleges, while, nevertheless, it has always been hid in the shade, and almost forgotten amid the noisy pretensions of the great education-jobbers of the land. Unquestionably, the absorbing spirit of the market, by which it is surrounded, has

tended to throw it into obscurity; the commercial metropolis being of necessity unattractive to the muses, and unfavorable to the pursuits of their devotees. With the growth of the Fine Arts in New York, a better spirit is, nevertheless, already perceptible, which will tend to embellish that capital, and to furnish it, in time, with institutions inviting to literary writers, and to the residence of scholarly men. Every thing in that remarkable city, is yet in its elements; and it is only in element, we desire our readers to remember, that we see its rising School of Letters. The Bays have the apparent advantage of the Knickerbockers in every thing which defines an existing school; but we believe that advantage to be fictitious and ephemeral, and that literature in New York, is maturing, less rapidly, on nobler principles, and for a longer prosperity, and richer results.

When we mention the names of Irving, Paulding, Cooper, Verplanck, Sands, and Hoffman, we think we strike a chord in the heart of our readers, which vibrates with a more tender feeling than that which would respond to our mention of their cleverest Eastern cotemporaries. These writers have never puffed each other into fame; nor called attention to themselves as reformers and civilizers of society. They have no theories of new religion; they speak of no discoveries in the laws of human life; they coin no new phrases in morals or philosophy; they make no pretensions to profound, deep, original, progressive views of social institutions, and their evils and remedies. They have not severed themselves from the past, nor committed themselves to extravagant prophecies of the future. They have been industrious without parade of effort, scholarly without ostentation, active without bustle, and efficient without self-conceit; and, altogether, there is about them a unity of manner, thought, and moral principle, and even a negative quality of style, which constitute them, with others, a literary school. They have done good in many ways, without professions of philanthropy. The elegant satire of Irving has effected much more than the elaborate moralizing of Channing, and the quiet undertone of religion which is perceptible in the Sketch-book, is worth far more than the strained and frigid piety of Ware, in its effect upon the heart. The moral sentiment of Cooper is generally pure and healthful; Verplanck is eminently Christian; and, in a word, the grand secret of the hold which the Knickerbockers have gained upon the heart of the nation, is their freedom from all theories and affectations, and their natural, honest, and legitimate Anglo-Saxon Americanism. On the principles

we have asserted in the outset, we believe that they have laid the foundation of genuine American Literature; and, as for others of our eminent literary men, we doubt not they will stand or fall, just in proportion as they have freed themselves from the hollow and false, though showy peculiarities of Eastern provincialism.

We are perfectly willing to be taken to task for this free expression of our convictions on these points, and to go into an analysis of certain works which are already beginning to fall behind the age, after attracting an undue share of celebrity by circumstances merely fortuitous, and by being systematically puffed and forced into prominence at home and abroad, on mutual terms. A collapse is inevitable; for whatever has been created by a transient religious reaction, must die out with the counteraction; and what has been fashionable during an ephemeral state of things, cannot possibly escape the fate of fashions, when their day is spent. Nothing is lasting but what has grown from a deep root. The current of English Literature has run on for three hundred years, with one color in its waters, and one steady precipitation of whatever has endeavored to qualify it. A sudden rise of its flood may for a moment change its appearance, but it floats off the accumulated feculence, and flows on as before, retaining the purity of its sources; the same stream whose rills welled forth far back in the history of our fathers, and were native to the same fields which bred Chaucer, and Wiclif, and Hooker, and Sydney, and Shakspeare, and Spencer. Now the secret of these Knickerbockers, however unsuspected by themselves, is simply this, that they have been willing to mingle with the great tide of British Literature, and have not been ambitious of originating a Helicon, on Artesian principles, in America. Who are the successors of Sydney, and Walton, and Burton, and Browne, and Fuller, and Defoe, on this side the Atlantic? Who show themselves in Letters, what our best statesmen show themselves in civil matters; what our jurists delight to prove themselves in Law; what our soldiers show themselves upon the field? If we consider Webster an American Statesman, because he expounds our Constitution on principles old as Magna Charta; if we are proud of Kent and Story, because they are the bright successors of Coke and Blackstone; and if we boast of Scott and Taylor, as merely adding an American speed and activity to the old Anglo-Saxon bottom of unwearied energy and unconquerable valor; why not recognize in Irving and Cooper the true school of our literature, because they show

themselves, in all their works, Americans of the legitimate succession; not men of a sect, or party; not apostles of theory, or pretenders to originality; but writers of good English, with American hearts and genuine patriotism, making their works precisely what GOD has made their country, a vigorous and healthy growth, from the old English root and stock?

We speak advisedly of Mr. Cooper, for although it has lately become the fashion to abuse him, and although he has certainly made some practical mistakes, it must be conceded that he has earned the praise of Halleck, as, in an important sense, "our pioneer of mind." His great fault has been an almost exclusive nationality, affecting sometimes the purity of his style, and sometimes the evenness of his temper. His devoted patriotism has made him obnoxious abroad, while by his anxiety to correct the faults of his countrymen, he has rendered himself temporarily unpopular at home. But this is all a passing humor. So long as the Leather-Stocking stories remain a faithful picture of a period of our national existence, which is rapidly passing away, so long must the name of Cooper be "woven with that of his country." Some of his works have been written for the market, and for the times, and these will probably perish; but we cannot doubt that there is reserved for Cooper, a fond memorial among his countrymen, so long as rivers run, and towns and villages multiply among the scenes of disappearing forests, and prairies which he has filled with romance; and so long as the canvas of American Commerce whitens that highway of nations upon which he has made himself at home.

But perhaps posterity will concede to Irving that place in our Literature, which his Christian name of Washington might seem to indicate. Born in the halcyon year of our peace with the mother country, and coming into life just at the moment when such a genius as his was necessary to do for Literature what Bishop White did for religion; though apparently unconscious of his noble mission, he has fulfilled what Mr. Griswold most creditably asserts to be the proper aim of a literary man—he has endeavored "to civilize his fellow-men, to soften asperities, to abolish prejudices, and to extend the dominion of gentleness." Mr. Irving came on the stage at a period when a wretched sympathy with revolutionary France was doing its utmost to perpetuate among us that unhappy animosity against the mother country, which the holiest interests of the human race required all good men to soften, subdue, and eradicate. A truer American never breathed our country's air. He saturated himself with the spirit of our social life, and with the

spirit of our noblest natural scenery. With the finest humor and most delicate taste, he seized upon whatever was capable of being fabulized into sentiment and romance, in the history of the colonization of New York, and of the settlements upon the Hudson, insinuating at the same moment regard and affection for the past, and delight in the present. At the same time that he was thus creating for our country a sort of substitute for those annals of mysterious fable, into which the history of older nations is traced to some romantic original, he was unsuspectingly forming his mind to the nobler work of restoring the sympathies of America to their proper channel, and directing the literary taste of his countrymen to the sources from whence they had derived their language and their blood. The publication of the Sketch Book will hereafter be regarded as a great international event. We are sorry to see our English brethren showing symptoms of a disposition to retract the patent of rank which they so freely awarded to its author, when that charming work was first published, and to level Mr. Irving with Miss Mitford, and other clever but secondary writers of tales and descriptive narrative. It is one thing to write good stories, and another to write stories that shall go to the heart of two nations, and permanently affect their relations to each other, for the good of all the world. When Irving wrote the Sketch Book, and its inimitable successors conceived in the same spirit, his country was a sullen child, and England an unnatural mother. But the book that contained, under the same cover, the description of an English Christmas and the Legend of Sleepy Hollow, produced a reconciliation. It said to America, 'look at your venerable mother;' it said to England, 'look at your promising child;' and instantly there was a mingling of hearts, and a banishing of old grudges, and a flow of mutual recognition, which produced a union strengthened every moment since, and we trust in God, designed to strengthen and to be eternal, by virtue of holier bonds, and charities that spring from Heaven.

This is our view of the noble work which Mr. Irving has performed, and which it was the design of Providence that he should perform. No work, more truly patriotic, could have been conceived by a literary man; it is a work truly American and truly Christian. To what degree the spirit of Christian faith and love may have stimulated the pen of our author, we are not the judge; but sure we are, that the influences of the Church have had not a little to do with making Irving what he is; and that, what Irving has done, has had a reactionary influence upon the Church. Incidentally, the bond of

communion between the Churches of England and America have been strengthened by the national spirit infused by his writings; and the universal currency which they have gained in this country, has leveled many a prejudice, and elevated many a taste, to the reception of the Prayer-Book, thus preparing the way of the Lord, and giving access to the Church among its bitterest enemies.

The English, object that Irving describes a state of things as existing yet among them, which has, in fact, long since passed away; they censure him for painting the contemporaries of William Beckford, in the garments of Sir Roger de Coverly. But our English brethren never see themselves as they are seen by an affectionate visitor from America. In an old country, the people are most taken with what is new, but an American, who comes among them, is struck chiefly with what is antiquated. Mr. Irving overlooked the "Metropolitan Improvements," and all the splendors of the Prince Regent's novelties, but was captivated by old churches, and by every vestige of old times, which lingered here and there, like snow-drifts in April, under hedges and banks. To him, a thousand things recalled the days of "The Spectator," and with a poet's license, he has grouped whatever was in keeping with a striking relic, and kept out of view whatever might abate from its effects. To us, this is the charm of Irving's pictures of England; this is their American feature: it is like the impressions of a child visiting grandpapa, and coming home to tell of the old furniture, the spectacles, and the wig, and the old gentleman himself; while that venerable worthy is admiring a new chair, a new time-piece, or a new carpet, and congratulating himself on the juvenile appearance which he has regained by the insertion of false teeth. We love the Sketch-Book because it is American—purely American; American in its love of home, and American in its love of England. Away with that bastard Americanism which cannot see that the more we respect our British ancestors, the more we shall respect ourselves; and which quarrels with those who love their grandmothers, as if they were not, on that very account, the more likely to love their mother!

We have dwelt thus upon the merits of Mr. Irving, because, if there be such a School as the Knickerbockers, he is their head; and because we believe that the essential characteristics of his writings must be, in part, the characteristics of a future American Literature. In other words, we believe that our national literature must be like his works, decidedly Anglo-American in spirit, and purely English in style; it must

be, like his works, the unstrained production of nature and of genius, suiting itself to facts, and not forming itself to theories; it must be, like them, the result of industry and goodwill; partly accommodated to prejudices and partly overcoming them; somewhat in sympathy with the times, and somewhat in the lead of popular sympathies; it must be pure in morality, and faithful to religion; it must be religious according to the Creed and according to the Church, and not according to individual whim; and thus it must have definite and immovable standards to which it must conform, and not expend itself in inventions which are destructive to all order and system, whether in laws, or letters, or morals.

To these views we do not ask our readers to assent, as if they were axioms, but we have confidence in the eternal fitness of things, and in the designs of Providence. True, as Churchmen, we believe that our own Church is destined to prevail both here and elsewhere, and although many will laugh when we say so, we can easily bring them to a sense of our soberness in the assertion. Throughout the land there are two extreme tendencies, powerfully working out their destinies; on the one hand, Romanism, on the other hand, Dissent. Between Superstition and Infidelity there is no middle ground, except that which our Church occupies, and is every day fortifying and entrenching. Consequently, the sober common sense of the people is every day turning towards her; and everywhere, the Church is preferred by sober dissenters, before all other religions except their own. Our strength is not to be estimated by our numbers; our influence is everywhere at work. Others must get brick and mortar together, and set lungs to playing, before they can make any impression; but every copy of the Prayer-Book, that is sent anywhere by land or sea, is doing work for the Faith, and for the Church. It goes everywhere, and everywhere it arrests attention; attracts devout minds; deepens impressions of orthodoxy; subdues prejudices, and opens the way for missionary feet and voices. This is plain fact; and accordingly the literature which is in keeping with the Prayer-Book, finds its way, by an analogous law, to the hearts of a people, who, in spite of themselves, *have* "a past at their back," and who feel the pressure of eighteen centuries of truth and history, impelling them in one way.

Irving is a legitimate writer, doing a great work without suspecting it, and following nature and the course of things, with no effort to do violence to the best affections and holiest impressions of men's hearts, in order to make them receive what he elaborates. Consequently, he, and all who write as he does,

commend themselves to the instincts and the common sense of men. He has written himself, not in gilded pages to lie in boudoirs only, but in the hearts of his countrymen. Coming down the Hudson, we find ourselves afloat on board the "Rip Van Winkle;" as we pass the Kaatskills we hear children telling the story of Nicholas Vedder and the Village Inn; as we come to Tarrytown, the boat leans, and we see the people crowding to get sight of Mr. Irving's chimnies; we land at New York, and are taken into a cab, with "Deidrich Knickerbocker" painted at full length on the panels; we are set down at the "Irving Hotel," and we find in our parlor a book of etchings from "the Sketch Book." Every mile of our journey has seemed to testify of the reality and verity of his writings, and of the genuine Americanism of one, who was formerly sneered at as half-British, and accused of undervaluing his own country. The fact is, we are *a half-British people;* and what centuries of rich experience have shown to be constitutional to Anglo-Saxons in England, must, with very slight modifications, be the thing for Anglo-Saxons in America. Our laws, our language, and our manners have come to us as an inheritance, and as such they will be preserved; we merely insist, that if we ever have a literature, it must be developed according to the analogies of our existence as a people. That school of literature which endeavors to originate something else, must first originate a language and a history, and then purge the Anglo-Saxon blood of all that has made it what it is, and of all that we devoutly believe it is destined yet to be. We believe in no literature for our country, that shall not be part and parcel of the literature of the Anglo-Saxon race, wheresoever it is spread abroad, upon the face of the whole world.

WILBERFORCE ON THE INCARNATION.

ART. II.—*The doctrine of the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, in its relation to mankind and to the Church.* By ROBERT ISAAC WILBERFORCE, &c. &c. Philadelphia: H. Hooker, 1849.

IN the midst of the misunderstandings and differences of Theological judgment, which unhappily prevail in our communion, on both sides of the Atlantic, there is still a perfect agreement, in the one great fundamental truth of the Incarnation—or the fact that God the Word became man, in the person of our Lord Jesus Christ. The definitions of the ancient councils, and of the Catholic Creeds, with regard to His person, as both God and Man, and the reality and sufficiency of His one Sacrifice for the sins of the world, are received by all, with scarce an exception. We doubt if there could be found a single one among all our clergy, who would call in question one jot or tittle of the Athanasian Creed. Such entire unity in the great matter of Christian belief, affords encouragement that there may be a nearer approach to unity in all things, than we can now rejoice in; and it is chiefly from the conviction, that such is the tendency of the work whose title we have given above, that we have rejoiced in its production, and in its republication. That the hope of such a result had an important influence in the construction of the Treatise, we have no doubt. It is a calm, learned, elaborate, and earnest effort to illustrate the great truth of which it treats, in all its bearings and relations, and to restore it to its proper place in the Theology of the day.

Such a work, and for such a purpose, is, we think, needed; for although, as we have said, the truth of the Incarnation itself is most surely believed among us, yet we think it has not held its true place in modern theological theories: and this we believe to be the main cause of our misunderstandings and divisions; and that a return to primitive teachings, on this point, will be the surest means of bringing the Watchmen on the walls of Zion to "see eye to eye."

That there is a wide difference between the Theology of the ancient Church, and that which is current at the present day in our land, and to some extent in our own communion, must be apparent to any one who has the most superficial ac-

quaintance with the teachings of the early Fathers. We discover in them all, a unity of idea and a harmony of tone, which implies a recognized *system* of doctrine, the same among all. This same tone and system is found in most, if not all, Church writers down to the time of the Reformation. The errors and corruptions which made reformation necessary, were errors grafted on such a stock, and could have been grafted on no other. This system was assumed as true by the English Reformers, and upon it the English Ritual was avowedly reconstructed.

The Theology, however, which has grown up in all the religious bodies that have arisen since the Reformation, is materially diverse from the more ancient system. The truths it has held in common with it, have been placed in different relations, so as to produce entirely different results. It must be manifest to all, that this latter system could never have produced the devout and half inspired Liturgies which have come down to us from the olden time. They proceed from a fountain of sentiment which is sought in vain in any Theology which has sprung up within the last three centuries.

Now the feature which more than any other distinguishes the ancient from the modern theology, is the place it assigns to the doctrine of the Incarnation. In the former, all the ordinances and institutions of Christianity are regarded in reference to this great and central truth. All its particular instructions were but mere corollaries from the one great fact, "God manifest in the flesh." The modern system, however, all concentrates upon *individual conversion*. This is the one principle which practically gives value to every other truth, and determines its relative place in the divine method of Salvation. The view, which is the basis of the work of Archdeacon Wilberforce, is that of the ancient Church, which, as we endeavor to exhibit its outlines and results, we shall designate the *Theology of the Incarnation;* taking occasion now and then, as we proceed, to compare it with the modern system, which, as a system, may appropriately be styled the *Theology of individual conversion.*

It will occur to every one, that the matter of belief, most preëminently set forth in the writings of the New Testament, and in the Creed of the Church, is the Incarnation—or the fact of the coming of Christ in the flesh. The earliest intimation of a formula of confession for Baptism, is that of the Ethiopian Eunuch, in Acts viii, 37, and is simply in these words: "I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God." St John, too, in assigning his motive for writing his Gospel, says, "These

things are written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing ye might have life through His name." And again, in his 1st Epistle, "whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ, is born of God. Who is he that overcometh the world, but he that believeth that Jesus is the Son of God." "And we know that the Son of God is come and hath given us an understanding, that we may know Him that is true, and we are in Him that is true, even in his Son Jesus Christ. This is the true God and eternal life." "Hereby know ye the Spirit of God. Every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is not of God." Thus we see that the *Incarnation*, or the coming of Christ in the flesh, was the great truth of Christianity. And, in like manner, the ancient Creeds required for Baptism, not the profession of faith in the Atonement, or in the doctrine of Justification, but as in the Apostles' Creed, in the Incarnation and its consequent facts. We mean by this, not that the Atonement and Justification are not *as facts* included in the Creed; but that the profession of them *as doctrines* technically expressed, was not required. This was the starting point of Christianity, and accordingly this was what was preached by the Apostles and early Evangelists, "Christ and Him Crucified."

Now, what was the great idea of Christianity starting from this point of Faith? It may be briefly stated thus:—*Our Lord Jesus Christ, both God and Man, saves men by uniting them to his human nature, and thus imparting to them a new life to purify their corrupt nature.* The idea of the other system may be thus expressed: *Christ* saves men, by making atonement for them, and then by the Holy Spirit converting them and making them holy. These two systems are noticed by our author, pp. 24–5:—

"There are two ways, in which Christ might be set forth as that Pattern Man, in whom our nature attained its perfection. Either, He might be the happy example in whom its native qualities found their perfect expression, in whom all that belongs to mere humanity obtained the utmost development of which it was susceptible; or, the perfection of His manhood might be due to the influence of that Divine nature with which it was personally united. The first of these, is the system of Rationalism—the second, the system of the Church. And it is the main purpose of the present inquiry, to show that the latter system is not only sanctioned by the authority of revelation, and adapted to the wants of man, but, that whatever truth or reason the system of Rationalism may promise, could be attained only through that perfect exhibition of man's nature, of which its supernatural adoption by its divine participator was the cause. The system of Rationalism, indeed, can go along with that of the Church so far as to admit Christ in name, and to recognize in words the necessity of divine help. For, all but positive Atheists allow the advantage of help from that creative Spirit, to which they refer the world's parentage. And there is little difficulty in supposing that Christ may be the channel through whom divine gifts are bestowed, seeing that they

were once exhibited with peculiar lustre in Himself. But the characteristic distinction between the one system and the other is, that Rationalism makes the individual the starting point for all improvement, whereas the Church's starting point is Christ. The first is for dealing with nature as it finds it; it takes man such as he is, with the powers and faculties which he possesses, and supposes that their cultivation may enable him to shake off the evils and infirmities which all deplore. The man himself, therefore, is the commencement of all renewal; he may use God's grace, indeed—he may invoke the name of Christ—but in himself is the ultimate principle of renovation. For as an individual is he addressed; his conversion must precede that relation to Christ, which, according to Christians, is the principle of the new nature. The Church system, on the other hand, attributes the first renewal of man's race to the entrance into its ranks of a higher and supernatural Being. His quickening influence is the principle of regeneration to all his fellows. In Him, and not in them, is the original principle of movement. The restoration of the ancient pattern of man is not attained through the natural perfection of individuals, but because in Christ, our Lord, was the personal presence of that Divine Word, which was above nature. He came down into our lower race to ennoble it. The change, therefore, in every individual must result from that diffusive influence of the second Adam, by which the exertion of individual intellect and will must be preceded. Thus does it continue to extend itself through that sacramental system, which binds all men to the Head of the race; and the restoration of every man is due to that great gift which was bestowed upon our common nature through the Incarnation of Christ."

The first principle that we need to apprehend, in a review of this Theology, is the office that is assigned to the Redeemer. He is in the New Testament set forth as a "quickening Spirit;" as the Life, and the Giver of a new life to men; as the Head of a new creation. This is the work that is undertaken by Him, to which all the particular acts of His life stand in the relation of conditions and parts, but not as *the end* of his appearing in our flesh. A previous question, however, to be considered, is, what is the nature which he took upon Him? This question is discussed by our author at considerable length and with much metaphysical subtilty in his 3d Chap. which is entitled, "Christ the pattern man by nature." We have room for only the following extract, pp. 55–6:—

"Now, this is the fact declared, when it is stated that Christ took man's nature: it implies the reality of a common humanity, and his perfect and entire entrance into its ranks. Thus did he assume a common relation to all mankind. This is why the existence of human nature is a thing too precious to be surrendered to the subtilties of logic, because upon its existence depends that real manhood of Christ which renders Him a copartner with ourselves. And upon the reality of this fact, is built that peculiar connexion between God and man, which is expressed by the term Mediation. It looks to an actual alteration in the condition of mankind, through the admission of a member into its ranks, in whom and through whom it attained an unprecedented elevation. Unless we discern this real impulse which was bestowed upon humanity, the doctrines of Atonement and Sanctification, though confessed in words, become a mere empty phraseology. That 'God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself,' implies an actual acceptance of the children of men, on account of the merits of one of their race; as well as an actual change in the race itself through the entrance of its noble associate. The work of man's redemption and renewal is a real work, performed by real agents. It is not only that the Almighty was pleased to save appear-

ances, if we may so express it, by conceding to the representations of a third party, what He did not choose otherwise to yield or to acknowledge, (as Queen Philippa prevailed over her harsher husband, Edward;) but Christ's Incarnation was a step in the mighty purposes of the Most High, whereby all the relations of heaven and earth were truly affected. To deny, as is done by Bishop Hampden, 'that we may attribute to God any change of purpose towards man by what Christ has done,' would be to resolve this real series of acts into a mere technical juggle. But to the reality of this work, the existence of that common nature is indispensable, whereby 'as the children were partakers of flesh and blood, He Himself took part of the same.' Else, how would the perfect assumption of humanity have consisted with his retaining that divine personality, which it was impossible that he should surrender? Since it was no new person which He took, it can only have been the substratum in which personality has its existence. For His Incarnation was not the 'conversion of Godhead into flesh, but the taking of the manhood into God.' Or how could He have entered into a common relation to mankind in general, unless there had existed a common nature as the medium of union? This nature, which exists only in individual persons, He took for the earthly clothing of that divine personality, in which He must ever continue to exist."

This now was the first and most essential act of his mediatorial work—the assumption of humanity. "Lo, I come to do Thy will, O God!" By this He brought together God and the race of man. He raised the *common nature* of man to a state of communion with God, and made it participant of the Divine nature. It was human nature still, actually taken from the substance of the Virgin Mary, His mother, but as it was conceived without sin, so it was born free from corruption. But then it was human nature filled with Deity. There were not in the man Christ Jesus two persons—which was the heresy of Nestorius—nor was there one compound nature, neither God nor man—which was the error of Eutyches—but in the one person of Jesus Christ were united the two natures of perfect God and perfect man: a man's body and a man's soul with God the Word. The human nature was thus elevated and possessed by the entrance of a new and divine life, which made it capable of imparting a new life to the sinful nature of man.

The union of the two natures in the Mediator is essential to the work He came to perform. He must be man, else humanity would not be the substance that was raised by Him and purified. He must be God, else the manhood would not be exalted. His human nature, by imparting which to men, He saves them, could only be imparted by participation in the Divine nature, and only thus could it purify, and raise, and illumine the corrupted, depraved, and darkened mind of man. And it was the conviction of this necessity, which led the Church in the first four centuries so strenuously to contend against every notion which tended in any way to impair the integrity of this great truth. All these various heresies and

opinions are referred to by our author, and their bearings upon the work of Mediation are exhibited with much learning and ability, in the 5th and 6th chapters of the work.

Humanity, then, being in Him elevated and reconciled to God, He is fitted to be the Representative and Head of a new creation. One, coming out from the race of man, and partaking of every thing human except sin, is appointed to reconstitute the race in a new relation to its Maker through Himself. The original constitution having failed through the fall of the first Adam, a new constitution is devised through the human nature of the Incarnate Word. He is thus the "second Adam," standing in the same relation to the new creation, that the first Adam stood to the old, viz: that of its Head.

And the way in which He raises up the new family of the sons of God, is, as we have said, by imparting to them the virtue and efficacy of His own glorified and perfected humanity. It is not merely by acting upon their natural faculties of reason, conscience, and will, thus converting them, and by a natural process improving and elevating their characters; it is by giving from Himself to them, a new infused life—a principle of vitality, which is to spread throughout the natural powers, and thus purify and elevate them. This is what is meant by the Body and Blood of Christ, which He gives for the life of the world, and which whosoever eateth and drinketh, he hath eternal life. The sixth chapter of St. John's Gospel contains the summing up of the work of Mediation.

But it was not only the assumption of human nature which was requisite. This was the first act of Mediation; but there was also a long series of acts, which the Divine wisdom appointed to be performed, as requisite to fulfilling the work which He had undertaken. These acts had a relation both toward God and toward man. Christ being as the Head of the new creation, the "Pattern Man," as he is called by our author, the fulfillment of all the relations of humanity devolved on Him; both the natural relations of Righteousness, and those liabilities which had been incurred by the Fall. This was involved in the assumption of human nature, and imposed the necessity of certain acts, which together make up the work of Redemption. These acts our author classes as those done before, and those after His Ascension. Thus His whole earthly life becomes a part of the meritorious obedience, which as "Pattern Man" and representative, he was to render, that he might fulfill all righteousness. He learned obe-

dience by the things that He suffered," and the appointed work was completed by His death upon the Cross.

"The life of the Pattern Man, then, may be said to have been a continual setting forth of that duty of Obedience, which His brethren the children of Adam, had failed to render. He appeared once for all as the representative of mankind, and was obedient: 'Lo, I come (in the volume of the book it is written of Me) to do Thy will, O God.' (Heb. x, 7.) This it is which He exhibited from first to last—from His conception in the womb until He was buried in the earth. In all parts of life—in childhood, youth, and ripeness of years—as member of a family or a single worshiper—in solitude or in company—in the wilderness or the city—in the shop or the temple—in honor or contempt—in penury or at feasts—His 'meat' was 'to do the will of Him that sent Me, and to finish His work.' (John iv, 34.) Yet there remained one thing still greater; for all mortal pangs are gathered together in that last and most fearful one, the tearing asunder of soul and body in death. Now, from this trial also Our Lord did not shrink. He was 'obedient unto death.' (Phil. ii, 8.) And in this part of His course, lie those especial circumstances, which are declared in Holy Scripture to be the causes of man's redemption. For though He is said in general to be the 'last Adam,' the 'second Man,' (1 Cor. xv, 45, 47,) yet it is with His Death and Passion, that His sacrifice for sin is expressly connected. For 'we' (Ephes. i, 7; Col. i, 14) have redemption through His blood,' says the Apostle twice over, 'the forgiveness of sins.' He has 'made peace through the blood of His cross,' (Col. i, 20,) and He came "to give His life a ransom instead of many.' (Mat. xx, 28.)"—Pp. 179–80.

The work of Christ, then, must be regarded in a two-fold aspect, toward God and toward man. He is the Mediator, and a "Mediator is not a Mediator of one." There was something required by the Divine government, of the nature of expiation and atonement. There was also something requisite, in order to an efficacious work in man. Both of these aspects are presented to us in the New Testament, and in both we shall see that the union of the Divine and human natures was necessary. As respects God, the whole work of Our Lord's earthly life may be summed up in one word—*obedience.* "Lo, I come to do Thy will, O God!" "Let this mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus, who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God; but made himself of no reputation, and took upon Him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men; and being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself and became *obedient* unto *death*, even the death of the cross." "He learned obedience by the things that he suffered."* Very clearly and fully is it affirmed in Holy Scripture, that suffering and death were a part of the work, which was by the will of the Father assigned Him as necessary to complete man's salvation; and His death especially, is declared to be the *atonement* for our sins. But this is all that is affirmed, regarding the relations of the acts of the earthly life of Christ to the Divine govern-

* Heb. x, 9; Phil. ii, 6, 7, 8; Heb. v, 8.

ment. We naturally seek to penetrate farther into this subject, and inquire wherein lay the necessity of an atonement—of any acts which are propitiatory? And what is the effect of Christ's death and passion to secure forgiveness, or take away the sin of the world? But this is a question we may not answer hastily. We find no difficulty in understanding how actual obedience to the law of righteousness was necessary in a mediator, and how personal merit in such an one, may be derived to individuals; but the efficacy of suffering and death in the work of atonement, is less clear. The representations which have been given of it too, by Calvinistic divines, have rather tended to darken counsel on the subject; and, we have no doubt, have been a chief cause of the growth of modern Unitarianism. When the sufferings of the eternal Son are represented as a sacrifice to the vindictive justice of the Father, which is thereby said to be appeased; when again those sufferings are said to be equal in value to what would have been the eternal sufferings of all the elect, had they been lost; or when, in another view, which has become somewhat common in New England in late years, the sufferings of Christ are a mere exhibition of God's hatred against sin, which is thus manifested by inflicting pain on a perfectly innocent person; it is not surprising if some minds should revolt from such dogmas as irrational, and derogatory to the Divine Being, and in default of any more satisfactory view of the subject, should exercise their ingenuity in explaining away the many passages of scripture which directly affirm the reality of an expiation or atonement for sin, made by the death of our Lord Jesus Christ.

The view of the case which seems least encumbered with difficulty is this. Death, spiritual and temporal, was involved in the liabilities of humanity, which the Incarnate Word assumed together with the nature of man, and as such, must be endured. What is the precise relation of suffering to sin we know not. It is one of the things that lies hid in the depths of the Divine wisdom. This matter is treated at some length by our author, in his chapter on the Sacrifice of Christ, but we have room for only a brief extract:

"But how is it that by this act God's hatred for sin is made so manifest? Wherein is the sacrifice of Our Lord such an illustration of it? Why does His obtaining forgiveness for us set forth Divine justice? What meeting-place is there between God's mercy and His truth? This depends plainly on the connection betwen Christ and mankind. It is because He pleads for a race of which he is the natural representative. He is not only mediator on God's behalf towards men, but also as man, is He advocate for His brethren. He is the 'one Mediator betwen God and men, the *Man* Christ Jesus.' To be man at all, would give Him an interest in our race; but that He is *The Man*, the pattern of our race, the new type on which it is founded, the second Adam—this makes Him the 'one

Mediator' for His brethren. 'For since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead. For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive.' The universality of death, shows that in some way we all share the consequences of Adam's sin; what peculiar fitness were there in our forgiveness through Christ, unless in a manner no less real, we participated in *His* nature? For the application of this gift, there needs indeed some mode of union between every individual and Christ, as real as that actual paternity by which Adam acts on all his children; and such a bond shall hereafter be shown to exist in sacramental grace and Church union. But the gift itself was purchased for humanity at large, when its Head suffered in our common nature: 'For as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous.' (Romans v, 19.)"—Pp. 189–90.

But whatever be the secret efficacy of Christ's death and Passion, as related to the divine government, it is plainly a sacrifice for sin—an expiation—an atonement—a ransom, by which we are redeemed from the curse of the Law. The relations of the whole race to their Creator are changed by it, "and we have redemption through His Blood."

But although, as we have said, it is only thus, in general terms, that the relation of our Lord's sufferings and death to the divine government is mentioned in the New Testament, their relation to man, on the other hand, is dwelt upon much more specifically. The sixth chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, for instance, declares that it is by the death and resurrection of Christ that we die unto sin, and live unto righteousness. "Know ye not that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ, were baptized into His death? Therefore we are buried with him by baptism into death; that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life. For if we have been planted together in the likeness of his death, we shall be also *in the likeness of His resurrection*. Knowing this, that our old man is crucified with *Him*, that the body of sin might be destroyed, that henceforth we should not serve sin;" (see also the whole chapter;) also in the Epistle to the Colossians, second chapter, twelfth and thirteenth verses: "Buried with him in baptism, wherein also ye are risen with *Him* through the faith of the operation of God, who hath raised him from the dead. And you, being dead in your sins, and the uncircumcision of your flesh, hath he quickened together with him, having forgiven you all trespasses;" and again, third chapter, first verse: "If ye then be risen with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God."

It was needful that the Pattern Man, who was to restore men from their corruption, should carry the flesh he had assumed, through all their trials and sufferings; not only that

he might sympathize with them, but also that whatever there was in it of infirmity, whatever that corruption had fastened upon, might be destroyed, and when it should come forth from the grave, it might be a purified flesh, the essential life and power of which being imparted to us, should purge out our individual corruptions. Thus Christ's crucifixion was the destruction of the old man, (and as St. Paul says, "our old man is crucified with Him,") and the body of His resurrection was a renovated body—humanity still—but humanity purged of every thing on which sin had fastened—the body incorruptible and immortal, and which by His ascension, He carried into the immediate presence of God.

The end then of all the acts of His earthly life, with reference to man, is this—human nature in Him having been thus elevated by union with divinity—having been perfected by discipline—having conquered temptation by His conflict with the tempter—having been freed from all that is corruptible by death—having been rendered incorruptible by Resurrection, having been glorified by His ascension, this redeemed and glorified humanity, by the power of the divinity with which it is inseparably and forever united, being imparted to the members of Adam's race, they are thereby regenerated and redeemed. "The second Adam is made a quickening Spirit," imparting a new life to men dead in trespasses and sins. The individual nature of the man Christ Jesus, is the principle of regeneration to the "old man." "The power of Christ's resurrection," of which St. Paul speaks,* is a new dynamic force, which came into action first in the resurrection of Christ, and is the source of that Spiritual Resurrection, which, beginning in Baptism, is going on in the believer, and has its consummation in the Resurrection of the body. Thus St. Peter, "who has begotten us again to a lively hope by the Resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead;" and again—"baptism saves us—by the resurrection of Jesus Christ."† Thus is an identity established between the power of Christ's Resurrection, and that which operates to give efficacy to Baptism. And that it is the indwelling Spirit of our Regeneration which operates for the Resurrection of the body, is plain from the words of St. Paul: "If the Spirit of Him that raised Jesus from the dead dwell in you, He that raised up Christ from the dead, shall also quicken your mortal bodies, by His Spirit that dwelleth in you."‡

This explains, too, the mystical expression, "Christ in us."

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* Phil. iii, 10. † First Peter i, 3, and iii, 21. ‡ Rom. viii, 11.

It is the energizing principle of the human nature of Christ, imparted by a mysterious operation to us; and what Christ is in Himself, as far as he is received He becomes in us. As He is wise, so is He made Wisdom to us; as He is righteous by virtue of His perfect obedience, so is He Righteousness in us—"the Lord our Righteousness"—as He is pure and holy, so is He in us the principle of Sanctification; as He triumphed over the devil, and by rising from the dead destroyed him that had the power of death, so is it His life in us that shall deliver us from the Evil One, and perfect the redemption of our body at the last day. "Of Him are ye in Christ Jesus, who of God is made unto us Wisdom, and Righteousness, and Sanctification, and Redemption." And as He has ascended to His Father's right hand, so is "Christ in us the hope of glory." And each successive act in His earthly life has its special efficacy for us. Thus when we pray in the Litany, "By the mystery of Thy Holy Incarnation," "By Thy Holy Nativity and Circumcision," &c., it is not to be regarded as an invocation or appeal to our Lord, by the memory of these several acts of His life; it is a petition that the particular efficacy of each of these acts may be made effectual in its measure, to deliver us from the evils which we lie under and desire to escape. As He has in His own Person successfully contended with all these evils, "He is able to succor us when tempted;" "He has been made perfect through suffering." *His* human nature, is a nature which has fulfilled all righteousness, overcome temptation, borne the discipline of suffering, been purified through death, and come forth from the grave; and it is by imparting to those who believe on Him, the life that is in Him thus perfected, that He empowers them to do the same.

And now having taken our nature into the Presence of His Father, "He ever liveth to make intercession for us." The presence of His man's nature in Heaven, is a perpetual recommendation of us to the mercy and grace of God, securing for us the perpetual gift of the Holy Spirit, and the personal acceptance and final salvation of "all who come unto God through Him." Our author's chapter on this head is rich and instructive, but we have no space for extracts, and it will not need special illustration.

What we have said, implies a continual agency of the Mediator Himself for perfecting the work of salvation in those who receive Him. He is a personal deliverer, who acts now personally in each individual, to deliver him from the power of evil that is in him. He is the Saviour, not only by what He has done, but by what He now does. "There is none

other name under heaven whereby we can be saved." This constant agency, of course, implies a constant *presence* of Christ in His Church. This part of our author's dissertation is what will perhaps be thought most peculiar, as the view he gives, which, however, is proper to the Catholic Theology, is that in which modern views are characteristically deficient. But however novel it may seem, when judged exclusively by modern standards, we think whoever reads the work, will see that he is abundantly sustained by the earlier English divines since the Reformation.

The tenth chapter of his work is devoted to a consideration of "Our Lord's Spiritual Presence as Mediator with men." The great point to be noticed in this chapter, to which we must refer the reader, is the presence in His Church of our Lord's *human nature*. The term *presence* is borrowed from the world of sensible things, and therefore when applied to the human nature of Christ, is by many supposed to imply the presence of his *material* nature. This impression is specially connected with the assertion of His *real* presence, as though it were only sensible things that had reality, and not also and equally those that are spiritual, and it is supposed at once to involve Transubstantiation. With regard to this impression, let us hear our author, p. 220 :

"Unless spirit be something less real than body, spiritual presence is not less real than bodily presence. All that can be asserted of it is, that it is of a different nature and regulated by a different law. Bodies are present by contiguity of place—spirits by influence or power. When we speak, therefore, of Our Lord's spiritual Presence, the word *Presence*, which we employ is a figurative term certainly, because it is borrowed from the world of nature; but it is not the less a reality, that some peculiar influence or power of our Mediator, the God-man, is exerted through the intervention of His Deity, in those places, times, and manners, to which His presence is pledged in the Kingdom of Grace." (See also page 221.)

Now our Church distinctly asserts, that it is "against the *truth* of Christ's natural body, to be in two places at once," and "since our Lord is declared to have a natural body consubstantial with ours, to fix the place of that body in Heaven, is the same thing as to declare, that its material presence is removed from earth," (p. 218.) "Since our Lord's body then is in heaven, and since it belongs to the truth of His manhood that in regard to its material operations it should be subject to the conditions which discriminate bodily from spiritual substance—one of which is to act where they are—it follows, that though our Lord's presence upon earth as Mediator, is not independent of His nature as man, yet that it is brought about by His divine and immaterial nature; that its medium

of operation is not material contact, but spiritual power." But the important point to be observed is, that it is His *human nature* that is thus present, by virtue of its union with the divine. The necessity for this, consists in the fact, that His human nature imparted to men, is as we have shown the principle of regeneration. To suppose that we are saved by the simple action of the Divine nature, is to fall back upon the principle of natural religion. The Divine nature of God the Word has been ever acting upon men, but it is reserved for the dispensation of the Gospel, for the Divine Word to be united with the nature of man, and in this union to act upon men for their regeneration. Christ, as God the Word, is necessarily present to all things, but as Christ, or the Word Incarnate, He is only present, where, and as shall seem to Him good. It is as *Christ* that He has promised to be with His Church always, and therefore the peculiar gift to His Church, is the presence of His man's nature; i. e. *the constant efficiency of His human nature by spiritual power in the body of the faithful.* This it is which distinguishes the Church from the world lying in wickedness—the presence of the Incarnate Word.

But it is by Spiritual power that He is present; and this brings us to the consideration of the office and work of the Holy Spirit in the Church. We venture to say, that there is no doctrine of Christianity, upon which more confusion prevails, than that relating to the Holy Spirit. His agency is, by most modern divines, treated as entirely distinct from that of the Second Person in the Adorable Trinity, and is scarce ever represented in any immediate connection with the Incarnation. That the Christian Church derives peculiar benefits from his presence and agency, is too clearly affirmed in Holy Scripture to be overlooked; but what that peculiarity is, or in what the work of the Holy Spirit as the "Comforter," differs from his agency in the work of creation, or in the moral effects he wrought in the Old Testament saints, is not clearly stated or understood. Indeed, it seems to be commonly considered, that the presence of the Holy Spirit in the Church, is a *substitute* for the presence of Christ Himself; that He came in the stead of Christ; and thus the special presence of Christ in His Church, other than what results from the Omnipresence of His divine nature, is virtually denied. And the agency, influence, or operation of the Holy Spirit in the Christian Church, is supposed to be the same in kind, differing only in degree, and in the extent of its diffusion, from what was exerted in the Jewish Church.

If we consider the relative offices of the Three Divine Persons in the Trinity, we shall see that the Spirit is the "giver of life," as confessed in the Creed of Constantinople; that it is His office to quicken and energize all creation. "The Spirit of God moved [brooded] upon the face of the waters," at the creation. "By His Spirit He garnished the Heavens." "Whether shall I go from Thy Spirit, or whether shall I flee from Thy presence." Analogous to this is His office in the Church. It was "expedient" that our Lord in His bodily nature should "go away," and when He announced this necessity, He said, "I will not leave you comfortless, I will come to you." "I will pray the Father and He shall send you another Comforter, who shall abide with you for ever, even the Spirit of Truth, whom the world cannot receive." "The Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father shall send in my name, He shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance whatsoever I have told you." "He shall glorify me, for *He shall take of mine and show it unto you.*"*

Now the Holy Spirit came as promised, not, as is said by Bishop Heber for one, and probably by many others, "as Christ's vicar and delegate," but to effectuate the presence in the Church of His glorified manhood, and to apply the virtue of that manhood to as many as receive Him. It is therefore the presence of Christ's *human nature* which it is His peculiar office to effect. Thus our author: "It was for the very purpose of uniting men to their great Mediator, the man Christ Jesus, that the gift of the Holy Ghost was bestowed. It is His especial office that those in whom He takes up His dwelling, are joined by grace to that man's nature, which by personal union is *one with God.*"—P. 222.

Thus then, the work of the Spirit in Redemption is materially different from His work in Creation and Providence, and consists in constantly imparting to believers the benefit of Christ's human nature, first for regeneration, and then progressively for renovation and sanctification. Regeneration consists, therefore, not in *conversion*, but in becoming united to the human nature of Christ, whereby the merit of His atonement is imparted for the forgiveness of sins, and a new life from Christ is infused into the regenerate being. As the human nature of Christ is by the Incarnation inseparably united to the Divine, as this union is what makes Him the Pattern man, so in being made partakers of His human na-

* St. John xiv, 16, 17, 18, 26; xvi, 14.

ture, we are at the same time made "partakers of the Divine nature," as it is written, "whoso dwelleth in love, dwelleth in God and *God in him.*" The human nature of Christ is the medium through which the Divine nature is imparted to us, and He, as thus communicating it, is the *Mediator*, "by whom we draw nigh to God."

We are sensible of a difficulty in rendering this view intelligible, to habits of thought that are based on the common mechanical or sensible philosophy. It assumes principles which that philosophy does not recognize. It implies the existence, as the basis of all that we see and know, of a series of life-powers or dynamic forces of which the visible world is the phenomenal development. In man, the material flesh and blood, his whole bodily organization, is the manifestation in sensible forms of a principle of life, which is the essential dynamic flesh and blood, and it is the peculiar life-principle of the man Christ Jesus, assuming a unity in His intellectual, moral, and spiritual life—by which he regenerates mankind. Christ is therefore the "power of God unto salvation;" Δυναμις του Θεου. The life that is in Him is a divine dynamic force, for the purpose of saving men, by destroying in them the power of sin.

Such then is, according to this system, the Divine provision made in Heaven for the salvation of men. It remains to see what is the provision made on earth for its application to men.

The personal subjective condition for the reception of the benefits of salvation, is Faith. The bestowment of these benefits, or rather, of a title to them, is Justification. "It is God that justifieth;" it is man that believeth, though Faith itself is the gift of God.

What now is the Faith, which the Theology of the Incarnation requires as the initiative for the reception of salvation? It is simply *Faith in the Incarnation and its attendant facts.* "I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God." "He that believeth that Jesus is the Christ, is born of God." "If thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thy heart that God hath raised Him from the dead, thou shalt be saved."* Such a reception by the understanding and the heart, of the truth of the Incarnation and its consequent facts, as shall dispose one to submit to the Lord Jesus Christ as his Lord and Saviour. Faith in other words, which involves Repentance, and in its tendency worketh by love

* Acts viii, 37; I John v, 1; Romans x, 9.

Such a Faith is always the work of the Holy Spirit, wrought by the Word, for "no man can say that Jesus is the Lord but by the Holy Ghost." This is the "receiving" of Him, to which He "gives the power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on His name."* And this faith contains in itself the elements of a conversion, which is thus begun in it. Faith in the Incarnation, is belief in the union of God and man. Here then is a starting point, for the actual union of the individual with the man's nature of Christ, and when such Faith goes forth in act, by the solemn renunciation of the world, the flesh, and the devil, the way is prepared for the entrance of the Holy Spirit, by Whom the humanity of the Incarnate Word is imparted to the individual man. This is the source of his moral improvement—the participation of Christ's nature, and therefore as the precondition of its being imparted, the mercy of God requires only a capacity to receive, not the actual merit of high moral attainment. "A man is justified by Faith without the deeds of the Law."† It is Faith in Christ, with the spirit of obedience, that the Gospel requires, in order to union to Christ in his appointed way by Baptism, and in the fellowship of the Church. And accordingly, the Faith which the Church requires a man to confess in order to Baptism, is simply the Creed, and not a set of doctrinal dogmas respecting controverted points in Theology. The promises She requires him to make are simply a renunciation of the world, the flesh, and the devil, and a promise of obedience to God's commandments. These are the foundation of a new life, to be wrought by the introduction of the life of Christ by the Holy Spirit.

This subjective part of Christianity is by our author hardly touched upon, his design leading him to treat only of what is objective. We have introduced it, for the purpose of giving completeness to the views we are exhibiting, and that we may not seem to overlook it. We pass therefore to the outward conditions, under which the Incarnation is made effectual for the salvation of individual men.

The same necessity in the nature of things which existed for the Incarnation, requires an outward and visible organization of the new family, which the Incarnate Word was to raise up from the fallen race of man. As the natural man is by Divine Constitution, a member of a race; as Adam was the head and representative of his race, so is the "second Adam" appointed to be the head of a new race. As the first

* St. John i, 12. † Romans iii, 28.

Adam was the recipient of the law or nature under which he fell, and through which, by his fall, corruption was derived to his family; so is the "second Adam" the source as head of a new life to the new family, and this new family must, of necessity, be separated from the other by some visible mark or token. A new organic relation to the second Adam is established, which, to be real, must be in some respect different from that which we inherit from our first parent. A visible society, therefore, apprehensible by our senses, which we can recognize as a reality, is requisite to fulfilling the idea of a new creation, or race, or family.

The Church is such a society; and hence we find that it is only in His Church that men can be partakers of the Divine humanity, by which Christ renews the corrupted nature of man. It was "His Church," for which "He gave Himself, that He might cleanse it with water by the word." Eph. v, 26, 27. It is His Church, over which He is "the Head," and which is "His Body." The promises and gifts of grace are only given to His Church. It is not as individuals, but as members of His Church, not in our natural personal relations, but in supernatural and corporate relations alone, that we have the privilege of access to God, and can rely upon the intercession of the Eternal Son.

The Church is called the body of Christ—His body mystical to distinguish it from His natural body. These words are used often without any very definite meaning. The Church, as the Body of Christ, is taken to mean the society or company of His followers, just as we call any other corporation a body. But such a view entirely overlooks the truth of the communication of Christ's nature to man. The Church is the Body of Christ, because it is the embodiment in the persons of its members, of the vital energy of His humanity, by partaking of which we are united to Him, and are thus, as St. Paul says, "members in particular," just as by inheritance, we are united through successive generations to Adam. The whole race might be called the body of Adam, because the life-principle of the first man is in them, as the Church is called the Body of Christ, because the life-principle of His human nature is in It. Adam was the head of the race, and Christ is the Head of the Church, not simply in the sense of being its King and Governor, but as the source from whom all the vital energies of the body are continually flowing. There is, however, this difference, that while each generation of men derives its life through its progenitors; in the Church, on the other hand, every individual derives spiritual life directly from Christ, through the appointed media.

"Why should the Church be called a body, and especially why should it be called the Body of Christ, did not some relation bind it to that Body of Christ, which came into existence at His Incarnation? It may be answered, that the Church is spoken of as a body, because thought of as a whole through the abstracting power of reason. Yet why should it be called the Body of the Lord? The subjects of an earthly Prince might be spoken of as making up together the body of his realm, but who would call them the body of their King? Yet such language is repeatedly employed, and under various forms, respecting Christians, in Holy Scripture. The very harmony of its metaphorical expressions implies, that they rest upon some real relation. When Christ declares Himself the vine, and His people the branches, this is because the trees of the field have an organized life. If the Church is His bride, this is because the marriage bond savors so strongly of an actual union. So that a real, and not merely a metaphorical conjunction, must be designed, when we read, 'Ye are the Body of Christ, and members in particular.'"—Pp. 243-4

All this, too, regarding the Church as a family distinct from the natural family organism, implies that some *act* is necessary in order to entering, or being grafted into the body. The system of conversion, regards men as made members of the Body of Christ, by their conversion, *ipso facto;* from which it follows, that the visibility of the Church is no essential feature of it, and membership in the visible Church cannot be any condition of the reception of divine gifts. The visible organization of the Church, is a mere convenience for social worship and instruction, not a state of organic life—and the sacraments are simply edifying ceremonies, not in any sense channels of grace.

And from this view arises the question which is sometimes asked, "whether men are joined to Christ by being joined to His Church, or joined to His Church by being joined to Christ?" In answer to which, our author says, (p. 243):—"It would be a parallel question, to ask, whether we were sharers in Adam's nature because we were men, or men because we were sharers in Adam's nature. The two relations hang inseparably together. By the mystical Body of Christ, is meant the whole family of those who by the Holy Ghost are united in Church ordinances to His man's nature. Our real union with each, is what gives us part in the other." That is, it is not merely a subjective change—such as Faith, or Repentance, or a change of heart, that unites us to the Body of Christ, but the communication of His human nature to us, by the Holy Ghost, through the medium of the sacraments.

This view of the essential nature of the Church is what alone gives value to its external constitution; and it is in the loss of this view, that the assertion of a high importance and an actual authority in the Church, seems hard and repulsive and only in a secondary way connected with the life of godliness. This is illustrated by our author, by a reference to

the views of Archbishop Whately, to which we must refer the reader, p. 267–269.

And thus, too, we see what is the nature of the unity of the Church, and why it was made a fundamental article of belief. It is a declaration of the union of believers with Christ, and that one common life pervades the whole body. Just as the whole human race are but one family, however different nations may fight and war with one another, so all those who have been united by the reception of His grace to the human nature of Christ, constitute one body, however Church communion may be interrupted between different portions of the body. Thus our author:—

"The Church's being depends on union with Him; its well-being on union with all His members. The latter is as essential to its perfect state as that holiness of life, which Christ likewise entreated for all His members; the Church's completeness, therefore, cannot be attained without both the one and the other. But as we see holiness of life to be too often wanting in its present season of warfare, so also is the perfect unity of the whole Christian body. That which cannot be dispensed with—the loss of which would be its death—is that union with Christ on which depends its claim to be the Lord's Body. While this continues, the several members of Christ are in truth united to one another, whether they discern it or not; because they are united to the common Head of the Body. So that 'if one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; and if one member rejoice, all the members rejoice with it.'"—P. 270.

The necessity for outward and visible ordinances, arises from the nature of the end to be effected, viz: the communication of the human nature of Christ to our souls and bodies. The material body of Christ being absent, it is, as we have seen, by spiritual power that He is present to impart Himself. But a bare spiritual presence without any outward sign, cannot be distinguished from the universal presence of the Deity. It cannot therefore be an object of our faith, as a presence of Christ's human nature. Human nature as such is essentially connected with times and places, and although we may suppose without difficulty, that had it seemed good to Him, He might have communicated the virtue of His humanity without any outward sign of His presence, yet the necessity *to us* to be assured of its communication, requires the provision of some visible tokens and pledges. The form of the tokens may be arbitrary, but the Divine Wisdom would be supposed to appoint such as were significant. Abstractedly we might imagine, that persons could be joined to the Body of Christ, by some ceremony of declaration simply; but how much more suitable and homogeneous is it, that the act which unites them to the human nature of Christ, and which thereby removes from them the defilement of their original corruption, should be an outward washing with water.

The Sacraments, therefore, in the Theology of the Incarnation, "are not only badges or tokens of Christian men's profession; but rather they be certain sure witnesses, and effectual signs of grace and God's good will toward us, by the which he doth work invisibly in us, and doth not only quicken, but also strengthen and confirm our faith in Him!"—*Art.* 25. "Baptism is not only a sign of profession and mark of difference whereby Christian men are discerned from others that are not christened; but it is also a sign of Regeneration or new birth, whereby as by an instrument they that receive Baptism rightly are grafted into the Church."—*Art.* 27. It is the appointed means of uniting us to the human nature of Christ, which is the principle of our Regeneration.

And so also with the other Sacrament. "The Supper of the Lord is not only a sign of the Love that Christians ought to have among themselves one to another; but rather, it is a Sacrament of our Redemption by Christ's death: insomuch that to such as rightly, worthily, and with Faith receive the same, the Bread which we break, is a partaking of the Body of Christ; and likewise the Cup of Blessing is a partaking of the Blood of Christ."—*Art.* 28. It is not sufficient that we be once for all united to the nature of the Incarnate Word; there must be a continual supply of the life that is in Him, to destroy the corruption that remains in us, and a continual reapplication to us of the merit of His Cross and Passion to remove the guilt of those sins, which through our frailty we commit. It is manifest that every fresh supply of Heavenly Grace, must raise to a higher pitch the nature of him that receives it, and so is the Body and Blood of Christ the food and refreshment of the soul. "He that eateth My Flesh and drinketh My Blood hath eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day. For My Flesh is meat indeed and My Blood is drink indeed. He that eateth My Flesh and drinketh My Blood, dwelleth in Me and I in him."—St. John vi, 54–56. Thus we have the *real presence* of Christ's Body and Blood in the Sacrament, without Transubstantiation. He is present by Spiritual power, and the sacred elements without conversion of substance, are made the media for conveying to the faithful recipient, the Life-principle of our Lord's glorified humanity, "with all the benefits of His Passion."

Objections are made to the Sacramental system, as though it was a substitute for all spiritual activity and effort. But this objection surely overlooks all that is said of the necessity of spiritual preparation to a worthy reception: a necessity which enforces all the diligence, and watchfulness, and self-denial, and mortification of the flesh that could be required,

were Salvation made to depend entirely upon our own efforts. In fact, self-discipline enters in as a necessary part of the system, for it is only as we mortify our members that are upon the earth, that the life of Christ enters in, to raise and purify our corrupt nature. (Vide p. 236.)

The Doctrine of the Incarnation extends also to the Common Worship of the Church, which in this view is not merely a means of personal edification, but more especially a means of union of the Body of Christ with its Head. Christ having carried our humanity into Heaven, is represented as there making perpetual intercession on behalf of His Church and all of His members. Man's nature is thus brought into the presence of God, and it is that presence of His human nature which was offered on our behalf upon the Cross, which avails to admit us into the presence of God. Hence the worship of the Church on Earth, is a continual and oft-repeated taking hold of the Intercession of Christ. And hence the necessity to individual Christians, of participating in that common worship, in order to preserve their union with the Body, and their interest in the Intercession of their Head, lest they should lose even the privilege or benefit of private prayer. The Common Worship of the Church, therefore, is a sacrifice, (Heb. xiii, 15,) and if this be so, much more is that highest action in it, the Holy Eucharist, in which the Sacrifice of the One Mediator is commemorated. These are all acts by which our union to the human nature of our Great Intercessor is preserved, and the benefits of His Atonement and continual Intercession are secured. Thus all our praises and prayers are offered "through Jesus Christ our Lord."

"As fallen humanity was first re-consecrated by union with the divine nature in Christ our Head, so all consecrating virtue is bestowed upon His servants through that union with Him, which belongs to them as members of His mystical Body. So that to abandon the connection which is maintained by the public ordinances of His grace, is to renounce that highest birthright of man's race, which is bestowed upon it through the Mediation of Christ." (See also pp. 308–9.)

And from this office of the common worship of the Church, results first the necessity of a Priesthood, and secondly that of a Ritual. A public service implies a Minister, and a sacrifice implies a Priest. The office of the Christian Priest is not to make a propitiation, but to connect the Body with the Priesthood of Christ; and for the purpose of preserving unity, as well as keeping perfect the chain of communication between the human nature of Christ and the Body which derives its life from His humanity, there is a necessity that the Ministry should derive its appointment ultimately from His

man's nature. Thus the doctrine of Apostolic Succession is not a mere question of government, but is a part of the system, by which the glorified humanity of the Incarnate Word is made effectual for the regeneration and renewal of men. Without it there would be felt to be a link wanting in the connection, and if it had not been a matter of original divine appointment, we feel assured that the spiritual instinct of the Church would have established it, as a convenient order to be observed.

And in like manner does this view of common worship, create a necessity for a public Ritual. For when the service of Prayer is regarded, not as a matter of individual improvement, but as a sacrifice in which all the worshipers are to assist, then the ministrant must have "somewhat to offer" besides the suggestions of his own mind, in which the whole body of the worshipers can take an active part. Upon this point we refer to the full statements of our author, (pp. 306–7.)

We have thus endeavored to show how, upon this view, all the parts of the Church system hang together, as essential to its completeness, and that no one feature in it is a matter of taste or expediency, but that all together, like the links of a chain, depend from the Incarnate Word—"the nail fastened in a sure place," and the truth of His Incarnation, and the redemption of mankind by union to His divine humanity. The system is no less remarkable for its logical consistency, than for its completeness. It seems to us the only view of the Gospel, which binds all the parts together by a necessary coherence, giving life and vitality to every part. The divinity of our Lord Jesus, and by consequence the mystery of the Trinity, are its very soul and life; and all the Divine Persons are presented as coöperating in every part of the work of Redemption; while the earthly arrangements for its communication to men, are seen as the very body in which the truth has its existence and manifestation, and are not mere arbitrary or conventional institutions of secondary interest, and therefore unworthy of the regard of a spiritual Christian, but as indissolubly bound up with the Faith as it is in Jesus, and integral parts of His great method for the salvation of men.

The other system, however, with which we have contrasted it, has no such inherent bond of connection. The doctrine of atonement is all in it that gives any value to the truth of our Lord's divine nature, and whether that shall do so in any particular case, depends mainly upon education. Some minds can satisfy themselves with a scheme of atonement which dispenses with His divinity. And even upon the higher Cal-

vinistic view, according to which His divinity is supposed to be essential, the representations of the matter, set the Son and the Eternal Father over against one another—the one propitiating the wrath of the other—rather than exhibit them as *one*, coöperating for the salvation of mankind. So, too, in the application of the atonement, the second Person, as far as *present action upon men* is concerned, does nothing, and the third Person is the only present agent. And no reason presents itself why the influence which results in conversion and sanctification, should not proceed from the Parent Spirit of the universe, as well as from Him Whom we call the Holy Ghost. It thus presents three divine agents engaged in man's salvation, but having no inherent bond of unity; and it is not at all surprising that this view of the Gospel has been subjected to the charge of Tritheism; nor, on the other hand, that an acute mind, discarding all authority, and relying on its own logical power, should resolve its doubts and difficulties, by settling down into Sabellianism.

In thus giving a view of the Theology which is assumed as the basis of the work of Archdeacon Wilberforce, we have not entered formally upon its defence. Our aim has been statement, or exhibition rather; for its justification we may be satisfied to refer to the work itself, in which it is ably discussed and defended. And while these views may be objected to by some, the reviewer feels confident that they will commend themselves to very many, as casting light upon many dark places of Holy Scripture, and establishing a complete homogeneousness between the spirit and the form, the outward and the inward in the Church, the want of a perception of which is the cause of not a little perplexity, and doubt, and inefficiency.

WILLS' ANCIENT ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE.

ART. III.—*Ancient Ecclesiastical Architecture and its Principles, applied to the wants of the Church at the present day.* By FRANK WILLS, Architect—member of the Ecclesiological Societies of London and New York. 4to. pp. 120, with 20 lithographic plates. New York: Stanford & Swords, 1850.

THE most casual reviewer of the literature of the last dozen years, must have noticed that a large share of it has been devoted to Architecture. Indeed, any one, though not particularly interested in the subject, must be aware, from the unwonted aspects of buildings erected during that period, and more especially during the latter half of it, that some new impulse has been given to the art, directing their fashion and governing their form. A redundancy of windows and white paint, with possibly an anomalous projection from one end of the roof, is no longer the sole outward distinction between a country meeting-house and a barn; Railroad depots are not now plain warehouse-looking buildings, but, porticoed and pedimented or pierced with loopholes, and crowned with turrets, are very dimly suggestive of Grecian temples or Mediæval castles; private houses, where space has permitted, seem to have taxed ingenuity to the utmost, in the arrangement of the ground-plan, and to have utterly exhausted it in the details of gables, chimney-stacks, and cornices.

This impulse is not a slight one; for, besides the evidently wide extension of its influence, it seems to overcome, to a great degree, those considerations of economy, which are ever apt to be stringent trammels upon the multitude, in their pursuit of gratification from the higher walks of art; and though in this, it may be assisted greatly by a spirit of pride and vain glory, yet even a large allowance for this, leaves much of its power unexplained. Not a single additional passenger for the Railroad is gained by portico or turrets of the depot, yet thousands of dollars are expended upon these useless and generally ungainly appendages. In cities where "land is high," the hat-store and confectionary, that of late so often formed the substructure of "God's House," and which "so desirably lessened the cost of Public Worship," are now discarded at the loss of the good income they yielded, and give place to carved freestone, moulded doorway, and buttress, which evi-

dently cost much more than the granite "fittings" of the hat-store; and in private houses not only is much money spent, but comfort and convenience are greatly sacrificed to a fashion of door and window, which certainly does not further the use of either aperture, and to a form of roof, which does anything but increase the habitability of the upper rooms.

We have thus far been sparing of the use of the term "Architecture." We have not cared to apply the name of the highest of the arts, to a sort of vague spirit governing the construction of our buildings, and producing, in many instances, structures as unmeaning as the card-house built by a child, and whose claim to artistic effort or even rule of art, is no higher than that which the infant builder might claim for the red wafer or bit of green paper with which he has decorated his frail edifice. Did we use it, therefore, and confine our remarks to its proper development amongst us, we could not make them as general as we wish; and would have to ignore the existence of many an edifice, both civil and ecclesiastical, which is certainly an entity (most pecuniarily so in many cases) to the individual that inhabits it, or the Parish that built it; and yet which could not be brought within the scope of any rule or principle of either Christian or Heathen Architecture, even though used negatively as an illustration.

It has been said, however, and by one speaking with an authority acknowledged by many, that Architecture is nothing more than a vague spirit, a subject of fancy; that it is "an arbitrary art," whose only rule, therefore, is the whim of the designer, and the only criterion of whose excellence, is the degree of satisfaction of the looker on. We cannot stop here to argue this point—we do not speak for those who entertain it. We would as soon think of arguing with a boor, that crystallization is something more than a chance arrangement; or with a philanthropist, that the world will not be utterly lost without his assistance. We begin with considering the proposition as granted—that Architecture is the highest and most comprehensive of the Fine Arts—that it has all others in subjection to it, in the wholesome and beneficial rule of a true mother and protector; that it makes all others subservient to it, but in the subserviency of every good child to its parent, and of every good individual to the state, by which he enjoys more perfect freedom, and obtains healthier and higher development. In common, then, with the other high arts, all lent us for our use, as media of His Truth Who formed us to appreciate them, Architecture is no more our subject, still less

our lacquey or slave, as the above quoted remark would indicate, than are the heavens above us, the genial heat of which we may use, we may modify, we may bring down to our particular and personal purposes, but the nature of which, and the laws that govern which, we cannot alter. And still further, as with that heat, so far only as we respect its nature, and have regard for its laws, can we make it subservient to us; so with Architecture, we may make it conducive to our momentary and most personal comforts, or to the loftiest purposes that may ever fill the mind of man; but we can only do so, as far as we respect the laws which it obeys, and the essentials which it has in common with all High Art.

Used, but as yet without appreciation, and indeed almost unconsciously by man in his earliest age; lending herself more and more to him as he became more capable of availing himself of her powers; undergoing modifications at each stage of his moral and mental development, to fit herself for the uses he craved of her; ever submitting herself in plastic obedience, to the transient impression of his hand, but the moment after, asserting her own preëminence, and declaring in terms not to be disputed, that

"He builded better than he knew,"

affording him comfort and elegance in private life, yet giving him the means of telling the history of his nation to after ages, of calling on them for sympathy in his joys and sorrows; of teaching them a better way or warning them of a fatal one; Architecture has had for us a lesson for which we must be respectfully, submissively grateful; and she looks to us that we now use her for those that are to come after us, with reverence, and with as full a sense of her high mission, as our feeble powers will permit us to entertain.

With this lofty estimate of Architecture as an Art, and with this enlarged view of its uses to us, we take our start in an essay, in which—incidentally to the review of a most admirable work, the want of which has been much felt amongst us—we purpose to consider its highest and holiest use, as a most powerful exponent, not only for ourselves, but for those that are to come for centuries hence, of our Blessed Faith, in the construction of buildings for the purposes of devotion, according to the tenets of that Faith, and the formulæ, prescribed by Our Holy Mother, the Church.

Coëxistent with the impulse to the building art, above alluded to, there has been a still more remarkable activity in religious matters. The relation, mediate and immediate, be-

tween these two conditions, would afford us, had we time for it, a subject of most interesting inquiry. We must, however, confine ourselves to more practical matters. During the period cited, very many Church edifices have been erected, probably more than thrice the number that the previous fifty years produced. Scarce one of our weekly, so called religious, papers appears, without chronicling the completion of some new Church; describing its rich and appropriate style of Architecture, enumerating its numerous costly articles of furniture, and summing up the total expenditures upon it. A casual glance at this description, with the previous assumption that Architecture and its high mission were appreciated among us, would make us rejoice in the thought that our land were sending up such a sweet savor from the piety and faith of its inhabitants; that the constant exclamation of the traveler through it would be "Quam dilecta sunt tabernacula Sua," and we would be comforted in the reflection, that our Blessed Faith had everywhere the very stones preaching sermons of Her saving efficacy. When we look, however, a little more critically, and find scarce a similarity between any two, in the proportions and arrangement of what must be very important features, if not essentials, in the construction of a Church; and still more, when we inspect the edifices themselves, and so often look in vain for even a family likeness between them; we fear, that either the Faith of which they are intended to be exponents, has many aspects; or that the ability to express it is enjoyed in very different degrees by those claiming to give it utterance in wood and stone. The former we cannot for a moment allow. We are not a Churchman by "hypothecation." We believe that our Faith is the one and the same delivered to the Saints; that it speaks but one voice; and deals not in provisos, or in pliant adaptations to the fancies of the presumptuous, and the opinions of the self-willed; and we must, therefore, look upon the many-featured Church buildings around, as the product of either too little apprehension of our Faith, or too little knowledge of the art of expressing it. At the same time, we bear witness to the charity that has furnished, for the most part, the means for these works. Sums have been expended which might have made our land glorious with art. The rich man has poured forth his thousands, and the widow has put in her two mites; offerings have been made with a devotion worthy of the best and purest days of the Church; but they have been too often unmeaningly squandered, or spent in telling a lie to those who come after us.

This short-coming, in the adaptation of Church Edifices to

the purposes for which they are intended—a defect which we are constrained to look upon, as yet, as the rule amongst us, and the cases in which it does not exist as the exception—has its foundation, we conceive, in a want of a definite and proper spiritual appreciation of our Faith; and, as the direct consequence, a vital error in the very principles upon which parishes are formed and Churches built.

In these days of theological contention, when every laic, of either sex, becomes a combatant, we do not wish to add ourself to the number. We are not here as a champion for any particular doctrinal view. When we speak of Faith, we do not mean some particular Faith—but any Faith—and with this proviso, we enunciate the axiom—altered from a very useful but humble book: "when you wish to symbolize a Faith, first get a Faith to symbolize." Now there are hundreds around, who would be very much hurt were we to doubt for a moment, whether they have a Faith to symbolize; and yet, when it comes to any practical exemplification of their condition, we must doubt its existence; we mean its existence as a clear apprehension of the Truth; as the Truth leading, by the mediation of God's Grace, to a subjection of the Will to its dictates. We can better illustrate this by examples; and we trust that it will be considered we quote them in all charity. We have seen one of our first Doctors in Theology, after a most erudite and logical sermon upon the Real Presence, throw his handkerchief, spectacles, and sermon upon the Altar, in a manner most irreconcilable with the *theory* he had just been propounding *from his head.* We have seen another, the "Catholicity" of whose *views* upon Regeneration by Baptism could not be doubted, suffer his new-born child to remain "a child of wrath" for many weeks, when, according to his *head,* (we surely cannot say his *faith,*) it might, at any moment, have become "a child of God." We have seen another, whose sermons upon the Divine Succession of the ministry, and the efficacy of their functions, were all that reason could require, indifferently decline to exercise these high functions, in assisting to administer the Holy Eucharist. It will be understood, we do not mean to express our opinion upon these doctrinal points; we only wish to show that, in the above instances, the head thought one thing—the will did another. We honor the men personally; but we are asking for signs of their Faith. Now let us go to particulars, and see if this condition, this variance between doctrine and practice, does not often pervade every step of the process, from the first suggesting the erection of a Church building, to its final occupation.

There is to be built "a House of God." We will not expatiate upon this term; we ask the reader to pause and compass the idea, in all its bearings, as thoroughly as he can—to reflect upon the end to which it is to be consecrated, the uses to which it is to be devoted. How do we go about this great work—more truly great in its humblest feature, than man can otherwise, or for any other purpose, achieve? A meeting is held; the required expenditure estimated; the feasibility of the project, *pecuniarily*, demonstrated. The Church will hold so many pews, which will sell for so much, and bring in a certain rental. Subscriptions are opened; the amount subscribed; and a building committee appointed, who have recourse to an Architect. Then comes the contest; desire for display, against stinted means; private opinions, and dogged self-will, against acknowledged authority and precedent; personal fancies, against architectural proprieties; crude notions, against ecclesiastical requirements. Mr. A., who has subscribed largely, and expects to own the best pew, sees no necessity for wasting so much land in a Chancel; Mr. B. will withdraw his subscription if a single cross is displayed on the building; Mrs. C. will not let her husband take a pew, unless the backs are of a certain height, the precise height of her own favorite easy chair; Mr. D. has a fancy to sit in a particular part, and therefore the Pulpit must be placed on a certain side, as he is deaf in one ear. (We protest here we are not drawing upon our imagination.) Mr. E. insists that, by digging a little at one corner, a basement can be contrived for a public school-room, and that he shall bolt if it is not done. All agree that the building must look as fine as possible; and a sum which would build an honest, but plain Church, must be eked out in pine wood, painted to look like freestone; in pressed putty, to imitate carving; in a freestone front for *man* to look upon, while the side walls, intended for *God* alone, are of the coarsest brick, and attenuated to a degree. Such is the *rule* that prevails, from the costliest temple in our land, with its sham vaulting overhead, in strange contrast with the first impressions which fill the mind, as one enters its magnificent courts, down to the smallest Church that raises its poverty-stricken deformities in our suburban villages.* The exceptions are as yet few. We protest again we do not imagine. We were shown once a first pointed design, all in solid freestone, with an open timbered roof, plain, in order to come within the sum

* Country Churches are generally less pretending; and, though plainer, are more honest.

collected, but thorough and honest. Another Architect offered one which he said would *look* as if it cost double the sum. He, of course, was accepted; and pine wood, putty, and stucco did the work. In another instance, the design of a noted Architect was contemptuously rejected, because the Warden thought the length, with a developed Chancel, preposterous. "Now," said this Warden to us, pointing to a square building, whose ecclesiastical characteristics, unless centred in a pine plank embattlement, were very obscure, "there is a Church that has some sense in it; it is so timbered that when we have no further use for it, we can saw across, and sell each half for a dwelling house." In another instance, we remarked, that the side walls of a Church, rejoicing in a freestone front, and intended to hold 700, were but a single brick in thickness. "Oh," said the Architect, "they do not support any thing; the whole *heft* comes on these posts;" which posts, by means of laths, plaster, and paint, are now manufactured into freestone piers, supporting what pretend to be the nave walls. We could not help wondering whether this was not an unconscious symbolism of the faith of those that built; stilted up on the posts of self-will; plastered about with enough of dogma and formula to give it the appearance of a stronger and more enduring support. In another instance, in order to increase the building fund, the part below ground is laid off into tombs; and here, persons who never enter the Church above, who, indeed, profess a different faith, and scoff at the services performed there, are permitted, if they are rich enough, to make a favorable investment in a place for their reception when dead. Is this the way to build GOD'S HOUSE? Will He prosper such a work? Does He prosper it? The Treasurers' books of our Parishes will answer as to one particular.

We will suppose the building paid for and consecrated; for of late our Bishops refuse to consecrate those that are not paid for, on the common sense ground, that we cannot give that to God which is mortgaged to somebody else. The Bishop has pronounced the House, as dedicated to the Honor of God, Who has been solicited to accept it as a service to Him. It is declared set aside from all ordinary and common uses for His worship and praise alone. The worshipers have, for the first time, thronged to the Chancel to partake of the Blessed Feast; the triumphant, yet imploring tones of the Gloria in Excelsis have died away; the blessing has been pronounced, and arising from their silent thanksgiving, the people are about to depart. The minister again raises his voice within that *consecrated House of God.* Is it to tell how widely its

portals will, for the future, be open, that every way-worn traveler may find rest and comfort there? Is it to tell that *daily*, as our Church sets forth, the incense of morning and evening prayer will arise within those walls? Is it to proclaim how every one that hungereth and thirsteth after the Bread that cometh from Heaven, and the Wine that faileth not, may there be filled? Not so! It is to announce that on the same afternoon, *Mr. Smith the auctioneer will sell the pews!* The walls that just rung with the praises of the Te Deum—that sent back the deprecating strains of the *Kyrie Eleison*, and echoed with three "Holies of the Trisagion," are in another hour to ring with raps of an auctioneer's hammer. Yet it is GOD'S *House!*

Let us look this anomaly in the face for a moment, just to see what an egregious anomaly it is. We do not wish to enter into the pew question at length, though we have strong convictions from practical experience, that the difficulties are only such, that had the Church Faith, she could readily remove them. But to the anomaly. The building has just been consecrated—made holy to God. What has Mr. Smith then to do with it? Can he really sell to Mr. A. and Mr. B. and Mr. C. a right and title to any property in it? If so, the consecration could not have included the whole building; but ceased at six feet above the floor, leaving all below in the hands of men as merchandise, to barter and make traffic for. Or, as great an anomaly in this "House of Prayer for all people," Mr. A., by virtue of his long purse, is enabled to oust Mr. F. with a short one, from the privilege of sitting in a certain three feet by ten; and all who have any purses being accommodated according to the length of that useful article, those who have none are left to find the means of Grace where they can, as GOD'S *House* is already occupied.

It need not be answered, that a regard for the temporalities of the Church require this sort of property in the building. Will Mr. A. confess that his interest in the Church is so slight that without a certain exclusive and personal right to a particular seat—a right made palpable by the expenditure of some five or eight hundred dollars, he would be unwilling to devote to her weal a small portion of that time, which, exercised—but with God's blessing remember—upon his own affairs, yields him thousands annually? We leave the matter here, again quoting, that, according to the theory (we will not *now* be expected to say *Faith*) of those engaged in it—it is GOD'S HOUSE.

This is rather a long preamble to our remarks upon Mr. Wills' book; but the truth is, that we have a long road to

travel, and much to do on the way, before Mr. Wills' or any other book, save the Book of Books, will serve us. We have mainly to realize that when we set about building a Church, we *do* set to work to build *God's House;* and any money which we give to Him for that purpose, must be truly *given;* not merely *lent* Him on a mortgage, taking three feet by ten of the edifice as a security. These are plain words; they are intended to be such. We purposely lay aside those common conventionalities of expression, which permit us so pleasantly to varnish over much that is defective in our nature, and which often can lull us into a conviction of security, and enable us to present a fair outside for others; and, still worse for ourselves, when corruption is doing its work at our very hearts.

We will now suppose the requisite degree of Faith attained, which would incite us to freely pour forth for God's Honor, as an acknowledgment of His unnumbered mercies to us, a portion of those goods with which He has intrusted us. With these feelings, we set about to build a House, which shall be truly His; which shall be set aside from all ordinary uses, for the worship of Him; where He shall dwell more peculiarly; where He shall impart His Grace to us in those Sacraments which He Himself instituted; and where our service of prayer and praise and thanksgiving, may from full hearts and free lips daily ascend as the best and most acceptable service of His grateful creatures. It is then that we realize how far short anything we do must come of the high purpose we would attain; yet looking around us for the most refined manner of expressing our feelings, we find an exponent for them in High Art—and in this case, in the highest Art, that of Architecture.

Reverting now to a principle slightly alluded to a few pages back, that Architecture is as it were the handwriting of a nation, the involuntary expression of its thoughts, we find that each nation, and indeed each period of the same nation, in the same ratio in which it has possessed distinctive characteristics, or has undergone different moral phases, has produced a different style of Architecture, expressive more or less directly of those characteristics. To enforce this assertion by argument and example would take too much of our space; and leaving the Pyramids and the Cyclopean ruins of Dendara to assert their fitness, as exponents of a nation,

> "Whose myriads toiled their lives
> To make one monarch's tomb,"

and trusting to the Parthenon and its sister fanes to tell of a philosophy like themselves, chaste, harmonious, and radiant,

yet finite and clinging to earth, we proceed to that style in which our blessed Faith has found expression.

This has received a general, but inappropriate designation in the term "Gothic." With some gradual changes in the previous styles, heralding its approach, we find it fairly commencing its reign at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Its striking external peculiarities are, for the most part, known to our readers. The pointed arch, the buttress-strengthened wall, the heavenward pointed spire, or pinnacled tower, the clustered column, the windows filled with tracery, the richly moulded door-way, these have with all who have looked upon the reality, or the picture of a Christian Church, arrested the attention. But peculiar as these are, scarce one of them necessarily in itself exhibits the fundamental principles of the style; and, the consequence is, that we find around us multitudes of buildings vulgarly called *Gothic*, which no more represent Christian Art, than does the stage-bedraggled tragedy-queen, radiant in rouge and spangles, typify the true glories of sovereignty, as exhibited in one of the Lord's anointed. As this error of considering every building with a pointed window, "Gothic," is so very prevalent, even with the intelligent, it may be well to state what are the principles which distinguish Christian Architecture; more especially as, in so doing, we furnish a key even to the unlearned, by which they can test, to a certain extent, the correctness of a given example; and to one disposed to follow out the investigation, we afford data from which he may trace, step by step, the fitness of the style, as an exponent of our faith—a part of the subject to which we attach great importance, but which, a desire to make our remarks as practical as possible, prevents our entertaining here.

The first great principle of the Christian style, is, that every thing should be *honest;* that it should *be*, what it *pretends* to be; and *do* what it *pretends* to do. How many of our Church buildings would stand this test, with their pine-wood, painted and sanded, to look like freestone; or grained, to look like oak or some other costly wood? And, not only are these miserable cheats used, but made boasts of! "We particularly noticed the beauty of the graining, which could not be told from real oak, the highly creditable work of Messrs. Sham & Varnish, whom we warmly recommend in this line. The organ case is in a very florid style; the composition ornaments, made by Messrs. Whiting & Umber, fully equaling in delicacy, real carving."* What morality is this, leaving

* A true quotation, altering names only.

out a higher view of the subject. The excellence of the lie made a matter of credit, and yet who was deceived by it? The critic was not—was He for whom this work was pretended to be made?

We never yet could understand this sort of moral obliquity, even in the humbler purposes of life, much less when we see it carried so brazenly into high purposes and holy uses. Any member of the dozen committees ordering these things, would have scorned to use a like deception in his own personal matters; he would scorn to pass off plated ware for silver, in his own house, and feel insulted, were his wife suspected of wearing glass and gilt jewelry; and yet, forsooth, he not only takes his shams and tenpenny imitations into the House of God, but makes a boast of their excellence as a sham! Away then with all this, if we are to build in the Christian style. A man never falls in our regard, if his circumstances limit his wardrobe to linsey-woolsey and unbleached cotton; it is only when he begins to sham, that he becomes a subject for ridicule; and so with Church builders—if their means limit them to pine-wood, let it be painted as wood, and not as an imitation of something more costly; an attempt in which the perpetrator is only saved from merited ridicule and contempt, by the great prevalence of the moral obliquity which has led to it.

As another degree of honesty, and therefore coming under this head, all work should be thorough, nothing slighted because it may happen not to be conspicuous. It is for God, not for man, that the Christian Architect works; and He will see it, though it is up very high or hidden behind something else. In the crypts of the old cathedrals, where the sun never shines, or on their topmost pinnacles, far beyond the inspection of man, what is carved, is carved just as carefully as if the broadest light were to be upon it, or it were to be daily looked at by thousands. There may not be as much carving or such rich design, but what the chisel touches, it touches faithfully, not slightingly.

The real principle is, that every thing has its use; and so far as it serves that use, be it high or humble, so far only, is it excellent and commendable. A principle greatly comfortable to us all, whatever our station, did we realize its truth and its applicability in morals as well as in art. Yet a disregard for it rules in our whole view of life itself, down to the minutest furniture of our houses. We have here, however, only to do with it as it affects Art. We continually hear things praised for their gracefulness, elegance, and costliness; yet, in examining

into their fitness for the purpose intended, we find them utterly deficient. Let a staff be made of the rarest wood, inlaid with all art and richness of gold and gems; if it will not support the tottering steps of the infirm, it is perfectly worthless; an oaken stick is immeasurably its superior. We leave further examples for the reader to furnish, feeling assured that, unless his own dwelling be a rare exception, he need not look far to find them.

The third principle is, "that all ornament should consist of enrichment of the essential construction of the building." This is so laid down by Pugin, one of the great modern masters of the style, and the one to whom we owe, in these later days, the discovery of these principles. This, like the other, is capable of large application, and were this made, what a revolution it would create in our domestic habits? What a havoc would it make among the thousand things that we now call elegant; things that eat up our substance; that give us no comfort; that in fact even prey upon our moral vitality.

These three principles, in their fullest sense, embrace the fundamentals of Christian Architecture. Without a regard to them, a building cannot be a Christian Church. It cannot express the Faith and Charity—the Truth and Love of a Christian; it cannot serve the three uses which all Art so bestowed should serve—first, as a sacrifice on the part of the donor—next, as a memorial before himself of his faith and its demands upon him—lastly, to set that faith before others—uses, beyond which, no offering, whether costly in material, rich in design, or elaborate in workmanship, has the slightest value.

The Christian style, ever in its purity adhering to these principles, underwent modifications, in general expression and its details of enrichment, in each country where it gained ascendency. Germany, France, Spain, and England, each exhibiting a characteristic, peculiar to the nation. Our direct origin, both as a people and as Churchmen, from the latter country, giving us more sympathies with it than with any other, has very properly induced Mr. Wills to limit his treatment of the subject of Ecclesiastical Architecture to its development there, as better suited for our study, and with such modifications as climate and other circumstances may require, for our imitation.

His work commences with the history of Christian Architecture in England, beginning at the Saxon, proceeding to the Norman, and next to the development of true Christian or pointed style. This, as we have said above, commenced almost with the thirteenth century. Though beautiful then, in itself, it was the

beauty of the bud, rather than of the flower—though glorious, it was the germ of something more glorious. We accordingly find it exhibiting the same phase for scarce any ten consecutive years of its brief existence—not much exceeding in all, half a century. With genuine vitality it went on, in every new effort developing some new strength, some fresh grace, until at the beginning of the last quarter of the century, with a richer clothing of carved work and tracery, with new beauties of form, with a loftier majesty upon its brow, it stood forth—the perfect type. The windows, before narrow, "lancet-shaped," consisting of a single light, or at most, grouped together, yet each distinct, were now expanded in width, but divided by shafts of stone, "mullions" rising from the sill and as ascending towards the head of the window intersecting each other in graceful waves or in regular geometrical figures of infinite variety. The groinings of the vaultings, before simple, were now closely ribbed—the vault itself spanned wider and rose higher—the mouldings or carved work around the doors and windows were more elaborate, "the parapets and battlements are beautifully perforated, and altogether a degree of elegance pervades the Architecture, which is not discovered before."

"The spires are more slender than in first pointed, and are sometimes crocketed as an immense pinnacle. At the springing of spire, and continued from the angle buttresses of tower, are often found clusters of pinnacles canopied like niches, startling us by their excessive magnificence; indeed, they sometimes are formed into niches and filled with statues. On the continent of Europe the spires were often of perforated stone.

"Second pointed is unquestionably the purest, and hence the best style to be adopted in Church building, wherever funds are sufficient, and mechanics can be found able to execute tracery; when such is not the case, an *adaptation* of First Pointed must be resorted to. I say adaptation, because an Architect knows, or ought to know, that without thick walls, and deep mouldings, and broad buttresses, (all of which, alas! the poor Architect longs for, but in vain,) he can no more realize the solemnity of ancient work, than can a violin be made to utter the rich tones of an organ."

For a century and a quarter, this perfected style flourished in its glory, and then its downfall commenced. It ceased to be true, it professed to do things which it did not, and did things it professed not to do. It ceased therefore to be Christian Architecture, though it told too well the story of the corruption of the Christian Faith. It sacrificed its strength

to a desire to dazzle. It adopted ornament that was foreign to it. It gave up its rich mouldings, its depth of light and shade, for flaunting surface-work, which might, at the moment, more readily arrest the eye, but which could not satisfy the sentiment. The arch became flattened at its apex, and, of course, weakened; the windows were further increased in width, and the mullions, instead of exhibiting the graceful curves or curiously varied geometric figures of the last period, were continued straight to the top of the window, connected with each other in the head, by smaller arches, from the apex of which, possibly another perpendicular mullion might start; and often where the windows were lofty—in order to strengthen these elongated shafts of stone, they were connected half-way up, by horizontal bars or transoms—a stiff, ungainly resort to remedy what was inherently defective. The towers with thinner walls, could no longer sustain the heaven-seeking spire, bearing aloft its symbol of redemption to a guilty world—but tried to compensate for the loss of this, by pleasing the eye with richly carved pinnacles or many moulded battlements. Tricks of construction were resorted to, which to this day are masterpieces of ingenuity, but they are evidently made for man to wonder at, not to honor God.

Thus, to a certain extent, the outward general form of the truer and purer style was retained, and this was covered with possibly more closely and more curiously cut carving, but the vitality and strength within, had gone with the truth that gave them birth; and the havocs of time upon even the latest buildings of this period, are but instances of how much man ever looses when he substitutes his own self-will and personal fancies for higher principle and a diviner guidance. May we not indeed find in the causes and process of the decline of Christian Architecture during this period of the "Middle-Pointed" or "Perpendicular" style, many analogies to the decay of our Faith? In these days when men write volumes on the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration, yet leave their children unbaptized—when they preach sermons upon the delights of the Communion of Saints, and the glories of the Resurrection of the Dead, and yet clothe themselves in the black garb of utter desolation, and mourn their friend as forever lost, because he has entered upon these glories, and is in fuller fruition of these delights—when we have an office of devotion full of blessed hope and comfort, set forth to us by the Church, but shorn of all that is comfortable by the explanations of our doctors—in these days, do we not see something akin to the weakened pier covered with its curious carv-

ing—hollow dogma curiously overlaid with wordy formulæ, or what was strong in God's truth, weakened and made unfit for its use, by the busy impiety of the self-willed and presumptuous. These thoughts will rise, but we must not follow them now.

The second chapter, Mr. Wills devotes to the form and arrangement of Churches, pointing out the differences between Cathedrals and Parish Churches, in their uses, and consequently their construction. We wish we could transcribe the whole of this—to quote from it, is impossible. It is all written so much from the writer's heart, and that a good one; he has put so much of his own faith, and that a real one, into it, that it must be taken as a unity. But for a proper apprehension of it, and of the subject of which it treats, there must, as we have said above, be a faith fit to be addressed. What avails it to talk of a developed Chancel, with its mystical steps—its raised dais supporting the Altar—its significant rails—its lowly doorway, to men who do not realize the awful Mystery celebrated there? What matters it to talk of orientation, and east windows, to men who feel that the light of reason is all that is sufficient? What is the value of a symbol of the Trinity, or of Saints departed, to those who ridicule the Communion of the one, and prate like an infidel about the other, as a "metaphysical dogma!"

Chapter fourth is devoted to Monumental Architecture; and here we could say much both in expatiation upon, and approbation of Mr. Wills' views, and in advancing some of our own, but we hope to devote a future article to this important subject.

In the appendix, without officiousness on the one hand, or false delicacy on the other, Mr. Wills has given us some designs of his own, with the dimensions, description of the fittings, and expenditure actually required. This is to show what has really been done amongst us, all, with one exception, having been already finished.

The whole work is largely illustrated by lithographs, in all twenty in number, giving specimens of the moulding, characteristic ornaments, windows, doors, pew-end, and roof of the different periods of Christian Architecture; a ground plan of Lincoln Cathedral, and of several Parish Churches, together with seven views in perspective.

In immediate connection with these drawings, we cannot help mentioning one feature of the work, which we think an important item, as affecting the extent of its useful influence. We mean its small cost. From the illustrations required,

works on Architecture are generally so expensive as to greatly exclude them from the libraries of the general reader. The artistic skill of the author, given as a labor of love in this instance, makes the book an exception to this rule.

While feeling ourselves enthusiastically carried along by the general spirit of the work, we still must find some fault in executing our duty thoroughly. Did its tone not raise it in our estimation above such criticism, we might notice several misprints, and some carelessness of expression; but leaving these trifles for others, we do find in the wooden Church given at page 113, (Grace Church, Albany, New York,) something that does not satisfy us. It is wood, yet holding the picture at sufficient distance to lose sight of the perpendicular lines representing the joining of the boards, it has all the expression of a plain stone building of the first pointed style. This surely cannot be right. The Architect defends the buttresses (of two stagings with weatherings) as housing outside struts. The struts themselves are legitimate means of stiffening the walls to resist the outward thrust of the principals, and of course they ought to be protected from the weather; but it seems, to say the least, a very singular coincidence of the proper form, for the housing should be a precise copy of a stone buttress. We have no theory to offer as to how it should be. The question of the proper method of using wood for Church building, has yet to be answered. A proper wooden ecclesiastical Architecture is yet to be devised; and we long for the solution of the problem, as it greatly affects our brethren in many districts of our country, where no other material is procurable. We earnestly urge attention to this subject, and feel confidence, that, were our author to apply himself to it, we should soon have satisfactory light upon it.

Another similar problem of great importance, and one which must be solved with still greater care and exactitude, because the results will be more permanent, is the proper treatment of granite—the sole building material throughout half of New England, and abounding in extensive districts in other parts of the United States. In using it, while we still adhere to the general principles of the Middle-Pointed Style, the perfect type, it is evident we will have to dispense with much of its hitherto characteristic ornamentation. Its lighter tracery, its delicate foliage, all indeed that seems suggested by vegetable forms, and for the most part its deep hollow and its more delicate roll mouldings, will have to be abandoned in using a material so brittle and intractable. And yet, if taken in hand with the proper faith, we feel that its very ruggedness may be the means of eliciting new beauties wherewith to adorn

the House of God. We merely offer the suggestion here, trusting that the importance of the matter will force itself upon those who are competent to grapple with its difficulties, and wish them heartily God's help in their endeavors.

We have multiplied these pages much beyond our intention; but we were too full of the subject, and it was too near our heart, to permit us to greatly stint ourselves, in giving such an exposition of it as would enable others to understand its true bearings, and in pointing out what, and how much was to be done, and the difficulties of an attempt to do it. We have held plain language; we have used words and illustrations unwonted in treating of such things; we have, as we have above said, purposely thrown aside those conventionalities of expression, those softened terms and elegant paraphrases, which might enable some in their weakness, and perhaps some in their willfulness, to misunderstand us. It may be thought we have spoken harshly. God knows that this has not been our feeling. The faults that we have insisted upon are those of the day and generation, not of individuals; the more sad is it that they should be so.

We have been told to "hold fast to the *form* of sound words;" we have been told to build Churches as they were built in the middle ages. A purer faith has left us the first—the intense devotion engendered by that faith has left us the last; but where is the life-giving efficacy of the one, or the glorious beauty of the other? If we think, that in the *words*, life must necessarily exist; and that canon, rubric, and the like, can be our stay and support, we will find too late, that we have been trusting to the arm of a corpse, whose only strength is the stiffness with which death has clothed it. If we strive from copied form, and imitated mouldings, to revive the beauties of Christian Art, we will find it as easy to make the glow of health mantle in the cheeks of an Egyptian mummy. The principle, however, that once gave saving efficacy to those now hollow words, and a glorious, lively beauty to those now ruined stones, still exists; but it dwells beyond, and independent of each, and must be sought not in the words or in the stones, but in that same INFINITE FOUNT OF LOVE AND WISDOM, out of which all this glorious Universe was made.

Alas for us! that the arm of CHRIST'S Church, once so powerful, is now so feeble as to scarce raise Her finger to point the path to this blessed Fount. Alas for us! that Her voice, which once was heard like a trumpet's tone by the thousand tribes that gathered trustingly under Her wings, can now scarce be heard above the wrangling of Her children in Her Courts.

BISHOP HOPKINS' HISTORY OF THE CONFESSIONAL.

ART. IV.—*History of the Confessional.* By JOHN HENRY HOPKINS, D. D., Bishop of the Diocese of Vermont. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1850. 12mo. pp. 334.

THE well-earned reputation of Bishop Hopkins, is a sufficient guarantee, that whatever he may undertake on the subject of the Romish Controversy, will be performed in the most satisfactory manner. Few men understand the tactics of the Romish cohorts better; and few men can follow up an attack upon them with such utter annihilation of every thing like the show of opposition. The recent attempts to revive the practice of Auricular Confession in the English Church, in which the late apostate, Mr. Maskell, formerly Chaplain to the Bishop of Exeter, appears conspicuous, and the agitation of the question on this side the Atlantic, have induced Bishop Hopkins to prepare a work suited to the times. The result is the volume before us; a volume which, while marked by the profound learning of Barrow, and the English Seneca, Bishop Hall, is yet better calculated to make an impression upon the popular mind. It exposes, most thoroughly, the unscripturalness and anti-catholicity of Romish teaching on this point, and presents the issue so plainly, that we see not how an honest man can avoid acknowledgment of it.

Many of our readers have attended to the controversy with Rome enough to know that the subject is one not without its difficulties. The system, as taught in her books, is a different thing altogether from the system as practically carried out. Much of the controversial literature, in Protestant books, is also so much labor worse than thrown away. The assailant of Popery, often, either has no thorough appreciation of what Popery is, and so he finds himself at last, in no very enviable mood, fighting a mere man of straw; or he attacks the worst features of that system, neither with effective weapons, nor at vulnerable points.

Strange, indeed, would it be if the Romish Church had not something for the ear and heart of almost every class of inquirers; and if the syren spell of her sorcery did not sometimes challenge our wonder at the power of her incantations. A Church, which, for a thousand years, was the fortuitous heir of almost all that was left of the good, and great, and noble

of early days! A Church, which encircled within its embrace, and had its home among, the most classic regions of our globe—

> "That haunted holy ground;
> No object there is formed of vulgar mould,
> But one vast realm of wonder spreads around,
> And all the muses' dream seems truly told!"

A Church, which, with all its corruptions, can point to a long scroll, inscribed with heroic deeds and self-denying labors, and names of men of whom the world was not worthy! We say it is not strange, if the Romish Church can address almost every variety of emotion which kindles in the human breast.

> "Rome loves the Crucifix, but hates the Cross;
> And thus, whatever gull'd emotion longs
> Upon her shrine of Selfishness to lay,
> Her *human gospel* cunningly applies;
> Cheating the Soul with skeletons of truth.
> No taste, but here a subtle pleasure finds;
> No Sentiment, but what some echo meets;
> Nor Fancy, which no fellowship can find.
> Here painting, with its poetry of hues,
> And music, with its poetry of sound,
> And Temples, with their poetry of stone
> Augustly dim, and eloquently vast,—
> All, all compose a theologic Charm
> That screens the spirit from its Saviour, God."

Now, we have a conviction sufficiently firm, that the whole system of modern Romanism is not only essentially corrupt, but is wretchedly weak. The very air and bearing of a modern convert of the system, has in it something notoriously suspicious. There is something dishonest about him. Something which reminds us of the snake in the grass. There is often a reserve, a studied concealment; the utter absence of that noble ingenuousness which was stamped on the very countenance of the old English Reformers, and the early martyrs. We feel at once that these men will bear watching. Cunning, deception, treachery, and, as modern observation teaches us, downright falsehood, are not too bad to expect from one who deems it a virtue to lie to heretics.

The system itself, too, is inherently weak. Rome has a great flourish of trumpets about her Unity! And yet no other Christian body on earth has ever been more rent and torn with intestine convulsions. And he who hopes to find rest and peace to his soul from Protestant distractions within her bosom, is doomed to inevitable mortification; unless, indeed, he is prepared to annihilate all self-consciousness, and become the mere unthinking automaton of the worst of tyrants. Rome boasts of her infallibility! And yet, what a miserable bur-

lesque and pitiable sham, is her pretension to certainty of Faith; when, as even Newman himself virtually acknowledges, her decisions are but a repetition of self-evident and bare-faced contradictions. This is too apparent to need proof, and will not be denied. Rome boasts of her modern miracles! shame on her, and her winking and weeping Madonnas! and her rival relics of the Cross, enough to build a seventy-four gun-ship! her pretensions of healing by her "holy coats!" There are scores of strolling mountebanks abroad, who do up such things in much better style; and without being guilty of her awful and blasphemous jugglery. Such things as these are meant for ignorant dupes, whom, by the by, she takes good care not to enlighten, nor suffer to be enlightened.

And yet, notwithstanding the obviousness of these outrages upon truth and right, we are equally confident that there is only one method of proof, by which the fallacy of the Romish arguments can be effectively exposed. It is THE CATHOLIC POSITION. It is Holy Scripture, as understood, taught, and practiced by the Apostolic Church. If we must, for a standard of doctrine and practice, go one step beyond the letter of the Inspired page, (as all Christendom admit,) there is no other rule practicable in itself, none which can ever become the basis of a restored, common Unity, none which will cut off Romish additions, and restore Puritan mutilations, but an authoritative appeal to the Faith and Practice of Apostolic times. Here is our strong ground, and we have no other. And this is a method of argument, which Bishop Hopkins has pursued in discussing the subject of the Confessional.

We are aware that the term *Catholic* is, at the present day, distasteful to many Churchmen. It has, we are aware also, become the watchword of a certain class of pseudo-catholics, who mean by the term nothing more or less than a return to the excessive ceremonialism, and the effete superstitions, of the middle ages. There is, however, a great and vital truth embodied in that word. In the interpretation of the Scriptures, it is the sure basis of an effective Protestantism, and its protection from ultimate infidelity. It is enshrined in the Creeds as a part of our professed Faith; and we are very far from being disposed to give it up, to be worn as the hypocritical badge of a mongrel Romanism. For ourselves, we glory in the term Catholic; and it always saddens, or vexes us, to hear *Churchmen* apply it to Romanists. It is a *practicable* test. There are not the difficulties in its application, which some, even learned men, so confidently urge. On all points of necessary Faith, it is a rule easily available. It is

only when matters of private *opinion*, rather than of Faith, are sought to be settled by it, that it proves doubtful; and these matters of opinion should be treated as such, rather than elevated to the platform of a Creed, as has been so ruinously done by a large portion of Protestants. It is a rule even now universally acted upon. It, and it alone, has settled the question of the Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament. It rules on the question of Infant Baptism. It is a strong argument for the Apostolical Succession in three Orders of the Ministry. St. Paul recognized the authority of this argument, when he enforced upon the Corinthian Church the "*Ordinances*" which he had delivered to them, and declared, in rebuking certain acts of insubordination, "We have no such custom, neither the Churches of God."—1 Cor. xi, 16.

The strong point in the work of Bishop Hopkins, under consideration, is, as we have said, the application of the test of Catholicity to the modern Romish Confessional. He shows, as clearly as such a fact can be shown, that the Romish doctrine of Confession, as now held and taught, is a novelty, unscriptural and uncatholic; and then, in examining the Romish plea of expediency, in a picture, briefly and delicately drawn, lets us into the secret of the Confessional, enough to expose the horrible crimes, the shameful impurities, and abominable licentiousness, of which this feature of Popery has ever been the prolific mother. In the "Argument of Expediency," he quotes from the Romish Historian, Fleury, and from the Provincial Letters of Pascal, where are exhibited the interference with civil governments, the seditious and regicidal principles, the mental reservations, the calumnies, the murders, the outrage upon all decency and morality, which have grown up out of the Romish doctrine of Penance; a doctrine which we, alas! now find urged upon our branch of the Church of Christ, on this same plea of expediency!

He also examines the doctrine of Confession, as now taught by the English Church, and contrasts it with Rome in several particulars; and also maintains, justly enough, we think, that our branch of the Church has acted wisely in freeing her whole system from every spot and stain of the plague of a forced private Confessional.

Too far, alas! we have departed from the severe discipline of the Early Church. The heart, which then beat strongly, sending forth its healthful pulsations, has lost somewhat of its primitive vigor. The ancient fire burns, alas! feebly upon our altars. But they err grievously, who think to kindle up that holy flame, by the worse than Promethean

expedient of a forced Confessional. The heart of the Church only needs to glow with the holy love of its Founder and Head, and we shall no longer have cause to mourn over our wasted heritages, our deserted altars, our neglected missions, our public worship so decently cold and so elegantly formal and lifeless.

Now there are men in the Church, we make no question, who look with little satisfaction upon the practical workings of Christianity in the world at the present day. They are thirsting for a truer and deeper spiritual life. It is not *place* which such men want, a life of easy self-indulgence. They are humble, but earnest men; conscious of living in an earnest age. They look upon the Christian system as an awful, superhuman reality. They have faith in it, as the Wisdom of God and the Power of God unto Salvation; and they believe it can and ought to be brought to bear upon the Church and upon the world, in all its primitive divine power and efficacy; sanctifying men, and fitting them for the heavenly world, and winning trophies of the Cross for Christ. They are deeply convinced that there must be, within us and around us, something fundamentally wrong; that the growing predominance of the World over the Church, and of Sense over Faith, must be met, especially at the present eventful day, boldly, and, if need be, with sacrifice.

They are ready for that sacrifice. Rebuke, coldness, suspicion, ridicule, will make no impression upon such men, to change their convictions, unless it be to drive them from the Church of their birth and love. Again we say, there are such men in the Church, and they are increasing in numbers. John Wesley was just such a sort of a man in his day; and there was vitality enough in his conception, to penetrate every nook and corner of our own country, to reach every habitable part of our globe, and to do a work for Christ, which ought to have been done, and might have been done, in and through the Church. A most mistaken policy on the part of the Church, lost for herself that element of power, and both the Church and Methodism are to this day the sufferers by it.

And so at the present day, there is heard, amidst discordant notes, the clear-ringing silver tones of a voice which comes forth from the heart of the Church, and which no mutterings of ease and self-indulgence can silence. Amidst the spiritual darkness which a wide-spread infidelity is throwing over the earth, here and there a star of the first magnitude is bursting into view. Amidst the barrenness and death which follow in the track of a treacherous indifferent-

ism, here and there fountains are silently breaking out in the desert, for which we ought to thank God and take courage. We mean, that notwithstanding the materialism, the false philosophy, the neological presumption, the excessive worldliness, which are growingly prevalent, in the Church as well as out of it, there is also an element of moral power manifesting itself in the Church, an energy of Christian principle, beginning to be apparent, which is the sure earnest of brighter and better days. And, as is always true, when great truths are struggling for the mastery, so this has its spurious imitations, its *will-with-a-wisps*,—creatures of the fog, and expiring with the fog. But these are not to be confounded with those thoughtful, serious men, who are coming forth from their silent chambers, and from communion with God, clad in His panoply, strong in His strength, to do a work in their day and generation. Now these are the men who need caution; not drones and sluggards who have an eye only for the loaves and fishes; but men whose very earnestness may tempt them to overlook the principle which Bishop Hopkins so forcibly illustrates; that the Church of modern days is not to be revived by adding to it the cast off trumpery of Romanism; but by following out, resolutely, the principle recognized in the English Reformation, by throwing ourselves, in earnestness, upon the Apostolic Faith, in its simplicity, and then wait for the blessing of Him whose servants we are, and with whom we may then safely leave His own cause. Let us but do the work which He has marked out, and in His own way, and He will take care of His own honor.

With these preliminary remarks, we proceed to what is our main design in this paper, to give certain extracts from Bishop Hopkins' treatise, with enough of comment to render them intelligible. The Bishop thus states the plan of his work:

"First, I shall state at large the Roman system, in the words of the Catechism of Trent. Next, I shall set forth the doctrine of the Church of England and our own, and point out, under fifteen different particulars, the contrast between them. Thirdly, I shall examine the testimony of Scripture, carefully marking the false translations of the Doway version of the Bible, which is the English standard of the Roman clergy. Fourthly, I shall exhibit in their own language the declarations of all the more important fathers. Fifthly, I shall consider the Acts of the Councils, from the first Council of Carthage, to the Council of Trent, and the Council of Milan; in connection with which I shall discuss the forms of Confession in use, from the sixth to the thirteenth centuries, and the change in the words of absolution, from the ancient mode of prayer to the novel form of, 'I absolve thee.' Sixthly, I shall quote largely from the admissions of the most candid of the Roman ecclesiastical historians. And, seventhly, I shall notice the practical proof of experience, to show the total inefficacy of the Roman discipline, and the utter absurdity of placing it in competition with the unerring teach-

ing of the Bible, as a guard of Christian morals, or an incentive to Christian piety."

"It may be necessary to add, that I have endeavored throughout to base my argument—so far as my subject allowed—on the evidence acknowledged by the Romanists themselves, in order that their own witnesses might be compelled to prove their innovations. For this reason I have generally quoted the Scriptures from their own Doway Bible. I have cited the Latin fathers from their own editions, and the Greek fathers and Councils from their own Latin versions; and at the end of the volume I have appended all my authorities in full, each extract being marked with its own number; so that every scholar who may choose to undertake the task, can test for himself the fidelity of my translation."—(Pp. 11–13.)

To show what the doctrine of the modern Romish Church is, on "the Sacrament of Penance," Bishop Hopkins quotes at large from the Catechism of the Council of Trent, which was published by direction of that Council, and is a work of undoubted Romish authority. He then states (Chap. III) the view of the Church of England on the subject under consideration, as taught in her Homilies, Liturgy, Articles, and Canons, and contrasts the doctrine of the two Churches as follows:

"The differences which distinguish the doctrine of the Churches are so numerous and important, that it is totally impossible for any candid reasoner to confound them with each other. For,

"1. The Church of Rome places penance, including auricular confession to the priest, and private sacerdotal absolution, on the list of the sacraments necessary to salvation.

"2. She exacts auricular confession and priestly absolution, as an indispensable preliminary to the reception of the Eucharist.

"3. She excommunicates those who neglect to comply with these requirements at least once in every year, immediately before the festival of Easter.

"4. She imposes penance, by way of satisfaction to the justice of God, at the dictation of the priest, in this secret tribunal.

"5. She requires secresy, not only from the priest, but also from the penitent, so that if the priest should err, the penitent has no remedy.

"6. She demands a full confession to the priest, of *all* mortal sins, without exception, without which the penitent not only receives no absolution, but even increases his guilt.

"7. She insists upon a disclosure of all mortal sins of the thoughts, although they may never have been formed into word or action.

"8. She commands her priests to question the penitent on matters which he has not mentioned, but prefers to conceal.

"9. She directs her priests to make their inquisition particularly into subjects connected with what she calls the ninth and tenth commandments, (dividing the tenth commandment into two,) that is to say, into the special department of carnal desires and thoughts of lasciviousness.

"10. She begins her work of the confessional with young children, before they are admitted to the communion.

"11. She teaches that sins are forgiven by the priestly act of absolution, without true contrition, requiring what the Council of Trent calls attrition only.

"12. She requires the penitent, in the act of confession, to 'cast himself down at the feet of the priest,' as the very representative of the Redeemer.

"13. She maintains that the voice of the priest is to be heard as that of Christ himself, who said to the lame man, 'Son, be of good cheer, thy sins be forgiven thee.'

"14. She requires that the work of satisfaction which the penitent is to perform

at the dictation of the priest, should be 'painful and laborious;' and in the list of those works of penance she expressly places 'prayer and alms-deeds.'

"15. She teaches not only that the sinner may satisfy divine justice for his own sins, but that satisfaction may be performed by one for another.

"Now here I have specified fifteen points of strong distinction, and even contrast, between the Church of Rome and the Church of England, to show how little can be justly inferred from the *single fact* that the use of private confession and absolution, under certain peculiar circumstances, is allowed, though not enjoined, by the latter. And, in order to illustrate the difference more clearly, I shall next briefly exhibit the doctrine of our mother Church on each of these particulars.

"1. The Church of England, instead of reckoning penance among the sacraments, expressly denies the Roman doctrine, in her 25th Article, as well as in her Catechism.

"2. Instead of requiring auricular confession and private absolution, as a necessary prerequisite to the Eucharist, she only demands confession to God, and a prayer for absolution from Him who is the searcher of hearts, and can alone know the sincerity of each worshiper's repentance.

"3. Instead of excommunicating those who do not submit to auricular confession at least once a year, she leaves it entirely free to each man's discretion.

"4. Instead of requiring her priests to impose works of penance by way of satisfaction, she does not authorize them to impose such works at all.

"6. Instead of demanding secresy from the penitent, with regard to the transactions of the confessional, by which contrivance the Church of Rome effectually prevents the possibility of correcting the errors and mistakes of her priesthood, the Church of England lays her injunction of secresy only on the priest, and even this with an important exception."—(Pp. 43–45.) Vide also pp. 46-8.

Having thus stated clearly the points of doctrinal disagreement between the Romish and English Churches, he enters upon his argument to show what are the novelties and corruptions introduced by Rome. He first examines the Holy Scriptures, in the versions of Arias Montanus, the Latin Vulgate, and the English Doway Bible; and, comparing them with the original Hebrew and Greek, draws the unavoidable conclusion, that "*the Romanists have shamefully wrested the Word of God, in order to gain the semblance of its authority in favor of their doctrine.*" This is a serious charge, and involves great guilt on the part of the Romish Church, but it is one which no intelligent Romanist dare deny. They have falsified GOD'S Holy Word, to sanction their own wicked corruptions, and must be held responsible for it.

The Bishop next proceeds to test the Romish doctrines of Confession, Absolution, and Satisfaction, by the Holy Scriptures, and carefully examines every proof text urged by the Romanists. It is amazing that they should attempt to substantiate one of their worst dogmas, "*that one may satisfy for another,*" by an appeal to the inspired page.

Leaving the Holy Scriptures, the Bishop proceeds to the "Evidence of the Fathers," (Chap. VII—XI,) from whom he summons *eighteen* witnesses; on whose testimony, notwithstanding the severe discipline of the early Church, we find, down

to the beginning of the *fifth* century, absolutely nothing favorable to the Romish doctrine in its peculiar and distinctive form. There is nothing of the sacrament of penance; nothing of confession of sins to the priest, other than the public confession of gross sins to God, in the presence of all the brethren; nothing of *Judicial* absolution; nothing of a repetition of *penitence;* nothing of a secret inquisition into the heart of the penitent, the confessor sitting in the place of God. Even down to the times of Augustine, more than a hundred years after the flames of civil persecution had been extinguished, we find no authority whatever for anything like the Romish Confessional, in its distinctive character. Innovations, more or less serious, had gradually crept in. It was not until the time of Leo the Great, the middle of the fifth century, that, to avoid public scandal, a *secret* confession was recommended. Still there was no law, obliging *all* to confess, before they could receive the Communion; there was no absolution, distinct from the administration of the Communion office; no absolution first, and penitence afterward; no priestly inquisition into the thoughts; no absolution in the words, "*I absolve thee;*" but only in the language of prayer, "*May the Omnipotent God have mercy on thee,*" &c. From the language of the Fathers, and the "Forms of Confession," in the sixth century, and afterwards, it is evident, as Bishop Hopkins states—

"1st. Private confession was still voluntary, instead of being required as a regular prerequisite for the administration of the Eucharist. 2d. It was not under the seal of secresy. 3d. It did not specify any particular sins. 4th. It was not addressed *to* any being but the Triune God, although it was delivered *before* the altar, the relics, the saints and the priest. 5th. Absolution was sought directly from the Almighty. 6th. The priest was not asked to absolve, but to be a witness to the penitent's confession at the day of judgment, and to afford him the benefit of his prayers. 7th. The act of the priest, accordingly, was confined to the language of solemn prayer, without the imposition of hands, but the prayer was expressed in the optative form: 'May the Omnipotent God have mercy upon thee, and give thee remission of all thy sins,' &c."—(Pp. 155–6.)

The history of the Councils of the Church, in their bearing upon the system of *penitential discipline*, forms a most important part of this discussion. Nothing can be plainer, than the progress of opinion from the Council of Elvira, in Spain, A. D. 313, down to the fourth Council in Lateran, A. D. 1215, when, "for the first time in the history of the Church, private auricular confession to the priest of the parish was rendered obligatory on every person, without exception, at least once a year." Then it was, that the form of absolution was changed; and the priest challenged to himself the judicial power of God, "*I absolve thee,*" and then, too, we find

Thomas Aquinas justifying this form, on the ground of the sacramental character of *penitence.*

What the *character* of the priesthood at that period was, for morality, is evident, from the very language of the Councils, as well as the pages of history; and the following extract from our author is commended to the attention of the reader:

"The subject of clerical incontinence, since the unhappy introduction of priestly celibacy in the fourth century, forms the burden of complaint and difficulty in almost all the Councils. These canons, however, speaking of the *custom* of keeping concubines publicly, and leaving the property of the priest, acquired in the service of his office, by his last will and testament, to these concubines and their illegitimate children, plainly prove the utter disregard with which the ecclesiastical laws had hitherto been treated in relation to this matter. The looseness of their morals, indeed, appears in so many of the Councils, that a volume of citations might be compiled on this point alone. All historians agree that the character of the monks and of the clergy, with few exceptions, could hardly be worse than it was, in general estimation. And yet it was in an age like this, that a new prerogative was added to the already vast influence of the clergy, by making each individual pastor, in the tribunal of penitence, the absolute inquisitor, judge, and dictator of every soul, male and female, belonging to his flock. It was in an age like this, that the decision of a single priest was pronounced final in the forgiveness of sins, and his solitary voice, uttered in secret, was to be received as the voice of Christ himself, dispensing the prerogatives of the Most High, boldly undertaking to absolve the transgressor, and dictating, as if he were endowed with superhuman penetration, such works of satisfaction as should compensate the justice of God, and heal the wounds inflicted by iniquity. And thus a power too great for the faculties of angels was committed to men, an awful proportion of whom were a reproach to the priestly profession!"—(Pp. 191-2.)

So far is decency outraged by the language of the Constitutions and rules for the government of the Confessional, that we leave the loathsome record in its original. And yet, such gross licentiousness is the natural, we believe inevitable, result of a system, which some are now urging upon the Church, from prudential considerations!! Bishop Hopkins thus states the case:

"Who has not read of the awful immorality, the licentiousness and degradation of the Roman priesthood themselves, during the ages of darkness which preceded the Reformation? Who is so ignorant as not to know that many of their popes, their bishops, and even their religious orders, were a reproach, not only to the Church of Christ, but even to humanity? Their own Councils and historians bear witness to the fact; and notwithstanding the ingenious efforts of their modern writers to beguile the public mind upon the subject—assisted, I am sorry to say, by some nominal Protestants, who have sacrificed the evidence of truth in the service of a spurious liberality—yet the record is engraved upon the history of Europe in characters of crime and blood which are perfectly indelible.

"And how does the argument of expediency appear, in the aspect of the nations, since the Reformation of the sixteenth century? Where has the boasted moral superiority of the Confessional been found, in countries which continued subject to the papal scepter? What portions of the globe were so noted for robberies and assassinations, as the very territories of the popedom? Where were chastity and conjugal fidelity so lightly regarded? Where was, notoriously, so

little restraint upon the worst passions of our nature, lust, malice, and revenge! Where was the administration of justice so uncertain, bribery so shameless, personal liberty so insecure, faction so fierce, cupidity so unscrupulous, despotism so cruel!"—(P. 214.)

We have not room to follow the Bishop in his examination of the attack of the Jansenists upon the Jesuits, in the 17th century. It was a fierce and bitter quarrel; and the Jesuits have not, to this day, recovered from the shock of the exposure of their policy and principles. They stand before the world with the mark of Cain upon them; branded as public enemies and traitors; and the Confessional was just the tool with which to carry out their accursed designs. Nor, in the language of Bishop Hopkins, "is it possible for human ingenuity to imagine why the Confessional should now be administered on better or purer principles."

In the nineteenth chapter, the author comes to examine the doctrine of the Church on Confession, in England, and in the United States. We make no question, that he gives the true reason why the modern form of absolution was retained by the English Reformers; and also private Confession and Absolution in certain cases. It was doubtless from a desire, as far as possible, to conciliate a large proportion of the nation, not yet fully established in the principles of the Reformation; and, as our author conjectures, "it was to agree, as far as possible, with the system of the German Reformers, Luther and Melancthon; for they had retained a far closer resemblance to the Roman discipline in this matter. *They called absolution a sacrament, and required auricular confession and priestly absolution of every one, as a regular preparative for the Eucharist.*" These points are apparent from the catechism of Melancthon and the Augsburg Confession. The fathers of the American Church, after the Revolutionary war was ended, improved the opportunity to cast aside this last relic of popery, and restore this part of our discipline to the simplicity of primitive and apostolic times. And we agree entirely and heartily with the Bishop, that it is a most extravagant supposition, that these disciplinary features of the English Church are now virtually ours; since our Church has formally renounced them, and, moreover, requires (of every candidate for Orders) a solemn subscription, promising to conform to the doctrine, worship, and discipline of Christ, "*as this Church hath received the same.*" A contrary rule of interpretation would land us—the Lord only knows where.

We agree, also, with the Bishop, in the remarks with which he concludes his interesting volume, and wish they might be

echoed through the length and breadth of the Church. If there be one lesson which more than another comes to us from the early Church, with a trumpet tone, it is, *the danger of innovation.* We reverence the *opinions* of the early Church, as far as we can obtain them; because we know that the Fathers stood nearer to Christ than ourselves. We receive their authoritative testimony to the Faith of Christ; the Church being thus to us "the pillar and ground of the truth." But at the same time we may not forget the deadly heresies which even then became rife, nor the evil practices in the Church, against which the Apostle lifted the voice of warning; and that these corruptions, both of doctrine and practice, resulted, in no small degree, from attempting to improve upon a divine original. In the language of Bishop Hopkins—

"No discouragement, no dejection, no difficulty, should induce us to tamper with the system of the Church. That is of Divine appointment, and must be kept sacred from the hand of innovation. True, the spirit of innovation is the spirit of the age; and we may be well content to let it have its full range in the arts, the sciences, the commerce, the governments, and whatever else belongs to the uses, the tastes, or the ambition of mortality. But we may not suffer it to touch the Ark of our Redemption. Innovation has been the plague of the Churchof Rome. Innovation has been the fruitful parent of heresy and schism. Let us be devoutly thankful to that Almighty Saviour, whose gracious Providence has restored to us, whole and undefiled, our apostolic heritage. And let us hold it as a solemn truth, whatever may be our personal deficiencies, that there is not at this day, in the wide world, a Church which so fully deserves the fervent affection of her priests, and the zealous confidence of her people."—(P. 271–2.)

IRVING'S MAHOMET.

ART. V.—*Mahomet and His Successors.* By WASHINGTON IRVING. In two vols. New York: Geo. P. Putnam, 1850.

THE difficulties of historic investigation are not always duly appreciated, nor are the qualities of mind and spirit necessary to a fair and truthful delineation of the story of the past, always posssesed by those who undertake so weighty a task. Most men have neither the time nor the patience to examine a subject under the various lights in which it presents itself to differently constituted minds; and the result is, undoubtedly, that there is, too often, a one-sidedness in the views of both writers and readers of history. The assertion is made deliberately, not with the intention of claiming a superiority over others in these respects, a superiority which we do not for a moment pretend to possess; but rather that we may make it an occasion of urging—*iterum iterumque*—upon all lovers of the truth, the necessity and importance of loving it in its integrity and completeness, and of being willing to follow it wherever it leads, and however contrary it may be to the preconceived, or the prevailing notions of men in general. It has been our lot, in past years, to be compelled to investigate certain portions of history, with considerable minuteness; and we have felt the difficulties to which allusion has been made, with a keenness in exact proportion to our earnest desire to attain the truth with precision and fulness. There would have been no difficulty of consequence, had we been content to follow some one master to the virtual exclusion of all other guides; or had we chosen to invert the proper order of things, by first fixing upon what we conceive that the truths of history are or ought to be, and then arranging the evidence of the witnesses to support a foregone conclusion.* But such a course,

* Bishop Thirlwall remarks with great severity upon Mitford's History of Greece, as "a work which, though cast in a historical form, was intended to convey, not historical information, but, first of all, opinions, and then such facts as could be made to square with them." ("*Hist. of Greece*," *Vol. II*, p. 275, *note.*) This censure, though apparently harsh, is still merited in substance; and yet, so eminent a man as Chancellor Kent can say of Mitford's History, "this great work is distinguished for its accuracy, freedom, and trustworthiness. He does not scruple to tell the truth, and the whole truth, and to paint the stormy democracies of Greece, in all their grandeur, and in all their wretchedness." ("*Course of Reading*," p. 10.) To the curious reader we commend the *exposé* of Mitford's blunders and ignorant pretensions furnished by the Bishop of St. David's, in his noble contribution to the history of a people who have done more for mankind than any other one which ever existed.

however frequently it may have been adopted in times past, not to speak of the present, is entirely at variance with that spirit of candor and honesty, which we believe to be absolutely necessary in historic research, where truth is the sole end and aim. The consequence was, that we were left, as every truth-seeking man is, on such occasions, to meet the difficulties in our way as best we could, and to endeavor, out of the ofttimes chaotic mass of materials, to bring forth a clear, consistent, harmonious and beautiful whole. We were forced to examine the important documents on which a judgment was to be based, documents of nearly or quite equal authority, and yet not unfrequently speaking the very reverse of one another; we were compelled to wade through dull, heavy, rambling statements, to weigh the character and position of the witnesses, as well as their testimony; to reconcile, if so be that were in our power, the discrepancies between contemporaneous writers; to form a standard of judgment based upon the immutable principles of truth, as applied to the time and the circumstances of the particular period which we were investigating; and especially to avoid the almost irresistible tendency to systematize the history of the past, in accordance with the sentiments and habits of the present.

A single example will enable our readers to appreciate somewhat at least, difficulties of the kind we are speaking of. Take the stirring period of English history, when the ill-fated Stuarts were struggling to crush that spirit of resistance to royal prerogative, and that unyielding determination of the patriots and people of England never to submit to unlicensed and irresponsible kingly power, which was so strong and prevailing, as to cause the blood of one of them to flow on the scaffold, and to drive his son and posterity into exile. What should we think of a writer who confined himself to one class of documents, and examined the witnesses on one side only? what should we say of him who pre-judges the question, and sets before us Charles I as a faultless King and martyr, or, on the other hand, denounces him as an unmitigated tyrant, hypocrite, and deceiver? what would be our views of James II and his family, under the teachings of one who held, in its fullest extent, the *jus-divinum* of kings, and scouted utterly all right and power in the nation, to take part in the regulation of its political concerns, under circumstances such as then existed? what would be our conceptions of the truth, were we to be guided by him who descends into the arena of party politics, or, what is worse, strives, under cover of historic narrative, to bolster up

some sect, to defend some schism or heresy, or to befoul the Church of England, as having no innate, inherent life and power, apart from its connection with, and subjection to, the State? Truly, it is not too much to assert, what, alas! sad experience often demonstrates, that men, forgetting that truth is not to be found without diligent search, have not the patience or the courage to look for her till they have found and made her their own: they swear to the words of some one master; the stately, learned, infidel Gibbon; the smart, witty Voltaire; the prejudiced, Church-hating Neal; the brilliant partisan Macaulay, or some one else; they become more bigoted, more one-sided, more wretchedly prejudiced than their teachers; and so far from knowing or appreciating the facts and the lessons of history, as they ought to be known and appreciated by the creatures of God, who is the Supreme Ruler in the affairs of men, they are filled with false and incomplete views of truth, as a whole, and are worse off than a child in his simplicity and unlettered ignorance. Truly, we may well believe that it is no light matter to undertake to write the history of past times and events; and, rightly considering and weighing the difficulties which environ the whole subject, we may well find occasion for enlarging our charity, while we abate not one particle of our determination to know and believe the truth alone.

It is not without a specific object that we have ventured to indulge in these preliminary remarks; and we hope that before closing the present article, their pertinency and their connection with both Mr. Irving's volumes, and the life and career of Mohammed, will become evident. We are thoroughly persuaded of the difficulty of the undertaking which has led to the interesting narrative of our distinguished countryman; we are fully alive to the fact, that few periods and few characters in history, are more perplexing than those which are here treated of; and we are convinced of the necessity of more than ordinary qualifications to do the subject justice. At the same time, we see clearly that there is very much to attract such a mind as that of Mr. Irving, in the poetic capabilities of Oriental life and manners, in the blending of truth and fiction, fact and fable, marvelous wonders and sober realities, which are all found to exist in the story of Mohammed's life and career. In many respects, it is a pleasure to acknowledge that we have reason to congratulate our readers because so admirable a writer has taken up this subject, and presented us with so charmingly written a biography of the false prophet and his successors; in others, we are sorry to say that we

have occasion to regret, that this very important period of history has not occupied the attention of some one competent in all particulars to deal with it as it deserves; some one whose profound Oriental learning, not less than his accurate acquaintance with the practical working of Mohammed's system, would enable him to approach the subject with fitting preparation, and discuss it in a manner and with a fulness which should leave nothing further to desire. We are confident that we know one or two scholars in England, who, if they could be prevailed upon to devote themselves to this matter, would render invaluable service to the cause of truth, by a full, clear, and thorough examination, and setting forth of Mohammed's life, career, and religious system. But this is rather a digression, and beside our present purpose.

We are disposed to look at the Arab sensualist and impostor's life and doings, in somewhat a different light from that in which he is presented before us by Mr. Irving; we are persuaded that it is, on the whole, a more truthful light, and better suited to a clear understanding of the momentous questions involved in the false prophet's impudent pretensions and blasphemous lies, which have been, and still are, trusted in by millions of the human race. We cannot speak of him in any other terms than those which truth demands; we dare not call him "the prophet," as is commonly done, for that word in a Christian's estimation, is sacred, and applicable only to those whom God has sent to proclaim His will. We are sure that he was a bad man, a sensualist, a bold-faced proclaimer of falsehoods; and his successes, his wars and conquests, his alternative, the sword or the Koran, his vile and contemptible fictions in regard to the future world, stamp him as a man of consummate craft and profound ability, and as a hero, little, if any, inferior to those proud names which fill so large a space on the page of history. With us, he has none of the qualities which commend him to love or respect; we cannot praise his endurance in adversity and times of persecution and danger, for it was not endurance for principles' sake; it was not endurance for truth or right, such as he, in his ignorance, might have esteemed it, but only the patient waiting for the hour when revenge might be within his reach. He was not honest and truth-seeking for truth's sake; and where these qualities are wanting, of what use are talent, and influence, and power, to sway the minds of men? We look upon him therefore in a light which lays bare his corrupt system; we bring every thing to the test of truth and purity, as the Gospel of our blessed Saviour makes them known to

us; and we try Mohammed by the standard which he himself has furnished, when he claimed to be a messenger sent by God Himself. At the same time, we are not unmindful of what is praiseworthy in his life and career. He, as well as every man, can demand justice, if not indulgence, at our hands; he, equally with others who have done great things, deserves to be candidly and fairly dealt with; and it is little to the credit of Christian writers, if they cannot afford to examine Mohammedanism apart from prejudice or undue partiality. With such disposition, and entertaining such convictions of what the integrity of history demands at our hands, we hope to carry out, in the present instance, the principles of historic investigation, to which allusion has been made above, and which it is our wish and our determination always to maintain; and, without stopping to enter into a detailed criticism upon Mr. Irving's interesting volumes, we shall embrace the present opportunity of laying before the reader, the result of some considerable study and examination of Mohammed's life and religious teaching.

I. *What are the* FACTS *of the case?* This is a question which involves several important particulars, and requires us to go somewhat into details. It imposes the necessity of ascertaining what was the condition of the world at the period of which we are treating, in its various aspects, political, social, and religious; it imposes upon us the duty of a careful examination into the personal history and career of Mohammed; and it binds upon us to set forth succinctly, and yet as fully as need be required, the doctrines of the Koran, as they are read in that book, and as they are firmly held by all sincere believers in the pretended messenger from on high.

Let us look, then, at what the world was in the latter half of the sixth, and the early part of the seventh centuries; let us cast a glance at the East and the West at the time when Mohammed arose, and let us gaze awhile at the wondrous scene. Alas, how sad the picture! how deplorable the prospect in respect to civil, social, and religious things! The West triumphed over by the victorious barbarian of the north, who exulted in the possession of the fertile plains of southern Europe: the Eastern half of the mighty Roman empire existing indeed, but not only deprived of its pristine glory and strength, but fast hastening to its dissolution. The aged Justinian, during whose long reign the sun of Rome's grandeur shone with something of its original splendor, had just passed away; and his great general, Belisarius, whose successes in Africa, Italy, Sicily, and the East, had upheld the sinking

power of the empire, had died in poverty and disgrace; and now tyranny, venality, corruption, licentiousness, and crime had full sway. Farther east, the noble but despotic Persian, Khosru, was ruling his vast possessions with vigorous hand, and extending his conquests far and wide, a dangerous rival of him who swayed the destinies of the empire so long at Constantinople. Fourteen years after Justinian's death, he too died; and when Mohammed was about twenty years old, Khosru II, the grandson of the former one of the same name, ascended the throne of Persia. His wars and conquests for more than thirty years, and his magnificence and pride, stand out in bold relief in the picture of that eventful age. How shall we speak of the social condition of the world in that period of lustful, unsparing despotism, and debased corruption! How can we describe, in adequate terms, the vice and luxury, the crime and outrage, which prevailed in the court and camp, and in the city where a Phocas reigned? How can we tell of courtesans and murderers wielding the sceptre of empire? of baseness and treachery, the only open roads to eminence and power? of brawlings and fightings and assassinations in the streets of the capital? of disgusting adulation and the vilest tergiversation? of oppressive imposts and taxes, and the grinding to the very dust of the poorer and weaker classes? of the depressed and wretched condition of literature in all its branches? and of the inexpressible sufferings of such as desired to live godly and Christian lives, in the midst of a corrupt and perverse generation? The soul sickens at the thought, the eye revolts from the sight, of such things as these; and the pen is unable to delineate that which even the imagination cannot picture forth in all its enormity and depth of wickedness. The cup of the Christian world's iniquity was nearly full, and the dark night of ages was fast drawing on. If it be hard to tell of these things—if it be difficult, nay, well nigh impossible to describe, with truth and fidelity, the civil and religious condition of the civilized world at that date, ah! how much more painful is it to see and know that the Church was rent by factions and divisions—was spending her strength in contending fiercely about metaphysical subtleties, and was gradually, but surely, yielding to the practical corruptions of the day. We dare not attempt, at this time, to do more than allude to the heresies and schisms which afflicted the Body of Christ, and brought down upon it the retributive justice of the great Head of the Church. We dare now only speak in general terms of the fearful corruptions of doctrine, and consequently of practice; of the ignorance, cupidity, and

worldly lusts of the vast majority of those called Christians; of the increase of monasticism, devotion to relics, belief in spurious miracles, and addition of many but unedifying ceremonies; of the growth of the papal power in the West, the dissensions of the Bishops and Clergy, the many and important civil privileges received by them from the Emperor Justinian, the tendency to superstitious regard for penances, pilgrimages, and the *opus operatum* of the Sacraments; and such like. It were impossible to enter into particulars, within the space allotted us; we must therefore be content with calling attention to these points, and with begging the reader to recollect that the older heresies were still strong, the more recent were flourishing and increasing, and new ones were springing up at frequent intervals. Notwithstanding the clear and undoubted testimony of the first four General Councils as to the faith once delivered to the saints and always held by the Church, the Arian, Semi-Arian, Nestorian, and Eutychian heresies still existed and still troubled the peace of the Church, and hindered the progress of the cause of truth. The Pelagians and Semi-Pelagians were, to some extent, in Gaul and Africa; the Arians, about this period, were triumphant in the West, among the Vandals, the Goths in Italy, the Suevi, the Burgundians and others, though their prosperity faded away under the success of Justinian's arms; the Nestorians were numerous and generally well treated in Persia; the Eutychians or Monophysites, owing to various causes which need not be dwelt upon, were very successful in nearly every part of the Eastern Church, and toward the close of the sixth century were in their most flourishing condition; and, in general, these and the various ramifications of these heresies and divisions, like leprous spots, tainted and defiled the pure and holy robe of divine truth, and gave great occasion to the enemies of God to blaspheme.

It was at such a time as this, and when the world was in so sad a condition, that Mohammed appeared. Not from Greece did he spring; nor from Italy, nor yet from Egypt or Persia; none of the proud regions of the civilized and luxurious world gave him origin; but out of an obscure corner of Asia, from a people or tribe, semi-barbarous and insignificant, arose that one who was to be the scourge of the nations and the Church for their sins of unfaithfulness, their abominable dissensions and their grievous wickedness against Almighty God. Arabia was the land, remote, not easy of access, nor offering much inducement to the ambition of a conqueror, and in fact under no domination except a merely nominal one;—Arabia, that part of it bordering on the Red Sea, and inhabited by the rov-

ing descendants of Ishmael, who were heathens and idolaters in substance, though partially under the influence of Christianity, as taught by the Monophysites, was the native land of Mohammed. His, too, were a people unlettered, but full of imagination and fire; living in patriarchal style, as nomads, on the produce of their flocks and herds, or the plunder of their enemies; or inhabiting towns and villages, and devoted to trade and merchandise; a people of many free and generous impulses, but revengeful and treacherous; little given to reflection, or examination of truth, and consequently bigoted, fanatical, and fierce, in maintaining their dogmas, whatever they might chance to be; and, while having a fondness, amounting almost to passion, for poetry, and easily aroused or excited by eloquence, still without discriminating power to judge of the character or object of one or the other.* The time, the country, the people, the circumstances, were such as these; and all, by Providential permission, combined to favor the designs of such an one as the man of Mecca. It will be worth the reader's while to take note of the most prominent events in his history and career.

Mohammed was born at Mecca, a very ancient city of Arabia, in the year of our Lord 571, most probably.† His father's name was Abdallah, of the tribe of Koreish, who was looked upon as one of the most noble among the Arabs, and was entrusted with the charge of the Kaaba, or sacred temple, and the chief authority in Mecca. His great-grandfather was Hashem, from whom, even at the present day, the chief magistrate, both at Mecca and Medina, is invariably styled "the Prince of the Hashemites." His father, according to the traditions of those days, was the most illustrious of all his

* Ockley, in his admirable "History of the Saracens," relates many curious and interesting stories, which, as he says, are "highly characteristic of the humor and genius of that tragi-comical people;" and further, that "whosoever considers the briskness and activity of the Arabians, (the effect of the warmth of their climate, temperance, and constant exercise,) joined to their enthusiasm, will find an easy solution of those extravagant actions that seem to distinguish them from the rest of mankind."

† The date of this event is not yet fixed with precision. Mr. Irving follows Gibbon, and adopts the year 569, without noticing the doubt that hangs over the matter. The Benedictines (*Art de Verifier les Dates*) fix upon Nov. 10th, 570; Ockley, who is followed by Dr. Weil, of Heidelberg, makes the date 571, which is most probably correct. The difficulty of ascertaining the point with exactness, arises out of the fact that the Arabs reckoned by lunar months, instead of the mode usually adopted in the West. As it is certain that Mohammed died in A. D. 632, and, as he was reputed to be 63 years old at the time, this, if the years were equivalent to full years, would make the date of his birth 569; but the use of the lunar computation reduces the impostor's age to nearly 61 years; from which it is inferred that he was born A. D. 571. The note of Milman, in Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, (Vol. III, p. 519,) is worth consulting.

compeers in beauty and grace, which were qualities possessed, in an eminent degree, by his son. The marvelous legends connected with the birth and early years of Mohammed, are very pleasingly narrated by Mr. Irving; to those, however, curious in such things, we commend the "Hyat-Ul-Kuloob," or Sheeab traditions of the impostor's life and religion, recently translated from the Persian, by Mr. Merrick. The simple and unvarnished truth, so far as can be ascertained, appears to be, that his father died while Mohammed was an infant; his mother, Amina, was left in very straitened circumstances, having only five camels, and one female slave; and for both his sustenance, and such training as he received, he was indebted to his grandfather and his uncle, Abu-Taleb. When Mohammed was between six and eight years old, his mother died, and the boy henceforward was wholly under the charge of his uncle. From Abu-Taleb, who treated him with great kindness, he obtained, at an early age, considerable insight into the business of a merchant traveler. When he was only thirteen, according to the usual account, he was taken by Abu-Taleb into Syria, on a trading expedition; and from that period till he was twenty-five, he continued in the service of his uncle, engaged, with hardly any intermission, in the active pursuits of life, in intercourse with men, and in such preparative training as sharpened the intellect of a naturally acute young man, and gave him great facilities for managing his subsequent designs. Hence, considering his occupation, and his connection with what was looked upon as a very noble family, in his native city, it may be regarded as certain that Mohammed was taught the rudiments of learning, to say the least, and knew, very well, how to read, and how to write, though he denies both with much vehemence in the Koran, (Ch. xxix.)*

* It deserves to be considered, by those who suppose Mohammed to have been so illiterate as not to know how to read or write, in what way, and by what means, the Koran was composed. A considerable portion of it was prepared, most probably, during the years that Mohammed was elaborating, or speculating, upon his future course; very possibly he may have had help; indeed, it seems almost certain that he did have help in his work; but it is well known that numerous parts of the Koran were given out as occasion required, which could not be provided against beforehand; now, if Mohammed were so unlettered as is pretended, how are we to account for his ability to meet these emergencies? how is it possible that he was able to compose writings, on the spur of the occasion, which are confessedly vastly superior to anything of that day, and have formed the standard of the Arabic language ever since? To suppose that he always had with him, at hand, a person or persons capable of preparing his pretended revelations, is wholly gratuitous and without evidence; and rather increases than lessens the difficulty of accounting for the facts. But the question cannot be discussed in a brief note.

At this blooming age, the intelligent and attractive Arab was recommended by his uncle to the notice of a rich widow of Mecca, whose name was Khadijah, who engaged Mohammed as her chief man of business. His character stood high, and his business capacity was undoubted; in various voyages, with valuable caravans, he discharged the duties of his new position with so much skill and success, that he rose higher and higher in the esteem of his mistress; and we may well believe that his personal qualities, his beauty, engaging manners, and ready wit, tended to confirm the regard of Khadijah for him, and to induce her seriously to meditate upon a step which she not long after took. When Mohammed was between 27 and 28 years old, Khadijah rewarded his faithful services by the gift of her hand and her fortune; she herself was at this time not less than forty. It deserves to be mentioned to the credit of Mohammed, that he always treated this, his first wife, with great kindness, and appears to have felt for her sincere affection. The marriage was opportune in several respects; it released Mohammed from the necessity of traveling as a merchant, though he seems to have made a number of expeditions subsequent to this, in this capacity; it gave him rank and influence; it placed him on an equality, in point of fortune, with the rest of his family; and it materially aided him in maturing a scheme which an ambitious and resolute mind might well conceive to be feasible in the then state of the world and the Church. Ten or twelve years passed on. Mohammed had begun to affect solitude and retirement; and well knowing how readily men are influenced by austere devotion, and the externals of sanctity, he frequented daily the cave of Mt. Hara, not far from Mecca, and pretended there, during the hours of fasting, prayer, and holy meditation, to be favored with divine communications and angelic visions. From this point must be dated the inception of his imposture.

Khadijah does not appear to have offered any obstacles to her husband's schemes. When he related to her the sights which he pretended to have seen, and the sounds which he declared that he had heard in the mysterious cave, she seems to have received all that he said with implicit confidence, and to have been rather charmed and dazzled by the prospect held out before her of Mohammed's future glory. She had a cousin named Waraka, who knew something of Christianity, could write in the Hebrew characters, and had considerable knowledge of the Bible. On mentioning the matter to Waraka, (if he were not already in the secret,) he at once declared that

Mohammed was the prophet foretold by Moses, Ibu-Amram, and greatly encouraged him to persevere in his designs. His first convert was his wife. The next was his slave Zeid, to whom he gave his freedom. The third was his cousin Ali, son of Abu-Taleb, and an impetuous, chivalric, and energetic youth. The fourth was Abu-Bekr, a man of very high character, and extensive influence, and authority in Mecca. Through his persuasion, and the force of his example, several other leading men were induced to join in professing the new religion: these were Othman, Abd'alrahman, Saad, Al-Zobeir, Telha, and Abu-Obeidah, who became the main supporters of his imposture, and the bravest of his warriors.

For three years or more, Mohammed continued to propagate his opinions in private, through fear of the Koreish, the defenders of the idolatrous worship at that time prevalent in his native city. During this period, he professed to have received many revelations from heaven. At length, in the fourth year after he had begun his career of deceit and falsehood, and when he imagined himself sufficiently strong in the support of Abu-Bekr and other followers, he determined to try what could be done towards propagating his doctrines among his relatives. Accordingly, he directed Ali to invite his kinsmen, about forty in number, to an entertainment, where he made known his pretensions and claims, and offered them a share in the glories of his mission. Most of the party treated his discourse with ridicule or contempt, and Ali alone accepted the offer of being his *vizier* and brother. After this step, Mohammed began to preach in public and to call upon the people in general to embrace the tenets which he set before them. Doubtless, his keen wit and imagination, and his engaging address, gave him much favor with the enthusiastic Arabs; but the severity of his invectives against idolatry and perverseness so offended them, that ere long he stirred up a host of enemies; and had not his uncle, Abu-Taleb, protected him, his career would probably have come to a speedy conclusion. The Koreish, nevertheless, persecuted Mohammed and his followers with all the bitterness of bigoted idolaters; and though there was an accession to his party of Hamza, his uncle, and Omar, a former savage opponent, yet persecution became so hot, that several of the most distinguished among his adherents were forced to flee, in separate companies, to the king of Ethiopia, on the opposite shore of the Red Sea; at his court they found an asylum and protection against the hatred and virulence of the Koreish. In the tenth year of his mission, (as the Mohammedan writers term it,) Abu-Taleb

died, at the advanced age of fourscore, without having professed any confidence in his nephew's prophetic authority. A few days after, Khadija also died in her sixty-fifth year; and Mohammed was left to buffet the storm alone, his affectionate and confiding wife, and his unwaveringly kind and indulgent uncle, being removed. And now, persecution raged in all its fury, and the new sect were called on to endure for the cause which they had espoused. Mohammed had staked too much already not to persevere; he met with insults, jeerings, mockings, ribaldry, and contemptuous (as well as very troublesome) demands for evidence of his mission; but he succumbed not; for we can well believe that he was not without hope and expectation of being able to deal with his enemies in a more summary way than he could just now, and of presenting them with arguments which admitted of no answer. Hence we are not surprised at his boldness or his patient endurance of insults; for it is no more than was to be looked for from a man of his resolution, ambition, and determined character. Nay, we think that it argues the far-reaching thought and deeply laid scheme of the impostor, that he stood out boldly, and proclaimed his doctrines among the crowds of pilgrims who annually assembled at Mecca, being confident that some of these would be entangled in the web of his enticing words, and would help to spread his teachings over vast and remote regions. And so it happened with a small number of the inhabitants of Yathreb, who not only paved the way for Mohammed's doctrines in their own city, but opened to him the means of taking vengeance on his persecutors. Meanwhile, he did not neglect to provide himself with wives; he was betrothed to Ayesha, the daughter of Abu-Bekr, (then only seven years of age,) and married Sawda, the daughter of Sama; and thus became son-in-law of two of the principal men of his party. About this time, too, he gave his daughter Fatima in marriage to Ali.

In the twelfth year of Mohammed's mission, he ventured upon a step of which the temerity was startling, but which in its results was favorable, in the highest degree, to his schemes. He pretended on a certain night to have made a journey up to heaven, under the guidance of the angel Gabriel, and there to have held intercourse with God Himself. The story is only alluded to in the Koran in a brief paragraph or two, but is told with much fulness of detail by Abulfeda, and other reliable authors among the Mohammedans. Mr. Irving has given it quite at large, and has admirably narrated this transparent and most palpable falsehood; our limits will not allow it to be here

quoted. When he related his night-journey to his uncle, and one or two others, they begged him not to think of making it public, for assuredly no one would believe him. But Mohammed persisted in his design; and the story was received with a general shout of derision. His enemies ridiculed him without mercy, and some of his followers thought the dose so tremendous, that rather than swallow it, they deserted him. It was a critical moment; the credit of Mohammed was hanging by a hair; when Abu-Bekr, a man of gravity and importance, stepped forth and said, "if Mohammed affirms it, it is undeniably true, and I will stand by him. I believe every word of it. The Lord's elected cannot lie." The effect of this was to restrain others from leaving him at the time, and subsequently to give credence to any story or doctrine, however ridiculous or pernicious, which it might suit his convenience to promulge; "and I am apt to think," says Sale, "that this fiction, notwithstanding its extravagance, was one of the most artful contrivances Mohammed ever put in practice, and what chiefly contibuted to the raising of his reputation to that great height to which it afterwards arrived." It is certain that after this, his followers began to attach peculiar sacredness to every act and saying of his, even the most trivial, and in their estimation he was now on an equality with Moses, the man of God, who had talked with the Lord face to face.

At Mecca, affairs were drawing to a crisis, and the enemies of Mohammed were determined to effect his ruin; a powerful coalition was formed, and it was resolved, under oath, to take away the life of the troublesome head of the new sect. Mohammed very naturally was alarmed at the prospect, and without hesitation accepted the offers of assistance from some proselytes at Yathreb or Medina. A band of these, some seventy or more in number, came to Mecca, met Mohammed by night on a hill near the city, and exchanged vows of mutual fidelity and support. He advised his companions to leave Mecca for Medina, intending speedily to follow them with Abu-Bekr and Ali. His escape was narrow indeed. Ali wrapped the green mantle of his cousin around him and lay down in his place, whilst the assassins, thinking that it was Mohammed, did not discover the mistake till morning. Meanwhile the bird had flown; accompanied by Abu-Bekr, he hid himself in a cave for three days, and barely escaping from his enemies he succeeded in reaching Medina, where he was received with demonstrations of joy and confidence. This *flight* (the Arabic *el-Hijrah*) is the epoch in the Arabian chronology

from which all other events are dated. It took place in the latter part of the summer of the year A. D. 622, when Mohammed was in the fifty-third year of his age.*

We have now reached the turning point in Mohammed's career. Heretofore he had expressly declared that his business was only to preach and admonish, and that it was not his concern whether people believed or not. Up to this period he had been content to employ only persuasion, disclaiming, in the most positive manner, the use of force or violence of any kind in propagating his doctrines; exhorting his followers to bear with patience and resignation insults and injuries, in the hope of the joys of that paradise which he so glowingly depicted; and choosing rather himself to flee and become an exile from his native city, than to resist his enemies. Had he been an honest and consistent man, he would have adhered to the sentiments which he had avowed, and which he pretended were derived from heaven during the twelve years past; but he was neither; and when the opportunity offered he hesitated not to embrace it, and to use other and more potent arguments with his opponents. He now began to arm his followers, and to prepare by force to extend his religion; and with shameless audacity, his forged revelations now breathed only war and violence against idolaters and unbelievers. His plea now was, that whereas other prophets had come with miracles and been rejected, he was to take different measures and to propagate his tenets by the sword. We call it the turning point, because his previous course might be extenuated, might even be praised as that of a sincere hater of idolatry, an earnest reformer and a preacher of nobler and better things than were believed or practised by his countrymen in Mecca; but when we see that so soon as he had the opportunity, he deliberately falsified all his previous declarations of patience, meekness, non-resistance of injuries, and such like, and instituted his bands of brothers, and gave orders to retaliate on the Meccans, we believe that whatever of sin-

* It is the general opinion of our chronologers that the first day of the Muslem era of "the Flight," (in Arabic "el-Hijrah," more correctly translated "the Emigration,") was Friday, the sixteenth of July, A. D. 622. This era does not commence from the day on which the prophet departed from Mekkeh, (as supposed by most of our authors who have mentioned this subject,) but from the first day of the moon or month of Moharram preceding that event. It is said that Mohammed, after he had remained three days concealed in a cave near Mekkeh, with Aboo-Bekr, began his journey, or "the Flight," to El Medeanah, on the ninth day of the third month, sixty-eight days after the commencement of the era; thus, the flight from the cave may be inferred to have commenced on the 22d of Sept.—Lane's "*Modern Egyptians*," chap. ix.

cerity might be claimed for him during the long years of enmity and persecution, while his hands were tied up, he had not the courage, if he had the virtue, to strive against the powerful passions of revenge, lust, and ambition. We shall see him now the hero, the conqueror, the fierce and fanatical propagator of his new religion, the man of large desires, the founder of an empire. The latter ten years of his life form, indeed, a study worthy of profound consideration; most painful, it is true, to the lover of things pure and holy and godlike, but most profitable in leading the mind of the devout Christian to meditate upon the mysterious wisdom which has permitted the rise, spread, and continuance of so marvelous a system of imposture and deceit.

It is not necessary to our present purpose, to follow out very particularly the events subsequent to the arrival of Mohammed at Medina. His various expeditions and battles, amounting within five years to not less than twenty-seven, in which he commanded in person, and nine pitched battles, are no farther important in this hurried outline of his life and career, than as illustrating the scheme which he had elaborated, and his determination to accomplish his purposes by force rather than any milder means. The battle of Beder, in the first year of the Hijrah, may be regarded as laying the foundation of all his subsequent greatness; for with only three hundred and thirteen men, he defeated Abu-Sofian, his mortal enemy, with a force of a thousand of the Meccan troops. In the sixth year of the Hijrah, Mohammed, with a body of fourteen hundred followers, went on a pilgrimage to Mecca, and after some dispute and prospect of fighting, a truce was concluded upon between him and the Meccans for ten years. One great advantage resulted to the impostor, from this pilgrimage, for soon after three of the bravest warriors of the age joined his standard: Khaled, who had defeated Mohammed and nearly ruined his whole cause at Ohod; 'Amr, subsequently the conqueror of Egypt; and Othman, at that time the guardian of the Kaaba. The truce lasted only two years, when Mohammed, alleging that it had been broken by the opposite party, marched against Mecca with ten thousand men. Unable to resist him, the city surrendered, and the successful general's authority was now established. He destroyed the idols in the Kaaba, dealt leniently on the whole, with the Koreishites who embraced his tenets, and declared that henceforth Mecca was to be holy ground, and soon after received embassies from all quarters, offering submission to him and his religion. So numerous were the ambassadors who crowded to his

court at Medina, that in the poetic language of his countrymen, they exceeded the dates that fall from the ripe palm trees. His career was now near its end. Several years previous to this, he had been entertained in the house of Hareth, a Jew of the town of Haibar, which capitulated to his arms. Zamah, one of Hareth's daughters, a bold and energetic girl, determined to make trial of the impostor's knowledge, and so inserted poison into a shoulder of mutton which was set before the company. Mohammed, though eating sparingly of the dish, received some of the poison into his system, and from this date his health declined. In the eleventh year of the Hijrah, and after a pilgrimage to Mecca, which was his last, acute pains in the head and violent fever gave warning of his approaching end. The closing scenes, as handed down to us by Arab writers, are not wanting in dignity or impressiveness, while they suggest painful and humiliating reflections on the state of mind and heart which could allow a man of blood, a deceiver, and one who had made the name of God and His truth, a cloak to cover his ambition and lust, to lie down and die in comparative peace. His death took place in the eleventh year of the Hijrah, the 8th of June, A. D. 632, in the sixty-second year of his age.*

In endeavoring to form an accurate acquaintance with the facts of the case, we have said above that it is necessary to make some examination into the Koran itself, which illustrates Mohammed's designs, and enables us to judge more clearly than we could otherwise, of his character and purposes. We shall do this as briefly as possible. And first, it may be noted, that the whole substance of the positive teaching of the Koran, may be comprehended under these two propositions or articles, viz: "there is no God but God," and "Mohammed is His prophet;" the latter of these, giving him absolute and unlimited power to establish as of divine authority, whatsoever he might

* They who have devoted much attention to the study of Oriental history, will appreciate the difficulty of discriminating the true from the false in the life of Mohammed. To this point the accurate Hallam alludes, and his words are worth quoting: "We are very destitute of satisfactory materials for the history of Mohammed. Abulfeda, the most judicious of his biographers, lived in the fourteenth century, when it must have been morally impossible to discriminate the truth amidst the torrent of fabulous tradition. Al-Jannabi, whom Gagnier translated, is a mere legend writer; it would be as rational to quote the Acta Sanctorum as his romance. It is, therefore, difficult to ascertain the real character of the prophet, except as it is deducible from the Koran; and some sceptical Orientalists, if I am not mistaken, have called in question the absolute genuineness even of that. Gibbon has hardly apprised the reader sufficiently of the crumbling foundation upon which his narrative of Mohammed's life and actions depends."—Hallam's "*Middle Ages*," Vol. I, Chap. 6.

choose, or find convenient to his plans. The Mohammedan doctors make their religion to consist of two parts, faith and practice. Faith is divided into six articles: 1, A belief in the unity of God, in opposition to those whom they call associators; by which name they mean not only those who, besides the true God, worship idols or inferior gods or goddesses, but Christians also, who hold our Blessed Saviour's divinity, and the doctrine of the Trinity. 2, A belief in angels, to whom they attribute various names, shapes, and offices, borrowed from the Jews and Persians. 3, The Scriptures or various books, revealed at different periods to the prophets and others, amounting in all to a hundred and four. 4, The prophets, who are said to be, Adam, Seth, Enoch, Abraham, &c., whose books are lost; Moses, David, Jesus, and lastly Mohammed, whose various revelations still remain, as the Pentateuch, the Psalms, the Gospels, and the Koran. The whole number of these prophets, according to some, is 224,000, according to others, 724,000. Our Saviour is spoken of with great reverence, as also Moses; but it is asserted that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments have been greatly corrupted. 5, A belief in the resurrection and day of judgment; under this article appears the sensual paradise of the impostor, set off with every thing which could commend it to a people of fiery imaginations and strong passions, as the Arabs; while, on the other hand, the torments of hell are painted in terrible colors, and under images of frightful sternness and bitterness. 6, God's absolute decree and pre-determination of all things, both good and evil; which Mohammed found an exceedingly serviceable doctrine, on very many occasions of difficulty and danger to his scheme. Their four fundamental points of practice are, 1, Prayer, under which are comprehended those washings or purifications required before prayer. 2, Alms-giving, which is looked upon as highly meritorious. 3, Fasting, especially during the month Ramadan. 4, Pilgrimage to Mecca, which every man is obliged to make, once in his life.

Such, in brief, is the ethical system of Mohammedanism, as it is collected by the teachers of that false religion out of the Koran; but it is manifest that this statement does not cover the whole ground. According to the learned Golius, "the general design of the Koran seems to be this: To unite the professors of the three different religions then followed in the populous country of Arabia, who for the most part lived promiscuously, and wandered without guides, the far greater number being idolaters, and the rest Jews and Christians, mostly

of erroneous and heterodox belief, in the knowledge and worship of one eternal, invisible God, by whose power all things were made, and those which are not may be, the Supreme Governor, Judge, and absolute Lord of the creation; established under the sanction of certain laws, and the outward signs of certain ceremonies, partly of ancient and partly of novel institution, and enforced by setting before them rewards and punishments, both temporal and eternal; and to bring them all to the obedience of Mohammed, as the prophet and ambassador of God, who after the repeated admonitions, promises, and threats of former ages, was at last to establish and propagate God's religion on earth by force of arms, and to be acknowledged chief pontiff in spiritual matters, as well as supreme prince in temporal."

Besides this, it is to be recollected that the impostor pretended that the Koran was all written in heaven, and brought down to him by the angel Gabriel, piece by piece, as occasion required, and consequently matters of every description are introduced, according as the necessities of his case demanded. Hence, amid the diversity of subjects and occasions, it is not to be wondered at, that the Koran, every now and then, contradicts itself, a fact very inconvenient and very troublesome to the Mohammedan doctors, until following their master's leading, they invented the "doctrine of abrogation," or the process by which they say that what was revealed at one time, was revoked by a new revelation.* A most admirable contrivance indeed to evade difficulties; but how insulting to the Majesty of eternal and immutable truth, to make it thus as variable and uncertain as the lusts, or passions, or needs of a bad man and vile pretender might require. Nor this alone: the Koran abounds in jejune narratives, corrupted and added to, drawn from the Scriptures in part, and in part from the early heretics and Jews; it has portions which relate specifically to particular events, as when Mohammed shocked the better sense of his deluded followers, by fixing his lustful desires upon the wife of Zeid, his adopted son, and taking her as his wife, and when, under suspicious circumstances, he sought to bolster up the credit and purity of his wife Ayesha, &c.; it has very many admonitions and exhortations to receive Mohammedanism, to fight for it, to practice its peculiarities, and to believe its divinity; it contains not a few terrible threatenings against particular persons, and those sometimes of the impostor's own family, who had opposed

* More than a hundred and fifty verses have been thus set aside, to suit Mohammed's purposes.

him in propagating his tenets; and, in fine, it has many noble and even eloquent passages, descriptive of the majesty and attributes of God, the variety and grandeur of the Creation, etc., certainly very superior to any remains of the literature of the seventh century, which we possess, but vastly beneath the sublimity and dignity of the Holy Scriptures, of which the Koran impiously assumes to take the place. Looking at it, then, as a whole, and bearing in mind its claims, we think that the opinions of the most learned and judicious Orientalists respecting it, are fully sustained. We beg to quote a few sentences, as a fitting conclusion to this portion of our review: "when we consider," says Ockley, "the way in which the Koran was compiled, we cannot wonder that it is so incoherent a piece as we find it." "A great deal of it is so absurd, trifling, and full of tautology, that it requires no little patience to read much of it at a time." Sir William Jones declares that "it will be inexpressibly difficult to undeceive them, (Mohammedans,) and scarce possible to diminish their veneration for Mohammed and Ali, who were both very extraordinary men, and the second, a man of unexceptionable morals. The Koran shines, indeed, with a borrowed light, since most of its beauties are taken from our Scriptures; but it has great beauties, and the Mussulmans will not be convinced that they were borrowed." To the same effect Mr. Forster: "with occasional passages of real beauty and power, it is, on the whole, a strange medley, in which the sublime is so nearly allied to the bombastic, the pathetic to the ludicrous, the terrible to the absurd, that each chapter, each page, almost each paragraph, is sure to give rise to the most opposite emotions. Respect, contempt, admiration, abhorrence, so rapidly succeed each other, in the perusal, as to leave no fixed or uniform impression on the mind."

If now we have succeeded in our attempt to lay before the reader the main facts of the case connected with Mohammed's life and career, the further question which relates to his character and motives, will assume very special interest, and be deemed not unworthy our serious consideration. If the period at which the great impostor lived; the state of the world, the Christian world especially, in the seventh century; the marked facts in his personal history; and the tenor of his teachings, as contained in the Koran, be distinctly borne in mind, we shall be able to approach the investigation of this branch of our subject, with tolerable preparation, to say the least, and with the means in our power, to do it something like justice.

ROME SELF-CONVICTED OF ERROR.

ART. VI.—*The Church of Rome Self-convicted of Error, with regard to the Canon of Scripture and Tradition.*

THAT portion of the body of Christ, of which it is our privilege to be members, has, in her XIX Article of Religion, pronounced this deliberate and public judgment concerning that community, which acknowledges a Bishop of Italy as its sovereign head:—"The Church of Rome hath erred, not only in her living and manner of ceremonies, but also in matters of faith;" while in at least twenty other Articles does our Church pointedly condemn either the doctrines or the usages of the Papal hierarchy. Can this judgment be sustained? Can this condemnation be justified? Every minister of our Church has already answered these momentous questions; for previous to his ordination, he subscribed this declaration: "I do solemnly engage to conform to the doctrines and worship of the Protestant Episcopal Church in these United States." And yet in these days, when more perhaps than ever should every one be "ready always to give a reason for the hope that is in him," it may not be misspent labor to reëxamine the considerations which led us to make this declaration, and consequently to review the grounds on which we defend the position we occupy in reference to the adherents of the Roman See.

In order to establish a charge of doctrinal error, it is essential to ascertain what is the sole standard of Christian truth; since until this be conclusively determined, all religious controversy is but idle breath, and all contention for the faith but a profitless beating of the air. What then is the exclusive depository of the revelation which God has mercifully granted to our world?

To this most important question, what answer does the Protestant Episcopal Church return? We have that answer in her VI Article of Religion:—"Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation. In the name of the Holy Scripture we do understand those canonical

books of the Old and New Testament, of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church."

What is the answer given by the Church of Rome to this same question? We have her answer in the Decree of the Council of Trent, "concerning the canonical Scriptures." "The Synod having always in view this object: That all errors being removed, there might be preserved in the Church the purity of the Gospel, which was promised afore by the prophets in the Holy Scriptures, but which our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, did with his own mouth first declare, and afterwards ordered to be preached to every creature, by his Apostles, as the source of all saving truth and moral discipline; and perceiving that this truth and discipline are contained in written books and in unwritten tradition, which being received by the Apostles from the mouth of Christ himself, or from the Holy Spirit dictating to the Apostles, has reached even to us, as though it were transmitted by hand; following the examples of the orthodox Fathers, receives and venerates with the same affection and reverence, all the books of the Old and of the New Testaments, since one God is the author of both, and also traditions themselves relating both to faith and morals, which have been, as it were, orally declared, either by Christ or by the Holy Spirit, and preserved by continual succession in the Catholic Church."—*Session* IV, A. D. 1546.

In this adoption of their respective standards of faith, we must closely notice in what respects the two Churches differ, and in what respects they agree.

The Anglican Church and the Church of Rome differ in this:—The one declares the written Word of God the only depository of revealed truth. "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation." The other, that "this truth is contained in written books and in unwritten traditions:" thus placing Scripture and tradition upon the same basis of authority.

The two Churches are agreed in these important particulars:—Both, pronounce the Scriptures of the Old Testament and the preaching of our blessed Lord and his Apostles the sole fountain of the truth God has disclosed to us in order to save our souls; for, carefully observe, the council of Trent affirms, "The Gospel which was promised afore by the prophets in the Holy Scriptures, but which our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, did with his own mouth first declare, and afterwards order to be preached to every creature, by his Apostles, is the source of all saving truth." And both Churches appeal to the Church Catholic in all preceding ages

to confirm the decision they have respectively uttered concerning the exclusive criterion of Divine revelation. The Anglican Church says, "In the name of Holy Scripture we do understand those canonical books of the Old and New Testament, of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church." The members of the Trentine Council say, "Following the examples of the orthodox Fathers, we receive and venerate with the same affection and reverence all the books of the Old and New Testament, since one God is the author of both, and also traditions themselves relating both to faith and morals, which have been, as it were, orally declared, either by Christ or by the Holy Spirit, and preserved by continual succession in the Catholic Church."

The Church of Rome being herself, then, the judge, we are to "follow the examples of the orthodox Fathers," in order to ascertain what "books both of the Old and New Testament, we are to receive and venerate with the same affection and deference; the Gospel, which was promised afore by the prophets in the Holy Scripture, but which our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, did with his own mouth first declare, and after, order to be preached to every creature, by his Apostles, is the source of all saving truth; and the unwritten tradition which being received from the mouth of Christ Himself, or from the Holy Spirit dictating to the Apostles, has reached even to us, has been preserved by continual succession in the Catholic Church."

I. According, then, to the decision of the Church of Rome, we are, when determining the Canon of Scripture to "follow the examples of the *orthodox Fathers.*"

The Anglican and Roman Churches regard the same books as Holy Scripture, with the exception of these:—Tobit, Judith, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch, Song of the Three Children, History of Susannah, History of Bel and the Dragon, and First and Second Maccabees. The Anglican Church rejecting, the Church of Rome sanctioning and adopting these Apocryphal writings. Which Church is right in her decision? In order to ascertain, we will, as the Council of Trent directs, "follow the example of the orthodox Fathers."*

Beyond all question is it, that our Saviour never recognized the Apocryphal books as belonging to the Old Testament Scriptures. "All things must be fulfilled which were written in the Law of Moses, and in the Prophets, and in the Psalms, concerning me,"† are his well-known words, in which he

* Orthodoxorum Patrum exempla. † Luke xxiv, 44.

describes, as we learn from his cotemporary Josephus, the entire canon of the Old Testament, as it existed in their day. Writes this Jewish historian—"We have not myriads of books, which differ from each other, but only twenty-two, which comprehend the history of all past time, and are justly regarded as divine. Of these, five belong to Moses, containing his laws, and the traditions of the origin of mankind, till his death. This interval of time, from the death of Moses till the reign of Artaxerxes, king of Persia, who reigned after Xerxes, the Prophets, who were after Moses, wrote the transactions of their own times in thirteen books. The remaining four books contain Hymns to God, and precepts for the conduct of human life."* When, then, our incarnate Lord refers to the Old Testament under the title of the Law of Moses, the Prophets and the Psalms, he embraces and ratifies the entire Jewish Canon, as then existing; and as these twenty-two books do not include any portion of the Apocrypha, and as neither himself, nor any of his Apostles, ever quote it, he thus virtually rejects it, as destitute of all claim to be considered divine and authoritative.

Having thus discovered the position occupied by the Apocrypha in the time of our Saviour and His Apostles, we will now, in reference to it, "follow the examples of the *orthodox Fathers*," who are such early writers as the Canon Law of the Church of Rome expressly approves.

The first "orthodox Father" who makes any mention of the Christian canon of Scripture, is *Melito*, Bishop of Sardis, one of the seven Churches of the Apocalypse. He flourished as early as the second century, and yet, though he is careful to furnish us with "an exact statement of the Old Testament, how many in number and in what order the books were written," having for the purpose visited "the East, and the place where the things recorded were proclaimed and done," and giving "accurately the names of the books," he utters not a single word respecting the Apocrypha.† From the testimony of Melito we then learn, that in the second century, neither at Sardis, nor in "the East," nor in "the place" where the events narrated in the Inspired volume occurred, was the Apocrypha received as holy Scripture.

Origen, a Presbyter of the Church of Alexandria in Egypt, is the next "orthodox Father" who has left us a list of the books contained in the Old Testament. He flourished about A. D. 200, traveled extensively, and spent the longer portion

* Contr. Apion, b. 1, c. 8. † Eusebius' Hist. Eccl., b. 4, c. 26.

of his life collecting copies of the Scriptures, and in writing comments upon them. Is the Apocrypha, in his catalogue of books, regarded by Christians of his time as canonical? Not the slightest fragment.†

Eusebius, Bishop of Cesarea in Palestine, A. D. 315, also an "orthodox Father," who in his Ecclesiastical History has preserved the Old Testament lists of Melito and Origen, assures us, when he is speaking of Melito's catalogue, that it was in his own time "acknowledged as canonical." Eusebius thus not only approving the catalogue himself, and therefore excluding the Apocrypha from the inspired Scriptures, but likewise testifying that all other Christians of his period also approved Melito's list, and consequently rejected from the sacred canon the Apocryphal books.

Hilary, Bishop of Poictiers in Gaul, also an "orthodox Father," flourished about the middle of the fourth century. Like Melito and Origen he also presents a catalogue of the twenty-two books of the Old Testament: but his list is utterly devoid of any Apocryphal writing. From his testimony we may perceive in what estimation the Apocrypha was held in the Western part of the Roman Empire.

Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis, in the island of Cyprus, flourished a few years later than Hilary. He too was an "orthodox Father," and has likewise furnished a catalogue of the canonical books of the Old Testament, but this writer does not sanction a single book of the Apocrypha.

Jerome, a Presbyter and renowned scholar and critic, flourished near the end of the fourth century, was in great favor with Damasus, Bishop of Rome, and is pronounced in the canon law "most blessed," while the other Fathers are called only "blessed." His orthodoxy then cannot be called in question; since moreover he is author of the Latin translation of the Scriptures, which the Council of Trent requires every one, under penalty of anathema, to regard as "sacred." Yet, strange to say, the most "blessed and orthodox" author of this "sacred translation," not only does not admit the Apocrypha among the canonical writings, but in express words actually testifies, that as the Church in his day "did not receive the books of Judith, of Tobit, and of the Maccabees, into the number of the canonical books, so she did not read the books of Wisdom, and of Jesus the son of Sirach, to confirm the authority of ecclesiastical doctrines."*

We thus have the united testimony of numerous "ortho-

† Eusebius' Hist. Eccl. b. 6, c. 25. * Prolog. in Libros Salomonis.

dox Fathers," residing in Asia Minor, in Cyprus, in Palestine, in Egypt, in Gaul, in Rome, and each exhibiting the decision of the Christian Church in his respective region, that down to the close of the fourth century, the Apocrypha never had a place among the canonical Scriptures.

Several other "orthodox Fathers" of this early period testify to the same effect, but their evidence we must pass over, for the sake of introducing that of the Council of Laodicea, held A. D. 367. This was indeed a Provincial Council, but as its canons were approved by the Fourth General Council, that of Chalcedon, held A. D. 451, the decisions of Laodicea are stamped with the authority of the Universal Church in the fifth century. In her 60th Canon, the Council of Laodicea expressly forbids the reading in Church of any books except those contained in a list given in this canon; which list of the Old Testament Scriptures corresponds precisely with the catalogue of canonical books in our VI Article, with the single exception of the book of Baruch; and even this book is not found in all the copies of the Laodicean canons.

As this catalogue of the Council of Laodicea was adopted by the Council of Chalcedon, we can now fully perceive what was, down to the middle of the fifth century, the "example of the orthodox Fathers" relating to the Apocrypha. All along to this period, the Church universal rejected the Apocrypha, saving the book of Baruch, and even this was recognized, if the Synod did indeed recognize it, only by a provincial Synod, A. D. 367. Previous to A. D. 340, nearly the middle of the fourth century, there is not among Christians, the least vestige of authorized Apocryphal books, but altogether the contrary; while in this year we discover for the first time the name of an Apocryphal writing, that of Baruch, in a Catalogue of sacred books given by Athanasius of Alexandria. In the year of our Lord 397, the third Council of Carthage, the proceedings of which were never acknowledged by the Church Catholic, admitted the authority of all the Apocryphal Scriptures, with the exception of those of Baruch and the Maccabees; and therefore it was mainly the "example" of these African Fathers, and not the "examples" of our Lord and His Apostles, nor the "examples of the orthodox Fathers" of the first three centuries and a half of the Christian era, that the Council of Trent, in the middle of the sixteenth century, "followed," when, in contempt of the decision of the fourth General Council, and of the judgment of Augustine, "local and provincial councils, without any doubt, yield to the authority of those plenary councils that are assembled together from the

whole Christian world,"* as well as in contempt of the advice of Vincent of Lerins to a Catholic Christian, "Prefer the universal decrees and determinations of an ancient general council before the temerity or folly of a few,"† the Trentine divines added to the sacred canon not less than seven uninspired books.

Guided then by the rule which the Church of Rome has prescribed for herself, "the examples of the orthodox Fathers," the Anglican Church is fully justified in rejecting the Apocrypha, because it was rejected by the "orthodox Fathers" themselves, for the long period of at least three hundred and fifty years: and accordingly by the same rule of judgment furnished by the Roman Church, she is herself convicted of error; inasmuch as she has, in direct opposition to the very example she professes to follow, made unauthorized additions to the Word of God itself.

II. Instructed by the Church of Rome to "follow the examples of the orthodox Fathers," would we discover where only is now to be found "the fountain of all saving truth,"‡ we will next inquire whether these "Fathers" justify the Council of Trent in its assertion, that "this truth is contained in the written books of the Old and New Testaments and in unwritten tradition." In other words: Do the "orthodox Fathers" of the early Church consider any thing as the depository of "saving truth," except the canonical Scriptures themselves?

In summoning the "orthodox Fathers" of the Primitive Church as witnesses to reply to this inquiry, there is difficulty, not in finding a sufficient number to testify most decidedly and conclusively, but where there is such an accumulation of evidence, in compressing their testimony within the narrow limits to which we are obliged to confine ourselves.

Beginning then with the earliest Christian writers, we will call upon a few of them to repeat, by no means all that they have recorded relating to our present subject, but all that we shall now have time to hear.

Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, in the second century, thus testifies: "By no other have we come to the knowledge of the plan of our salvation, but those through whom the Gospel came to us, which they then preached, but afterwards, by the will of God, delivered to us in the Scriptures, to be the foundation and pillar of our faith."§ According to this "orthodox

* De bapt. Contr. Donat., Lib. 2, c. 3.
† Commonit. sec. 3.
‡ Fontem omnis et salutaris veritatis.
§ Adv. Hær, lib. 3, c. 1.

Father," the Scriptures contain the plan of salvation, and of our faith they are the foundation and the pillar. Of this divine plan, he derived his knowledge from the Scriptures, and from the Scriptures alone; and therefore they are the only source of saving knowledge, the only foundation on which to build our faith, the only pillar on which to repose our hope of acceptance with God.

Clement, of Alexandria, was, before the end of the century, at the head of the famous catechetical school in that city. His testimony is worthy of our special regard. "Let us not wait for the witness of men, but let us believe the matter in question, on the word of the Lord; which is the best of all proofs, or is rather the only proof."*

Tertullian flourished near the close of the second century. What does this celebrated writer affirm concerning the spring-head of saving truth? Speaking of the Church of Rome of his day, he says, "She joins the Law and the Prophets with the writings of the Evangelists and Apostles, and thence she draws the faith."† Accordingly, since from the Law, the Prophets, the Evangelists, and the Apostles, the faith can be drawn without limitation, in these writings is the faith fully contained, and consequently, is not to be found elsewhere.

Hippolytus, a Bishop and martyr, lived about A. D. 220. This is his very valuable testimony: "As many of us as would learn religion, shall not be able to learn it anywhere else than from the oracles of God, the Holy Scripture."‡

The famous *Origen* flourished a very few years later than Hippolytus, and thus delivers his conclusive evidence in the matter under consideration: "The divine Scriptures alone, ought to direct our judgment. If anything shall remain which the Divine Scripture does not determine, no other third Scripture must be taken as an authority."§

Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria, lived in the first part of the fourth century, and testifies to this effect: "The Holy and inspired Scriptures are sufficient of themselves, for the delivery of the truth."‖

Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, in the middle of the fourth century, utters this decisive language: "As it respects the Divine and Holy mysteries of the faith, not even the least point ought to be delivered without the Divine Scriptures."¶

Hilary, Bishop of Poictiers, was contemporary with Cyril; his testimony is equally full in asserting the Scriptures to be

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* Stromata, lib. 7.
† De Præscr. c. 36.
‡ Homil. contr. Noet. sec. 9.
§ In Ep. ad Rom. lib. 10, sec. 35. In Levit. hom. c. 5, sec. 9.
‖ Orat. contr. Gent., sec. 1.
¶ Catech. 4, sec. 12.

the sole authoritative rule of belief: "Hear the faith, not from new writings, but from God's books."* "Those things which are not contained in the book of the law, we ought not even to be acquainted with."†

Optatus, an African Bishop, wrote about A. D. 368. His evidence is not less clear and satisfactory than that already adduced. "As a father having many sons, gives so long as he is present, his commands to each of them, and there is, as yet, no need of a Will; so Christ also, so long as he was present upon earth, though he is not now absent, gave commands to His Apostles for every thing that was necessary, as occasion required. But, as an earthly father, when he perceives himself to be near death, fearing lest after his decease, the brothers should quarrel with one another and go to law, calls witnesses, and transfers his wishes from his dying breast to tablets that will endure; and if a contention shall have arisen between the brothers, resort is not had to the grave, but the Will is demanded; and he who rests in the sepulchre, speaks in silence from the tablets; [so it is with us;] He, whose Will we have, is alive in Heaven: therefore, let his desires be sought in the Gospel as his Will."‡

Basil, Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, also lived in the last half of the fourth century. No words can more strongly than his, declare the exclusive claims of Scripture as the rule of faith and record of revelation. "It is a manifest defection from the faith, and mark of pride, either to reject anything of what is written, or to introduce anything of what is not written; our Lord Jesus Christ saying, 'My sheep hear my voice;' and the Apostle, by an example taken from human things very earnestly forbidding us to add to, or to take away from, anything in the inspired Scriptures, when he says, 'A man's will when confirmed, no man disannulleth or addeth to.'§ It is right that those hearers who have learned the Scriptures, should test what is said by their teachers, and receive those things that are agreeable to the Scriptures, and reject those that are contrary; and earnestly avoid those that persevere in maintaining such doctrines."‖

The declarations of Basil's brother, *Gregory*, Bishop of Nyssa in Cappadocia, are, if possible, even stronger. "We have not the power of saying what we please, inasmuch as we use the Holy Scriptures as our rule for every doctrine of

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* Ad Constant. Aug. lib. 2, sec. 8–10.
† In. Ps. 132, sec. 6.
‡ De Schism. Donat. adv. Parmen. lib. 5, sec. 3.
§ Serm. de fide, sec. 1.
‖ Moral. Regul. 72, c. 1.

our law; and being under the necessity of referring to this, we receive only that which may be agreeable to the scope of what is there written."*

Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, was of the same period with Basil and Gregory. How exactly does his evidence correspond with theirs: "Let the Divine Scripture be your path. Trust to no one to guide you, but where the light of that lamp goes before."†

Jerome, is still another distinguished writer, belonging to the latter portion of the fourth century. Remarkably distinct is his testimony to the sufficiency and perfection of the Scriptures: "The doctrine of the Church, which is the house of God, may be found in the fulness of the Divine books.‡ As we deny not these thing that are written, so we reject those things that are not written."§

Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria, flourished near the close of the century. As a witness for our present purpose, his words are as positive and strong as any we have already heard: "It would be the instigation of a demoniacal spirit to follow the conceits of the human mind, and to think anything divine beyond what has the authority of the Scriptures."

Augustine, whose writings have perhaps exerted a greater influence in the Christian world, than those of any other uninspired man, was made Bishop of Hippo in Africa, A. D. 395. His testimony on the subject we are examining, is very full and most satisfactory. Let us hear some portions of his evidence—"The Holy Scripture fixes the rule of our doctrine.‖ According to the books of the Prophets and Apostles we may freely judge of other writings, either of the faithful, or of unbelievers. That which in the writings of Cyprian agrees with the authority of the Divine Scriptures, I accept to his praise; that which does not so agree, I reject without any offence to him.¶ The Lord Jesus having done many things, they are not all written; as St. John the Evangelist testifies: but those things were chosen for writing, which appeared to be sufficient for the salvation of those who should believe.** Either with respect to Christ or his Church, or anything else whatever that pertains to your faith and life, I will not say, 'We,' because we are by no means to be compared to him who said, 'although we;' but certainly I will say what he has

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* De Anim. et Resurrect.
† In. Ps. 118, Serm. 14, sec. 11.
‡ Ep. ad Paulum, ep. 30, sec. 6.
§ Adv. Helvid. sec. 19.
‖ De bono viduit. c. 1.
¶ Contr. Cresc. Donat. lib. 2, cc. 31, 32.
** In Johann. Evang. c. 11, Tract. 49, sec. 1.

followed it up with: If an angel from Heaven shall have preached to you anything beyond," [præter, beyond, besides; not contra, against, as the Romanist Bellarmine tries to gloss,] "what ye have received in the Scriptures of the Law and the Gospel, let him be anathema."*

Chrysostom, the noted Bishop of Constantinople, was a contemporary of Augustine. We have time to hear even from his golden mouth but a single sentence, and yet this is truly a judgment and direction more precious than fine gold itself: "Look not for another master: thou hast the oracles of God: no one teaches thee like them: ignorance of the Scriptures is the cause of all evils."†

Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria, near the beginning of the fifth century, is a witness of the same spirit with those already cited, for he thus testifies: "It is necessary that we should follow the sacred Scriptures; in nothing going beyond what they mention."‡

Theodoret, Bishop of Cyprus in Syria, A. D. 420, and an Ecclesiastical historian, must be allowed to briefly offer his testimony: "Do not bring me human reasonings and syllogisms, for I am governed only by the Divine Scripture.§ We are instructed not to introduce anything foreign to the Divine Scripture, but to be satisfied with the teaching of the Spirit."‖

Vincent, of Lerins in France, is an important witness, inasmuch as he has written a valuable treatise, the express design of which, is, to confute all heresies by two instrumentalities: the authority of the law of God, and the tradition of the Catholic Church; and yet he thus testifies to the perfection and sufficiency of the written word of God: "The Canon of the Scripture is perfect, and most abundantly of itself sufficient for all things."¶

The last witness we shall now introduce, is *Gregory*, the first Bishop of Rome of that name, who flourished near the end of the fifth century. As coming from the mouth of a man who occupied the reputed chair of St. Peter, his testimony is worthy of especial regard: "By the Scriptures God speaks all that he desires.** In this volume all that can edify, all things that instruct, are contained in writing.†† What indeed is the Holy Scripture, but a letter of the Omnipotent God to his creature? Study, therefore, I beseech you, and daily meditate upon the words of your Creator; learn the mind of God in the word of God."‡‡

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* Contr. litt. Petil. lib. 3, c. 6.
† In Coloss. hom. 9, sec. 1.
‡ De recta fide ad Reg. lib. 2.
§ Eran. Dialog. 1.
‖ Quæst. in Levit. q. 9.
¶ Commonit. sec. 2.
** Exp. in Job, lib. 16, c. 35.
†† In Ezech. lib. 1, hom. 9. ad fin.
‡‡ Epist. lib. 4. Ep. 31.

In addition to this remarkable testimony of these numerous "Orthodox Fathers," to the entire sufficiency and exclusive authority of the canonical Scriptures, we shall refer to the proceedings of a single general council, that of Nicæa, A. D. 325, as indicating the principle on which the Church universal, at that period, proceeded, when defining the faith and defending it against the assaults of heresy. What was this principle? Absolute submission to the decision of the written word of God, and not any deference to Church tradition, (except as invaluable testimony,) as though thus tradition was of itself a divine informant. That this was the principle adopted and followed by the Nicene fathers, we may presume, from the address of the Emperor Constantine at the opening of the Council. "It would be grievous, that we should wound one another, especially when we are discussing divine things, and have the teaching of the most Holy Spirit fully committed to writing; for the Evangelical and Apostolical books, and the oracles of the ancient prophets, clearly and fully teach us what should be our views respecting the Godhead. Let us therefore banish hostile contentions, and take the solution of the points in question, from the words of divine inspiration."*

The presumption concerning the principle, by which the council of Nicæa guided itself in all its decisions, arises to positive proof, when we hear Athanasius, who attended the Council, and is one of its historians, thus testifying: "The assembled Bishops, being desirous of rejecting the impious phrases invented by the Arians, and of writing words that were confessedly words of Scripture, collected together out of the Scriptures these words, 'The brightness of the glory,' and 'The image of the Father's substance, and, 'I and my Father are one,' and wrote more plainly and compendiously, that the Son was consubstantial with the Father: for all the previous expressions have this meaning."†

This unanimous voice of the ancient Christian Church respecting the perfection and exclusive authority of the holy Scriptures, we hear distinctly echoed along the medieval period, though its sound is gradually almost lost amidst the rising clamor of the novel and conflicting traditionary system; for, in the ninth century, the fourth Council of Constantinople pronounces traditions to be the "secondary oracles of God;" a most erroneous judgment, plainly introductory to the un-

* Theodoret, Hist. Eccles. lib. 1, c. 6.

† Ad Afr. Episc. Epist. sec. 5, 6; also Theodoret, Hist. Eccl. lib. 1, c. 7.

justifiable decree of the Trentine fathers, that the saving truth of the Gospel is to be found in unwritten tradition, as well as in the inspired Scriptures.

The celebrated *Duns Scotus*, an Oxford professor of theology in the thirteenth century, says, "that holy Scripture contains, sufficiently, the doctrine necessary to a traveler through this life."*

Gregory, of Rimini, in Italy, and a doctor of theology at Paris, in the fourteenth century, when speaking of "those things whereby the most wholesome faith that leadeth to true happiness is begotten, nourished, defended, and strengthened," utters this very decided language: "It is evident every such thing is either expressly, in precise terms, contained in holy Scripture, or is deduced from things so contained in it; for, otherwise, the Scripture should not be sufficient to our salvation, and the defense of our faith, which is contrary to St. Augustine."†

The expressions of *John Gerson*, chancellor of the university of Paris at the beginning of the fifteenth century, are not less strong: "The Scripture is delivered to us as a sufficient and infallible rule for the government of the whole ecclesiastical body, and its members, to the end of the world. So that it is such an art, such a rule, or exemplar, that any other doctrine which is not conformable to it, is to be renounced as heretical, or to be accounted suspicious, or not at all appertaining to religion."‡

We have thus listened to the full, decisive, and concurrent testimony of the "orthodox Fathers" of the primitive Church, as well as to the testimony of a few noted Roman Catholic ecclesiastics of the middle ages, witnessing, both as representatives of the period in which they respectively lived, and as assembled judges in matters of religious controversy, and uniting in asserting the exclusive claims of the sacred Scriptures to our faith and obedience; and since, according to the judgment of the very Fathers, whose "examples" the Church of Rome professes to "follow, when determining the canon of Scripture, the written word of God, is the *sole* depository of "saving truth," these "Fathers" themselves pronounce her to be in grievous error, when declaring that a portion of "this truth is contained in unwritten tradition."

But before this investigation, in the present direction of our inquiry, will be complete, it will be quite essential to ascer-

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* Prolog. 1, sent. qu. 2, Oper. t. V. p. 1. † In sent. Dist. I, qu. I, art. II.
‡ De Exam. Doctrin., pars ii, con. i.

tain in what senses the word Tradition is employed by the "orthodox Fathers."

This term, so sadly perverted of late, and which has been to the Church of Christ the occasion of unmeasured evil, is used by the early Christian writers with these several significations:

1. They frequently employ the word as identical in meaning with that of the Scripture itself.*

2. In the primitive Church, the term is sometimes used in the simple sense of teaching, without any idea of successional delivery.†

3. Very often do the early Fathers give to the word the signification of the teaching and belief of preceding ages, without always specifying in what way this teaching and belief had been transmitted, whether orally or in writing, and without fixing the point where the transmission began, whether with the commencement of the Gospel itself, or at some subsequent period.

4. One other meaning do the primitive Fathers, perhaps as frequently, assign to the term Tradition—that of ecclesiastical custom and usage, whether originating with our Saviour and his Apostles, or afterwards.

These appear to be all the significations in which the word Tradition, as occurring in the writings of the "orthodox Fathers," can be taken. When it is identified with the term Scripture, it must, like the Scripture itself, designate the depository of all revealed truth; but when the word is used by them in any other sense, it is impossible to prove that it ever indicates an addition or complement to the written oracles of God, as though they were imperfect without it; or that it signifies, as modern Romanists assert, the subjective consciousness of the Church. We have heard the whole bench, as it were, of the early Fathers, declaring that the canonical Scriptures are the only "source of saving truth;" and these intelligent and Christian witnesses cannot be shown to be so inconsistent and self-contradictory, as, in the very face of this so oft-repeated assertion, to maintain that something else is to be mingled with this divine and life-giving fountain. With them, Tradition is human, not divine, testimony; a witness, and not a revelation; an expositor, and not an unerring judge; an historical document, known and permanent, and not an

* e. g. Origen, Cyprian, Athanasius, Cyril of Jerusalem, Basil, Gregory Nyssen, and Epiphanius. Goode's Div. Rule, 192, 801.

† Polycrates, in Euseb. Hist. Eccl., b. 5, c. 24.

inward feeling, hidden, uncertain, and changeable; and therefore, though it was in their hands, as it is now in ours, since it is written history itself, of the greatest use in fixing and confirming the teaching of Scripture, and of testing the correctness of its interpretation in the general, though not of every text, the "orthodox Fathers," of at least the first six centuries, never allow tradition to occupy the least portion of the high and authoritative place which God has assigned exclusively to his inspired and written word.

Guided by the "orthodox Fathers," we have thus discovered what is the divine and sole foundation of our Christianity; the Books of Holy Scripture, excluding the Apocrypha and all Tradition; and have also, by this process, obtained an infallible criterion, by which to try the truth and the falsehood of all articles of faith, by what Church soever they may be professed.

Subjected to this searching and purifying ordeal, a large number of the dogmas of the Roman Church will be found to be utterly untenable and false; inasmuch as neither the Pope's supremacy, her five additional sacraments, the propitiatory sacrifice of the mass, the transubstantiation of the elements, the denial of the cup to the laity, prayers to angels and departed saints, the assumption and worship of the Virgin Mary, nor the notion of purgatory, have the slightest support from the written word of God; and consequently, the Church of Rome, in constituting these things matters of faith, which she demands all the world to believe, on penalty of God's eternal curse, doth most grievously and sinfully err.

III. But the definition which the Council of Trent has, in its decree concerning the canonical Scriptures, given of Tradition, must not escape our notice. According to the council, Tradition is "saving truth, received by the Apostles from the mouth of Christ himself, or from the Holy Spirit dictating to the Apostles, and preserved by continual succession in the Catholic Church."

In this Trentine definition of Tradition, two things are specially to be observed: The origin of Tradition; and the mode of its preservation in the Church Catholic. According to the decree of the Council of Trent, the origin of tradition is the holy Apostles of our Lord, which tradition they received, either from His mouth, or from the dictation of the Holy Spirit; and the mode by which this tradition thus originating is preserved in the Church, is continual succession.

1. The Trentine Fathers affirm, that the "saving truth contained in tradition originated with the holy Apostles of our

Lord, and that this tradition they received either from His mouth, or from the dictation of the Holy Spirit." The Council of Trent, then, being itself the judge, there has been no new saving truth since the days of the Apostles; for the Council expressly asserts, that "all saving truth is contained either in the written books of the Old and New Testament, or in unwritten tradition originating with the Apostles." In the judgment of the Trentine Council there can now, therefore, be no objective development of revealed truth; no new object to be developed by the subjective consciousness of the Church, and to be received as an article of faith. Yet this notion, unknown to the Church of Rome herself in the sixteenth century, and unknown in all antecedent ages, is the very dangerous novelty adopted and acted upon in the nineteenth century by the present Pope himself, who, in his Encyclical Letter of Feb., 1849, calls upon "the patriarchs, primates, archbishops, and bishops, of the whole Catholic universe," to express to him their "wishes and feelings," relative to the immaculate conception of the Blessed Virgin, that "it may at last be decreed by a solemn judgment of the Holy See, that she was conceived exempt from any soil of original sin." The subjective "feeling" in the breasts of the Roman clergy is soon, if it is not already, to be pronounced by their supreme Bishop, an objective and actual reality—a revelation of the Holy Spirit, through their inward consciousness—a part of the Christian system—an article of the faith, to be believed, in order to secure the salvation of the soul!

This may be justly called Rationalism; for Christian truth is hereby removed from its historical basis, where alone it can rest securely, and is subjected to the test of something within the human soul; a process which, however agreeable to mysticism and fanaticism, is, in its character, essentially rationalistic and infidel.

Compared then with herself, the Church of Rome is not now, in doctrine, what she was at the time of the Reformation. Then she professed to have "no fountain of saving truth but the Scriptures, and tradition originating with the Apostles;" while, at the present time, she claims the possession, in the bosoms of her clergy, of a living and perpetual inspiration, which requires only development and definition, and the Christian revelation, which St. Jude declares to have been "once delivered" for all time, can be increased indefinitely! "The certainty which she has of the truth of her doctrines," remarks Mœhler, one of her highly approved expositors, "is an immediate one; for, by the power of the Divine Spirit,

they are indelibly stamped on her consciousness;* tradition is the consciousness of the Church."† No such teaching as this was heard in the Roman body three centuries since; but, inasmuch as it is now heard from her sovereign Head himself, she is convicted, by her own authorized standards, of that, exemption from which she so unwarrantably arrogates to herself, change and fallibility.

We remarked that the modern doctrine of development, as held by the Romanists, was utterly unknown to the primitive Church. In proof of this assertion, it is sufficient to refer to the unanimous testimony of the early Fathers already cited, who affirm that the written word of God is the only source of revealed truth; but on a point so important, we must not withhold the remarkable declarations of Vincent of Lerins, in the fifth century, whereby he most explicitly condemns the presumptuous novelties, with which, on all hands, we are now called to contend. "To preach anything to Catholic Christians beside that which they have received, never has been lawful, nowhere is lawful, nor ever shall be lawful."‡ "I cannot sufficiently wonder at the greatness of the madness of some men, at the greatness of the impiety of their blinded minds, at the greatness at last of their lust of error, which make them not content with the rule of faith once for all given and received of old, but seek every day novelty after novelty, always aiming at adding something to religion, changing something in it, or taking something from it.§ The doctrine of the Christian religion must remain incorrupt and undefiled; it can admit nothing more in the way of change, can allow no loss of any property, no variation in its definition."‖

2. One other thing must be closely noticed in the definition, which the Council of Trent furnishes of Tradition: the mode of its transmission from the Apostles. This mode is "continual succession in the Catholic Church." According then to the decree of the Trentine Council, that tradition contains saving truth, which can be by "continual succession" traced up historically to the Apostles. This "continual succession" of the tradition must be demonstrated by historical documents, since in no other way can the "succession" be possibly shown to be "continual:" and it is a fact, easily verified, that every tradition which can be historically referred to the times of the

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* Symbolism, p. 367. † Ib., p. 364.
‡ Commonit. c. 9. § Commonit. c. 21.
‖ Commonit. c. 23. See also Doctrine of Development, in Dr. Moberly's Sayings of the Great Forty Days.

Apostles, can also be identified in the books of the New Testament itself.

To this test, then, of "continual historical succession," we subject the creed of Pope Pius IV, set forth by him A. D. 1564, and ever since received by every member of the Roman Communion. What is the result of applying this criterion? The Articles of this creed cannot be referred back to the times of the Apostles, but, on the contrary, the exact period when each opinion was first broached in the Christian Church, can be historically specified. At that specific period, the dogma was a novelty, and because a novelty, no part of the Christian revelation,* and consequently, cannot, without sinful presumption, be declared a constituent portion of the Gospel doctrine.

It is in these several ways that the judgment of the Anglican Church must be sustained, and her sentence of condemnation be justified, when she declares, as she now has declared for three hundred years, and must declare till the unhappy necessity for her protestation shall cease, "The Church of Rome hath erred." That Church hath erred, in not following the "orthodox Fathers," when determining the only "fountain of saving truth;"—she hath erred in substituting the modern, rationalistic, and infidel dogma of development for tradition which originates with the Apostles;—and she hath erred, in introducing into her decrees and creed, articles of faith which can neither be proved by Scripture, nor be historically deduced from the Apostles in a line of unbroken succession. Her errors in these several respects are disclosed by her own published standards; and accordingly, the Church of Rome is self-convicted of departing most widely and dangerously from the "one Faith," which the Only Begotten Son of God, came from Heaven to introduce, and which His blessed Apostles toiled and died to establish in this darkened and sinful world.

From the whole subject, which has now been under review, this fundamental fact is most clearly apparent: The basis of our Holy religion is documentary evidence; evidence originally cognizable by the senses, authoritatively attested and preserved by the Church, and now submitting itself to the ordeal of our reason. Not that reason is the measure of our faith, but that reason examines this evidence, and decides upon its character. If this testimony be found satisfactory, be such as satisfies us in the investigation of all other subjects, then

* Bishop Bull's Vindication of the Church of England.

reason is no longer a guide, but becomes itself an obedient learner in the school of Christ. This only sure foundation of Christianity, and this the principal, legitimate office in religion of the reasoning faculty, it is of the utmost importance at all times to observe, but especially now, when, on the one hand, reason is, by Rationalists, elevated to be the sole judge of doctrine, and on the other, is made by Romanists to yield its place to mere feeling and sentient conviction. In the present theory of Rome, Christian doctrine is the fruit, and not the seed of the subjective Christian life. Our Saviour prayed, "sanctify them through Thy truth," thus asserting that His truth precedes and is a means of sanctification; and St. Peter describes all Christians as "born again by the Word of God;" but according to the new scheme of development, holiness is first, and doctrine afterwards, in such a way, that the soul, in partaking of the indwelling life of Christ, also partakes of all His saving truth; and consequently, will instinctively receive every verity which is really His, and as instinctively reject whatever is merely of human origin.* But if participation of our Saviour's life necessarily includes participation of His truth, then, by parity of reasoning, participation of His life also includes participation of Himself as the "Way;" for he is "The Way," the only Mediator between God and man, as well as "The Truth," and "The Life;" and therefore the Church becomes in herself an expiator of sin, as much as a revelator. Nay, more: inasmuch as the Deity of our Lord is inseparably connected with his humanity, participation of His life will include participation of his Deity, and the Church will herself be the Deity, the Second Person of the incommunicable Godhead, and every member of the Church, a separate Divinity!

Born of the German philosophy, and now baptized by the Roman hierarchy, this is the plausible spiritualism, the blasphemous transcendentalism of the nineteenth century, which we, as Christian ministers and Christian people, are required to expose and refute. This new enemy of the truth cannot be successfully met and vanquished, save on the Scriptural and primitive field of Documentary Evidence, addressing, first our reason, and next our faith; a field, which the Roman Church has found herself compelled to abandon; and, in so doing, to place herself on *essentially infidel ground.* Our whole course of reasoning with Rome must henceforth be changed. Occupying ourselves then, as a Church, the Scriptural and Primitive position,

* Mœhler's Symbolism, sec. 36–43.

God Himself will be with us, to make the Church a name, and a praise in the Earth. And thus too, shall the Grace and Presence of Christ engender the divine life in the soul of the sincere believer, and also cause to spring forth hope, and charity, and every fruit and virtue of the Holy Spirit.

But while, in fidelity to the truth as it is in Jesus, and in love to the souls of our Christian brethren, we are bound fearlessly and distinctly to point out and condemn their errors, we must not exclude them from a place in our affectionate prayers. May therefore their merciful Lord and ours, in view of our common duties and perils, and of his Advent to judge the world, before whom all our controversies must ultimately be settled, grant them, and us, grace to regard and obey this most appropriate and forcible doctrine and exhortation of the Apostle St. Peter, whose words, with his subjects, should be of the highest authority, as in the false Creed of the Church of Rome, he is pronounced Sovereign Prince of all the Apostles, and therefore of all subsequent officers in his kingdom. "Knowing this first, that no prophecy of the Scripture is of any private interpretation; for the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man, but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. We have a more sure word of prophecy, whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-star arise in your hearts."

AMERICAN ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.*

By Rev. F. L. Hawks, D. D. LL. D.

Art. VII.—Whitefield's Accusations against the early Missionaries to America, and their Defence.

A copy of Mr. Whitefield's letter to the Society (P. G. F. P.) against their Missionarys, Nov. 30th, 1740, and also a letter of Dr. Bearcroft on that subject, June 27, 1741.

On board the Savannah, bound from Philadelphia to Georgia, Nov. 30, 1740.

Honored Gentlemen:—

I hope a single eye to God's glory, inclines me to trouble you with this. I have been now through the greatest part of America, and have had an opportunity of seeing the state of the Church of England. I think it is at a very low ebb, and will in all probability be much worse, nay, at last dwindle into nothing, unless care be taken to send over Missionarys that are better qualified for the pastoral office. It is too evident that most of them are corrupt in their principles, and immoral in their practices, and many of them such as could not stand their trials amongst the Dissenters, or were discarded by them for their profaneness and irregularities. Our Church seems to be their last refuge, so that it is almost become a saying, that anything will make a Church Parson. None but those who are here present can tell into what contempt our Church is brought The accounts given in to the Society by the Missionarys, are the subject of common ridicule. I read some of them lately. I was ashamed to see how the nation was imposed on, and therefore thought it my duty to inform you of it. But perhaps I have said too much already; however, I have delivered my soul. I write out of the symplicity of my heart. I leave the consequences to God; for the stones would cry out against me, if I did not speak. If you had a mind only to establish the form of religion, sending such ungodly despicable Ministers would render even that ineffectual. For though the Dissenters have lost much of the Power of Godliness, yet they have enough left to shame us. I speak not this out of prejudice or resentment, for I am as much opposed to their, as our own Carnal Clergy; but I do it to prevent your being imposed on for the future, and to entreat you, if you would not have our tottering Ark fall quite down, that you would not employ such unhallowed hands to keep it up; they will meet with a curse instead of a blessing.

I am, honored Gentlemen,
Your very humble servant,
George Whitefield.

* Copy right secured according to law.

CHARTERHOUSE, June 27th, 1741.

MY LORD:

——Mr. Whitefield hath wrote three letters about the Missionarys, but the Society would not answer them, the two first directed to the Secretary, and the last directed immediately to the Society, which is so extraordinary an one, that I thought it proper to transmit a copy to your Lordship. The stroke under ungodly, despicable, is in the original; though there are several of them, I will venture to affirm, as worthy, and I am sure much more regular than himself. His first letter was levelled chiefly against Mr. Arnold, who had debated with him in print, and the single fact charged by Mr. Whitefield on Mr. Arnold is this, in Mr. Whitefield's own words: "He hath borrowed four or five pounds from one Owen Owens, and said that Mr. Cummins would pay it—when the man applied to Mr. Cummins, he said, he knew nothing of the matter, but rather than have Mr. Arnold exposed, he paid the sum for him. This is to be attested by numbers of witnesses, and Mr. Frame, brother-in-law to Mr. Proprietary Penn, told me yesterday the Governor informed him, how he had been chiding Mr. Cummins for not suffering him to be pursued and apprehended." I wrote upon this to Mr. Cummins, the Commissary of Philadelphia, whose answer is this: "As to that silly story which you tell me Mr. Whitefield wrote against Mr. Arnold, it is true his giddy admirers made a noise with it here, but without any just grounds, for Mr. Arnold, the night before he left this place, asked me to lend him £5. I told him I could not tell if I had so much at that time in the house, but desired him to breakfast with me next morning, and I could then give him an answer. He was obliged it seems to set out very early, and having borrowed the money of Owen Owens, gave him a letter to me, desiring I would pay that sum, and promising to remit it me in a little time from New York. When Owens came demanding his money that morning, after asking him a few questions, I found, though I promised to see him paid, he was ready, and I doubt not instigated by Whitefield's votaries, to follow after and arrest Mr. Arnold, because he had dared to contradict their oracle. I therefore directly paid him the money, and Mr. Arnold soon after very honestly and without any asking, sent me payment of it from New York. I showed your letter to Mr. Frame, the Proprietor's brother-in-law, before some gentlemen: he affirmed what related to him is false." I may perhaps have tried your Lordship, but have mentioned these things, as they may afford some little light to Mr. Whitefield's full thoughts about the Missionarys; and if I can be any way serviceable,

I am, my Lord,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

PHILIP BEARCROFT.

LETTER FROM MR. WHITEFIELD TO THE BISHOP OF OXFORD.

ON BOARD THE MARY AND ANN,
BOUND FROM LONDON TO SCOTLAND, July 28th, 1741.

MY LORD:

Want of leisure, not respect, has been the occasion of my not sending your Lordship my letter which I promised some time ago. Being now on board, on my way to Scotland, I have time to write my thoughts more freely. I would first then observe to your Lordship, that you have too good an opinion of the Missionarys in general, that are employed by the Honorable Society. Your Lordship says, P. 31, "that it hath been pretended indeed that immoral and negligent men are employed as Missionaries." This can be too easily proved. I could mention several instances. Whether this be from want of care I will not take upon me to determine, but that it frequently and commonly happens is certain. I have lately received a letter from Jonathan Belcher, Esq., late Governor of New England, wherein he writes thus: "It is now about thirty-seven years ago that I dined with the late Dr. Compton, then Bishop of London, at his palace at Fulham, and there were several Bishops and other dignified Clergy at table, and knowing me to be a young gentleman of interest and figure in my country, they urged me much to conform to their Church, and asked me how the Church of England got forward in New England. I told their Lordships that they were greatly deceived in what money was sent hither in that service, for that the general rise of the Church in New England was from dissolute livers and such as quarreled with their Ministers, but that it was "Rara avis in terra," for any man to go over to the Church from a principle of religion and conscience, or to improve himself in a pious, serious life, and this really, sir, (adds this worthy gentleman,) is the case of this country at this day." I hope this will have more weight with your Lordship as coming from a gentleman without my knowing anything of it, a gentleman also of figure and good report, and who declares himself unprejudiced in another part of his letter.

For speaking of a particular thing, he writes thus: "Not that I have any squeamish prejudices against that excellent Church, (meaning the Church of England,) although I have been born and bred a dissenter; and pray what do we differ in doctrine? Would they preach and live their articles, there would be a more general coalition among them and the dissenters." And then he afterwards says: "From long observation, I find no person going off from our Church to that of the Church of England, who thereby become more virtually pious. If I found they did, I should, I hope, from a wise and judicious choice, immediately conform." Thus far the worthy Governor Belcher, and, indeed, my Lord, this is too true. Those at a distance cannot well conceive how contemptible our Church is abroad, and that owing to the unworthy, immoral, and negligent lives of the generality of the Missionarys, several of which have come

over to us, because they could not stand tryal among the dissenters, or had lived too loosely among them. Your Lordship is pleased to say, P. 32, "that the most earnest requests, the most solemn abjurations are sent, that all who can, would give any useful intelligence relating to them." This is certainly right and good; but I fear your Lordship hath been misinformed, if your Lordship was told, that great regard is always paid to such intelligence, for I myself have sent over two letters to the Honorable Society for this purpose, and no regard has been paid to them. If your Lordship pleases, I will send you copies of them both. I could not but further observe in looking over the list of the Missionarys, that there are no less than twenty employed in preaching and teaching school in the Province of New England, (where certainly the Gospel is preached with greater purity than at home,) and but two settled Missionarys in all North Carolina, and one of those, viz: Mr. Garzia, can scarce speak English. Does not this look too much like making a party of religion?

I have now a letter by me somewhere amongst my papers, wrote by Dr. Mather to the late Lord Chancellor King, in which he gives sad proofs of the immorality of our Missionaries, and also complains of this seeming partiality. If the people of New England impose taxes on the members of the Church of England, whilst others are exempted, it is certainly wrong. But as the first settlers went over there to worship God in their own way, Independency, I think, may well be reckoned the established worship there, as well as Presbytery the established worship in Scotland; and surely it would more answer the design of the Institution of the Honorable Society, to send Missionaries to North Carolina, where there are inhabitants enough and nobody to teach them, than to New England, where they have a Minister of their own every five or ten miles.

Your Lordship, I am persuaded, is more noble than to be offended with this plainness of speech. The Searcher of hearts knows from what principle I write. Your Lordship is pleased to say, P. 31, "that exact accounts are required from the Missionaries twice a year." And when they are brought in, what accounts do they generally give? That they have baptized so many, and had so many communicants. A poor account this, and in other respects so very bad, that when I was last at Philadelphia, many that were really friends of the Church, upon reading the accounts, were ashamed to see how the Honorable Society was imposed on by the account of the pious labors of the Missionaries. Indeed, your Lordship says, P. 17, and I doubt not your Lordship was informed so, "that multitudes of negroes and Indians have been brought over to the Christian faith." This, for all I know to the contrary, may be matter of fact. I pray God it may be found true at the great day; but your Lordship says, P. 9, "the success of one of the catechists has been so great in the Plantation belonging to the Society, that out of two hundred and thirty, at least seventy are now believers in

Christ." I should be glad to know what Plantation your Lordship means; that seventy may have learned to repeat their Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and ten Commandments in the Vulgar Tongue, and been baptized, is probable enough. But that seventy are now believers in Christ, I cannot help questioning. I fear your Lordship hath been misinformed; and now I am mentioning the negroes, I beg leave to object against the method lately proposed for their conversion, especially in the Province of Carolina, where the Governors are so exceedingly jealous over any that shall undertake publicly to teach them. I believe it will be a work of a long time to find out two or three young negroes, and to instruct them so as to qualify them to instruct others. Besides, few I believe will submit to be taught by a young negro. I question whether the Assembly will permit a slave to learn to write. And after all, this way of converting them will only be teaching them to write and read. These are good things. But without setting over them truly pious people, that may have more authority over them than any young negroes whatsoever, and may lead them to a knowledge of themselves and God, however good the intention of the Honorable Society may be, I fear their good intention will prove abortive and of none effect.

Pennsylvania, in my opinion, is far preferable to Carolina for the instruction of the negroes. The Quakers, however blameable in other respects, are certainly praiseworthy in this, I mean their lenity to their poor slaves. Your Lordship is pleased to urge, these people forbidding to assist his Majesty, (whom I truly love and honor,) as one reason why Missionaries should be sent over to instruct the people in better principles. But at the same time your Lordship takes notice of other pernicious errors, that took early root in the Provinces abroad, that are not yet extirpated, and perhaps in part newly revived. Some, dissolving the obligations of moral duties, some destroying the inward peace of every pious and good person, and making life gloomy and uncomfortable. Some, leading men to ascribe every folly or wickedness that possesses the fancy, to Divine inspiration. Some, inconsistent with our present happy establishment. All these, my Lord, are errors, and as your Lordship hath been pleased so particularly to mention the Quakers, would it not have been right in your Lordship to have pointed out the others also, who are thus erroneous, that people might the better beware of, and so avoid them. I suppose your Lordship would not have mentioned them. And if so, I would humbly submit it to your Lordship's judgment whether you are not bound in conscience, to write to them or plainly name them, that they may either clear themselves or take shame for holding and preaching things contrary to the ever blessed Jesus. Thus, my Lord, I have freely wrote to your Lordship what was upon my heart. I think I have no sinister view in end. I think I write purely out of a zeal for God and the good of souls. I heartily pray for the coming of Christ's kingdom, and would therefore willingly have all things taken out of the way that may obstruct its progress.

I am persuaded your Lordship would not wilfully continue in any error, nor be above receiving information from the meanest servant of Jesus Christ. This persuasion encouraged me to write to your Lordship. You may depend on it, my Lord, that I shall not mention what I have wrote, and if your Lordship is so condescending as to send me a line by way of answer, it shall be kept quite secret by,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's Dutiful Son and Servant,

GEORGE WHITEFIELD.

P. S.—I hope to be in London in about six weeks. If your Lordship pleases to direct a letter to me as before, it will come to hand. The Lord be with your spirit.

LETTER FROM THE LORD BISHOP OF OXFORD TO MR. WHITEFIELD.

CUDDESDEN, SEPT. 17th, 1741.

SIR :—It being now about the time that you propose to be in London, I send this to return you thanks for your last letter. I am not sufficiently acquainted with Governor Belcher's character, to know how far his account of his own impartiality may be relied on. We often deceive ourselves in that matter, and all sects of Christians are too apt to think hardly of those who are not of their own Church, and especially those who leave it; and as there is but too much room for all parties to reproach one another with want of inward religion, very well meaning persons may mistake in making comparisons. To his testimony, you add your own, and I believe you speak as you think. But you must permit me to say, and I do it with sincere good will to you, that I am persuaded you are much too severe in what you have printed concerning your brethren of the Clergy in this Nation, and therefore you may have been too severe in what you have written concerning those abroad; especially as I find that many accounts, different from yours, are sent to the Society concerning their missionaries, by persons in all appearance well deserving credit. Still, what you and the Governor have said, may, and I hope will give occasion for stricter enquiries, but you cannot think it reasonable that we should pay regard to your accounts only. I have seen one, if not both of your letters to the Society. They consist, as I remember, of general charges, without mentioning any particulars, and therefore all that can be done upon them, is to enquire your objection against the number of Missionaries in New England. I have endeavored to answer in my sermon, and if they can be proportioned better, I wish they were. But I have always understood that the reason of there being only two in North Carolina, was the bad reception of those who were sent; of which you may read very discouraging accounts in Humphrey's History of the proceedings of the Society, and the difficulty of finding persons to undertake that mission, which difficulty, I suppose, must have been the reason of

sending a person not sufficiently acquainted, by your account, for I know not the fact, with our language. I believe the accounts of the Missionaries are as regularly sent to the Society as can be expected from that distance, or proper notice taken of the neglect. They may indeed and frequently, if not constantly, do give further accounts than of their Baptisms and their Communions, which however are such marks of Christain profession as deserve to be particularly mentioned, nor do the accounts which we publish, by any means consist of these only. But it may be very improper for us to print every thing, which it may be proper for them to write. If any part of their information which we print is false, we designedly put it in the power of all abroad who are really friends of our Church, or of religion, to prevent our being imposed on by it, and if they will not, the blame is not ours. For making these things the subject of their discourse, instead of informing us, is only doing harm. But, I hope all good persons will consider, how very licentious common discourse upon such subjects usually is, and will therefore examine carefully before they take up accusations. The only plantation belonging to the Society, I mean as their property, is in Barbadoes; and when I say that seventy of the Negroes there are believers in Christ, I use that expression as I apprehend it is commonly used in speaking of countries where different religions are professed, to signify that so many profess themselves Christians. I do not see reason to suspect their being hypocrites in that profession, and I hope their faith produces good fruits. The method lately proposed for instructing Negroes, continues to appear to me very promising, at least highly fit to be tried. There is a prospect that the young Negroes, designed for teachers, will, by the blessing of God on their education, become truly pious as well as qualified in other respects. The disadvantage of their youth will be lessening every day, and they will gain authority by degrees if they are duly supported. It is not, that I know of, proposed that their scholars should learn to write, and I do not at all understand why you say, that this method will be only teaching them to write and read. Whether Pennsylvania is preferable to Carolina for instruction of the Negroes I know not, but wish it were tried every way. What errors took early root in our Colonies, and are not yet extirpated, you may see in Humphrey's; and as I have only spoken doubtfully concerning the revival of any of them, and that not upon any intelligence communicated particularly to me, but from such accounts as lie before the Society, I do not apprehend myself obliged to go further than I have done in this matter. I have accused no person, nor designed to make any person otherwise thought of than he was before. If I have given occasion to any one to ask himself whether he is blameable or not, I have only put him upon doing what we all ought to do more frequently; and God grant we may do it to his glory and our own good.

I am, Sir,

Your loving Brother and Serv't,

THOS: OXFORD.

VIRGINIA CHURCH PAPERS. (COLONIAL.)

We commence in this Number, the publication of some important documents, exhibiting the embarrassments under which the early Church in Virginia labored, especially under the administration of Francis Nicholson, Esq., Governor of the Colony.

COUNCIL OF VIRGINIA TO THE QUEEN [ANNE.]

VIRGINIA, MAY THE 20th, 1703.

TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY:—

We, the subscribers, members of your Majesty's Council of your Colony and Dominion of Virginia, confiding in your Majesty's great goodness and care of your people, beg leave in all humility to represent to your sacred Majesty, that nothing but a true regard to your Majesty's service, the peace and happiness of this colony, and to that trust your Majesty has been pleased to repose in us, should have at present induced us to this unusual way of addressing your sacred Majesty for relief for ourselves and others, your Majesty's good and loyal subjects of this country, from the many great grievances and pressures we lie under, by reason of the unusual, insolent and arbitrary methods of government, as well as wicked and scandalous examples of life, which have been now, for divers years past, put in practice by his Excellency Francis Nicholson, Esqr., your Majesty's Lieutenant and Governor General of this Colony, which we have hitherto in vain endeavored, by more soft and gentle applications to himself, to remedy and prevent; but to our unspeakable grief, we have reaped no other fruit of our more private complaint and representations, but that thereby we have so highly exasperated the revengeful mind of your Majesty's said Governor, to the height of implacable malice and enmity against ourselves and the better part of your Majesty's good and loyal subjects of this colony, who are of the same sentiments, that without your Majesty's seasonable interposition, we cannot but apprehend the dangerous consequences of such practices, not only in kindling and fomenting of lasting feuds and animosities among your Majesty's good subjects here, but endangering the public peace and tranquility of this your Majesty's country.

The particular instances of the mal-administration of your Majesty's said Governor are so many, that we fear the very enumeration of the several sorts of them, would be an encroachment on your Majesty's patience and goodness; and therefore we have chosen rather to transmit them in memorials to some noted friends of this country, to be by them laid before such persons as your Majesty shall think fit to appoint to receive and examine the same; humbly praying your Majesty's gracious consideration of our deplorable circumstances; and that the government of this, your Colony and Dominion of Vir-

ginia may be put into such hands as will observe your Majesty's laws and instructions, and copy after the bright example of your gracious reign and government, to the unspeakable satisfaction of all your Majesty's subjects of this Colony, and among them none more than, may it please your Majesty, your Majesty's most loyal, most dutiful, and most obedient

Subjects and Servants,

Robert Carter,	J. Lightfoot,
James Blair,	Matthew Page,
Phill. Ludwell,	Benj. Harrison.

A true Copy,
John Povey.

Affidavit of Stephen Fouacè, relating to the mal-administration of Col. Nicholson, Governor of Virginia.

25th of April, 1704.

Pursuant to the Directions of the Right Honorable, the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, Stephen Fouacè, Clerk, maketh Oath:

That soon after Colonel Nicholson was made Governor of Virginia, the Deponent being at Mr. Commissary Blair's with the said Col. Nicholson with several others, the said Col. Nicholson went out after supper into the garden with Col. Jennings, and there fell out with him, into a very loud and outrageous passion, using, to the best of the Deponent's remembrance, the vile names of pitiful rogue, rascal, thief, &c., and withall threatened to kick him. The Deponent further saith, that some time after, being alone with the said Col. Nicholson, he took the freedom to tell him, that he, the Deponent, was sorry and concerned to hear his severe usage in ill names and threatenings to Col. Jennings, a gentleman of good family and one of the Council. He took particular notice to him, of the indignity of his calling the said Col. Jennings a thief; upon which friendly and humble admonition of the Deponent, he, the said Col. Nicholson, was so far from regretting his unworthy usage to Col. Jennings, that he continued his threatenings against him, and justified particularly his calling him a thief.

The Deponent further saith, that once on a Sunday, the said Col. Nicholson called (in his way to Kikotan) at the house of the Deponent, about five of the clock, at night, and kept him walking to and again without going in a doors, and entertaining him for near six hours together, with a furious discourse of his designs of revenge against his mistress' father, brother, and other relations that were, he thought, against his match; swearing that his suit must end in blood; that he would have satisfaction of Major Burwell, (his mistress' father,) and a great deal more to the same purpose; when as a minister and a friend whom he had not then yet personally abused, the Deponent endeavored to pacify his mind towards Major Burwell

and others, as having given him no just cause of such resentment, and desired him as a Christian to reflect seriously upon the sinfulness of his bloody designs and resolutions, and the ill consequences of them, (if he put them in execution,) as to his worldly interest and reputation in England and Virginia. All that the Deponent could say to that purpose was in vain and without effect.

The Deponent further saith, that waiting once upon him (the said Col. Nicholson,) with one Mr. Shropshin, (a clergyman who was lately turned out of his parish by some leading men of the vestry, without any just cause,) to beg the favour of him to recommend him to Blisland Parish, where he had made some interest, and had no competitor, he not only refused him in very rough terms, but made him also understand that he would oppose his being received there; upon which Mr. Shropshin entreating him further that he would then give him leave to make application to some of the parishes that were become vacant by the death of their ministers lately deceased, and whom he named to him. What do you, saith he, talk to me of this and the other ministers being dead? I wish there were forty of you dead. The Quakers are in the right; you are all hirelings. Upon which bitter and untrue reflection, having observed to him that we did not expect that name from him, for taking the moderate salary the law allowed us; we took our leave and went away, wondering betwixt ourselves, how we and the world had been imposed upon by his pretended zeal for the Church and Clergy.

The Deponent further saith, that once at a meeting of the governors of the College, Gov. Nicholson fell abruptly, no body knew why, into a fit of passion and cursing against some gentlewomen, which though he did not name, were understood to be the wives of some of the company, calling them jades, whores, and bitches; and then immediately shifting the scene from the absent wives to the present husbands and others, he told us we were brutes and understood not manners; that he knew how to govern the Moors; that he would beat us into better manners, and make us feel that he was Governor of Virginia. Four of the company were of the Council, and the rest, some of the chiefest men of the country, except the Deponent. At this, all the company was amazed and silent, not knowing what to make of that mad, furious, distracted speech.

The Deponent saith further, that he hath heard Col. Nicholson say and threaten that he would seize the college for the King's use.

The Deponent further saith, that the first cause of Col. Nicholson's falling out with him, appeared to be a suspicion that the Deponent, by letters, had given information to my Lord of London, and my Lord Archbishop, of his strange behaviour and carriage in the government, without any proofs but his suspicion. He fell out at once into a very great passion against the Deponent upon that account; and all the protestations the Deponent could make to the contrary, did not pacify him, but from that time he continued full of resentment against him.

The Deponent further saith, that being once invited, with many other friends, to dinner, by Col. Ludwell, Jr., he called, in his way thither, at a friend's house, where he met Mr. Comiss'ry Blair, who being in a little time after sent for by the Governor, the Deponent went with him. When they came near him, he called Mr. Blair aside to him, and in a very little time after they were walking together, the Deponent heard him very loud, (as he is always when in a passion,) for near an hour together. At last he dismissed Mr. Blair, who being asked afterwards by the Deponent what might be the reason of the Governor's anger, answered that the subject of the Governor's loud discourse with him, was of that consequence to him, (the Deponent,) that he thought himself in conscience obliged to acquaint him with it. Why, saith he, he hath sworn several times to me, that he will cut the throats of three men, (if his Mistress be married to another besides himself,) viz: the bridegroom, the minister, and the justice of peace that shall give the licence. Now this dreadful threatning concerns you not only as you are the minister of the parish where his mistress liveth, but also on account of your being the Governor's rival as he hath now a jealousy of it.

This I soon found to be true indeed by experience, for 't was not long after this that on the first day of March, Col. Nicholson waylaid me as I was coming at night from Major Burwell, who was then very sick. As I came near the place where he was, at some distance from the road in the wood, he came out towards me, and being twenty or thirty yards from me he called and at the same time made towards me as I did towards him. When we came near one another, he accosted me with a very angry look, very abruptly, in these very words, (raising his voice to a perfect vociferation,) I command you in the King's name, and upon your canonical obedience as I am your Bishop, not to go to that house (pointing to Major Burwell's house,) except you be sent for, nor to speak to the young lady. Why, sir, said I, being frighted and much amazed, what is the matter? Does your Excellency take me for your rival? I can assure you, sir, I have not that foolish presumption to think to be preferred to your Excellency. I never spoke or acted anything that could justly give you any such jealousy. Hold your prate, sirrah, said he to me. I have taken good notice of you; you are an impudent rogue, a villain, a rascal; you are now insolent and proud, but I'll humble you and bring down your haughtiness. When you came hither you had more rags than bags. I answered something to this purpose, "that if I had been formerly as poor as he was pleased to say, it was no shame to have been poor, and that it was nothing to his ill usage to me, and that whatever my circumstances might now be, they had been better if I had been less zealous for his service." Upon this he renewed his opprobrious names of impudent rascal, scoundrel, &c., and as we were riding along together, he turned short upon me, laid hold of my hat and pulled it off my head and asked me how I had the impudence to ride with

him having my hat on. I replied something to this purpose, that I hoped he would not use me like a footman. After some more words to the same purpose, he gave me my hat again, and told me that I had heard his commands, and that he expected to be obeyed. Sir, said I, I must obey your Excellency; but I think your Excellency would do better to turn me out of the parish, and indeed out of your government, than to command me not to do that which is my duty to do, viz: to visit the sick of my parish; and seeing the case is such, let me tell your Excellency, if you please to have a little patience with me, I will, I assure your Excellency, go out of the country with this fleet, and so obey your commands most effectually. He told me he would be glad to see it. A little time after, he spoke thus to me, or words to this effect: Is it not a shame for one of your function to suffer me to be ridiculed and railed at, in some companies where I know you have been? Is it not your duty to reprove them? To the best of my remembrance, he gave me also a hint that I should have acquainted him with it. To this I replied something to this purpose: That he mistook me if he had taken me for an informer; as for reproving of them, that I was not sensible wherein I had been wanting to my duty; and then I told him, as far as I can remember, that the best way for him to avoid the being ridiculed and ill spoken of, was for his Excellency to take care that his behaviour and actions in his government were such as did not expose him to the odium and contempt of the country. That the King of France himself, with all his absolute power, could not hinder many in his kingdom from speaking ill of him. But seeing your Excellency is pleased to make me mindful of my duty to reprove the evil I see done in my presence, I must make bold to reprove your Excellency for using at this rate, in the highway, in the woods, and in the night, and on a Sunday, a Clergyman coming from visiting the sick of his parish. This sort of usage is not agreeable, I must needs say, to the character of a zealous son of the Church. To this, as I remember, he replied nothing particularly, but continuing on our way, and he in his passion upon some answers I made him, and some hints I gave him that I had deserved better usage from him, he gave me over again the base names of rascal, &c., and added that of banditti, and four several times ran with his horse towards me to lay hold of me, as I thought, threatening with all, at once to lash and drub me as a villain and a rogue, as he said I was. I took good care, being well mounted, to avoid his laying hold of me, but being frighted by his threatenings, and considering that we were alone in the night, and that he had his pistols and swords, and having often heard that he killed a man, whether it be true or no I do not say, I ran away from him as fast as my horse would carry me, and took a special care afterwards never to meet or be with him alone again.

When upon my coming away from Virginia, I waited upon Col. Nicholson, and told him that I came to take my leave of him and receive his commands for England, if he pleases to honor me with

any, he spoke to me in these words: I thought that you might know that I am Governor of Virginia. Sir, said I, I do know it, and it is therefore that I come now to wait on your Excellency, to pay my duty, and receive your commands. Well, saith he to me, have you got my Lord of London's licence to go for England? No sir, said I, I suppose I do not want such a licence. My Lord of London I am confident does not desire to keep any Clergyman against his will in Virginia. Well, saith he to me, again take you notice that I will not give you leave, as you are a Clergyman, to go for England. Sir, said I, I have complied with the law of the country. I have a Pass accordingly, out of the Secretary's office, and I think with submission that I cannot be legally stopt. I wonder your Excellency should now be against my going to England, when not long ago your Excellency seemed to be desirous I should. Ha! saith he, go and tell them so in England, (he meant, I suppose, his late usage of me.) Hereupon he called one of his servants, who being come, he bid him call Mr. Blair, Mr. Cony, Mr. Robertson, and Mr. Harrison, who being all come, he asked Mr. Blair whether I had showed him a licence of the Bishop of London, to go for England. No sir, saith Mr. Blair, he hath not, I wonder how he should, 'tis such a thing as was never required of any Clergyman before going out of this country for England. Sir, said the Governor in words to this effect, I will not argue the thing with you now. I desire you only at present to take notice, as you are Commissary, and you Mr. Harrison, as you officiate in the place of Queen's Attorney, and you Mr. Cony, as you are my Chaplain, and you Mr. Robertson, as you are Clerk of the Council, that I do not give leave to Mr. Fouacè, as he is a Clergyman, to leave this country and go to England. Upon which I told his Excellency, that it would be sufficient to me if he pleased to give me leave to go as I was, Stephen Fouacè.

On the 30th of July following, being the day that the fleet sailed out of the Capes of Virginia, his Excellency being on board the Southampton man of war, which was then a guard ship in Virginia, sent an order to me to wait upon him, and not fail of my complying with his commands in the Queen's name, as I would answer the contrary, at my peril. This order of his was carried on board of the ship where I had taken my passage; but I fearing, and suspecting his design of stopping my voyage, under one pretence or other, I went some days before into another ship, and continued hid there till the Southampton man of war had left the fleet.

STEPHEN FOUACÈ.

The Affidavit of James Blair, Clerk,* concerning Gov. Nicholson's mal-administration with relation to the Clergy, the College, and Himself:

MAY 1st, 1704.

The Governor being by her Majesty's instructions intrusted with the power of giving licences of marriages, probates of wills, and inductions of ministers, (and the rest of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction being left to my Lord Bishop of London, and by the Lord Bishop of London to his Commissary,) which the Governor in his instructions is commanded to encourage and assist, he has so far broke through the said instructions as to abuse that part of ecclesiastical jurisdiction committed to himself, and to invade that which is left to the Bishop of London.

As to the first, he has abused it in all its parts; first, as to licences of marriage, contrary to an express law of that country, as well as natural equity. He gave a licence to —— Speaden, a man of no estate, nor bred to any calling, to marry —— ———, a young orphan and heiress of York County, by the means whereof, that young orphan was married and ruined, contrary to the consent of her guardian, a crime which in any magistrate, by the law of that country, is £500 fine and a year's imprisonment.

Then as to probates, by refusing to sign them nine or ten months, a great many widows and orphans lost their husbands' and fathers' debts, not being able to sue; for by the law of that country, if a debt is not sued for in a certain short time after the party's death, it is lost.

Inductions of ministers he has totally neglected, not having inducted so much as one minister during the whole time of the government; by which means it comes to pass that the ministers are kept in miserable precarious circumstances, like domestic servants, ready to be turned off at pleasure, which makes the better sort leave the country, and the rest so obsequious that they are ready to do what he would have them.

As to the second, he has invaded almost all the other parts of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction; such as convocating the Clergy without taking notice of the Bishop's Commissary; appointing who shall preach at those convocations, appearing himself in their meetings, and proposing the subject matter of their consultation; holding separate meetings of the Clergy without the Bishop's Commissary; putting those separate meetings upon acts of censure and discipline, getting them to sign papers in the name of the Clergy; requiring of some ministers canonical obedience to himself as their Bishop; taking upon himself to turn out ministers, and this without so much as process or trial.

As he has broke through all his instructions with relation to the

* The Rev. James Blair, author of this Affidavit, was the first Commissary of Virginia, and one of the most useful of her early Clergy.

Church, so in other respects he has withheld from the Clergy that necessary countenance and respect which is due to their function, and by his bad example has contributed very much to increase their contempt among the people. I have heard him say, that the Clergy were all a pack of scandalous fellows, and that he knew not one man in the country who deserved to be inducted, and it is now proved by another affidavit, that he said they were all hirelings, and the Quakers were in the right, and that when he was told of some of the Clergy that were dead, that he said he wished that forty more of them were dead, which was as much as to wish that there were never a Clergyman in the country. Several of them of the most noted good preachers, he affronted and abused with the most opprobrious and vilifying names of dog, rogue, rascal, villain, jesuit. Some of them he has made ride bare headed by him, in the bitter cold of the wind, and the scorching heat of the sun, several miles together. Some he has laid violent hands on whilst they were on horseback, and pulled off their hat himself. Some he has publicly threatened to tear their gowns over their ears; has never spared in their presence to curse and swear abundance of the most dreadful oaths, often at the very church door, immediately before or after prayers; and if the minister preached up any duty which the Governor was known to neglect, or against any vice he was known to be guilty of, he has seldom escaped without rebukes and threats, and till of late, that he had occasion for encomiums from them to support his interest in England, never any Governor used the Clergy so barbarously as he has done.

These addresses he not only barefacedly asks, but uses the way of threats and presents, and threats and insults to obtain, and if their addresses do not come up to what he would have, proposes new draughts, and endeavors by making and feeding differences in their parishes, to make the scrupulous Ministers uneasy, and to get them laid aside, by which means the basest of the Clergy and the forwardest to flatter, are become his greatest favorites, and several of the best Ministers have been so harassed that they have chosen rather to quit the country, than to endure the fatigues and extorted flatteries, or insults of his government.

AS TO THE COLLEGE.

For all the interest he pretends to have in the country, he has not in the least so much as endeavored to get the Assembly to assist the College in their necessity, though he had the best opportunity, by the country's enjoying the use of the College for their Assemblies, Courts, and Councils, while the Capitol was a building. He himself has been the forwardest to throw abuses on the College, particularly he railed against the building, though extraordinary good for that country, and entered a public protest against it in the College records. At a very public time, the time of a general Court, he reflected on the College accounts, threatening the Governors of the

College with a writ of enquiry from the King, and declaring solemnly, that if they could give no better account, he must be of the people's opinion, and believe that the College was only a trick to serve some men's particular designs, than which nothing could have been thrown out more malicious against the College, and fitter to do it disservice in the country. He put such an affront upon them as to order their accounts to be laid before the Grand Jury of the country. But all that business of the accounts had been so fairly managed, that to this day no fault could be discovered. I have heard him swear that he would seize the College for the King's use, and he crowded into it, the Secretary's office, the Clerk of the Council's office, the Clerk of the House of Burgesses' office, and all their lodgings with himself, and all the Committees, and had all his public treats in their hall, to the great disturbance of the College business. As to the finishing part of the College, he did so excessively hurry it on for those several uses, that partly by the plank and timbers being green and unseasoned, and partly by employing a great number of unskillful workmen to comply with his haste, it was shamefully spoilt, and at the same time, by giving excessive wages to those workmen who knew how to make advantage of his impatience, and by several unnecessary additions of his own invention, without the direction of the Governors of the College, their money was all spent, and they were brought £500 in debt; besides £200 which at first he advanced towards the founding of a scholarship, but spent in finishing the building, yet afterwards made the College repay it every farthing, when he had had the applause of it, both in England and Virginia. In order to the ruining of the College revenue, for about two years they had none of the penny and pound from Maryland, and there is too good ground to believe that it was by his contrivance, for indeed we had formerly been beholding to his acquaintance and interest there, but now he made his brags publicly, that he would fain know how we would manage the penny and pound in Maryland without him, and bid us get it as we could, for he would give us no more assistance, and in Virginia through his mighty threatenings to press the men out of the vessels belonging to Virginia owners, there was little tobacco exported to the Plantations. So little penny for pound coming in, and at the same scarce time, he made the College repay him £200 he had given it, towards keeping of a scholar, and had £70 given to his friend Col. Carey, for auditing the Accounts, so that there was not enough left to pay the master's salary.

AS TO MY OWN CIRCUMSTANCES.

He has made them as uneasy as he possibly could, that I might not be able to enjoy any peace or quietness, but should be obliged to live worse than any slave, if I lived at all in the country. The occasion he took to fly out into open enmity with me was a pretended jealousy of my brother, as if he had been privately a courting his

mistress; all care was taken to satisfy him that there was no such thing; my brother declaring to him that he had no such intention, and that he had never made her a visit or writ her a letter. In short, I assured him too, that my brother at that time was courting another gentlewoman, to whom I hoped in a little time afterwards he would see him married; as accordingly he did, but nothing could cure him of his jealousy. He took occasion from it to send for me, and after some little account of his suspicion, he flew into these strange expressions, "Sir, your brother is a villain, and you have betrayed me"—then with hands and eyes lifted up to heaven, he added these strange words, (thundering them out as loud as he could roar them on the highway,) and, "Mr. Blair," said he, "take notice, I vow to the Eternal God, that I will be revenged on you and all your family." Though I used all ways I could think of, to undeceive and pacify him, I found nothing would do. He told me over and over again, even after his passion was over, "that all the odium he lay under from the country was upon my account, and by God he would turn the scales, and that, sooner than I expected." As to the odium, I told him I lay under a great deal of odium upon his account, because I was thought to have advised him to those strange violent methods he had followed; whereas, he knew himself, that I had advised him to the quite contrary, and had no hand at all in the course he followed, which had been distasteful to the country, or words to that effect.

From that time, the Governor has pursued me with all the instances of the most implacable malice, and has left no stone unturned to ruin me both in England and Virginia.

TO PASS BY MANY LESSER THINGS.

I have been very frequently sent for in the King or Queen's name, for no other business but to hear myself threatened, scolded at, and abused, and often in the audience of a great deal of company, treated with worse names than any gentleman would give the meanest footman that wears his livery; and aspersed with the unsuitest imputations, as if I had been raising sedition or rebellion in the government.

In his letters for England he has endeavored to ruin my reputation by false and malicious calumnies; particularly to my Diocesan, he has accused me of the vile crimes of whoredom, adultery, and incest. Whereas I can appeal to the worst enemies I have, that I have a reputation wherever I am known, both in that country and elsewhere, clear from any the least imputation of that nature, and now he himself being writ to about it by others, and publicly taxed with it by myself, is glad to let it fall, and will not even own that ever he writ any such thing.

As he has endeavored to take away my reputation, he has likewise taken away my livelihood, for he has so ruined the revenue of the College, as I showed under that head, that I have had no salary

from it these two years, nor am ever like to have more if he can help it.

If ministers came to see me or pay me the common civility they thought due to my office, he had frequently chid and abused them for it, and never did any good man take more pains to make peace and to cure divisions, than he has taken to make differences between me and the Clergy of that Country, and endeavoring to make them believe that all the instances of his own rudeness and abusiveness to them had been by my instigation. At last, for want of other matter, he wrought upon a great part of them to join in a complaint of me, to my Lord Bishop of London, for having passed a sentence of suspension against a minister for notorious drunkenness and some other crimes well proved against him. Tho', at the same time, when this minister, after having been absent four months under suspension, came to Williamsburgh with a design to submit and petition to have his suspension taken off, and upon such submission, I was ready to have taken it off accordingly, the Governor meeting with him, would by no means suffer him to come near me, his design being not to relieve the minister, but to make use of his case to incense the Clergy and my Lord Bishop of London.

There are instances of his tampering with my servants, and when he had got one of them to tell a false malicious story, he made him put it in writing, and sent it home for England to blacken me without doing me the common justice to call me to hear what I had to say for myself, tho' he would send for me upon many much more frivolous occasions. There are instances, too, of his encouraging my debtors not to clear accounts with me, nor pay me, that I might be put to the charge and trouble of a law-suit. One of them, to whom I had so far condescended as to refer the business in dispute to an arbitrator of his own nomination, told me, the Governor even after the signing of arbitration bonds, and after the day was appointed to meet with the arbitrators, persuaded him not to meet, nor submit to any arbitration, but to go to law, advising him, if he were cast in the County Court, to appeal to the General Court, where, said he, I am the Chief Judge, and will do you right, and accordingly the man was overpersuaded, and went to law, and the Governor employed a lawyer for him, as the lawyer himself told me, when I came to retain him. I will not say he has had any design on my life, though I will give your Lordship an account of two strange passages that have an ill aspect that way. One was this: about a fortnight before Christmas, 1702, while I lodged in the College, I heard the school-boys, about 12 o'clock at night, a driving of great nails to fasten and barracade the doors of the Grammar School. I was mightily surprised at it, for we had banished this custom, and it was quite left off for some years. I made haste to get up, and with the assistance of two servant-men I had in the College, I had almost forced open one of the doors before they sufficiently secured it, but while I was breaking in, they presently fired off three or four pistols, and hurt one

of my servants in the eye with the wad, as I suppose, of one of the pistols. While I pressed forward, some of the boys, having a great kindness for me, called out, "For God's sake, Sir, don't offer to come in, for we have shot, and shall certainly fire at any one that first enters." Upon the hearing of this, I began to think there was something more than ordinary in the matter, and desired a parley with them, thinking to find out upon what account it was that they had provided fire-arms, powder, and shot, which they had never used to do formerly, but that night they would not discover it, tho' I confess I had some suspicions of my malicious neighbour, and resolved to let them alone till morning, and then getting all the other masters together, and calling for workmen to break open the doors. Before we began, we offered them a pardon if they would open of their own accord, and tell us the truth, who it was that set them on, tho', by that time, we had more than a suspicion of it; for I had seen one of his Excellency's servants, that morning, handing them in some more powder. Upon this, the boys sent out at a window by a ladder, one of the chief confederates, that knew the whole plot, with orders to discover it. The short of his story was, to the best of my remembrance, that while they had no thoughts of any such thing, the Governor sent for him and put him upon it, gave them money to buy victuals, and drink, and candles, and powder, and shot, and lent them six of his own pistols. Upon hearing that the Governor was the author and contriver of this business, we sent the boys to him, leaving it to his Excellency to determine the time when he would have them dismissed, for it was then about a week before the usual time. His Excellency, being out of humour, to the great disappointment of the boys, ordered that they should continue at their books till the usual time, and then be dismissed. This decision made them very angry, and they said they wondered what he had made all that to do for, when they were not to be dismissed one day sooner than ordinary for their pains. When we entered the school, we found the Governor's three pair of pistols, with some swords and other weapons they had provided. It was God's great mercy to me that the boys gave me warning of the shot, and so saved me from the danger which I have too much reason to suspect was contrived on purpose upon my account; his Excellency being then in too bad a humour to do such a thing out of a frolic; besides that, the fire-arms, powder, and shot, my lying in the College, and the differences between him and me, which, at that time, were come to some height, made the badness of the design too probable.

The other passage was about six weeks afterwards. As I was asleep in bed with my wife, in my chamber in the College, between one and two in the morning, a maid who lay in a closet just by heard somebody opening the door of the outer room, and after he had turned the lock of it, came quite through to our chamber door; after he had endeavored to turn that lock likewise, but could not, (for it was double locked and the key within,) then with all the force he

had, he shook that door so violently as if he had designed to break it open; and this making a very great noise, (for it was a thin pair of folding doors,) awaked my wife and me, and we both called out, "Who's there?" and I called to the maid to light a candle; for it was in winter towards the end of January. At last, when he observed the door gave no way and that we were all awake, (without speaking a word,) we heard him march off through the outer room again. Upon inquiry I found that the Governor that night had appeared to be in so bad a humor, that everybody was afraid to speak to him; and a person of good credit told me, he was seen between one and two of the clock in the morning to go directly from his own house toward the College without a light, with some other more particular circumstances, which I am afraid to give an account of, lest innocent persons as yet in his power should come to be suspected of this intelligence. But I do solemnly take my oath of it, that I believe he himself was the person that attempted to break into my chamber, for what reason, at such an unseasonable an hour, near two o'clock in the morning, in a dark winter night, when he could not be walking for pleasure, and when he went away without speaking a word, God and his own conscience only know. Nor can I imagine what good construction he could have put upon it if either the lock or the door had given way, so that he had actually broken in upon us.

JAMES BLAIR.

Art. VIII.—BOOK NOTICES.

The Gospel of St. Matthew; *illustrated from ancient and modern authors.* By Rev. James Ford, M. A., late of Oriel College, Oxford. London: J. Masters. Oxford: J. H. Parker. Exeter: H. J. Wallis, 1849. 8vo. pp. 415.

The Gospel of St. Mark; *illustrated (chiefly in the doctrinal and moral sense) from ancient and modern authors.* By the Rev. James Ford, M. A. 8vo. pp. 405. 1849.

We are happy to call attention to these volumes, not as yet much known in this country. The plan of the work is new. It is a sort of commentary upon the Gospels, not in the language of the author, but in brief passages selected indiscriminately from ancient and modern writers. There is a depth and quaint richness in the old Fathers, truly delightful; and Mr. Ford's reading has led him to make frequent selections from that source. The moral and practical sense of Holy Scripture seems to have been uppermost in the author's mind. He appears also to be true to the standards of the English Church. As a devotional work for the closet and the family, we cannot too warmly recommend it. It has received the strong approval of the English Church Press; and we think would bear republication in this country. We venture to make the suggestion to our enterprising publishers.

Trench's Hulsean Lectures. From the Second London Revised Edition. Philadelphia: H. Hooker. New Haven: S. Babcock, 1850. 12mo. pp. 322.

This work is already partially known in this country in a costly English edition; and Mr. Hooker deserves well for placing it within the reach of all. It contains two series of Lectures, delivered in 1845 and 1846. The *first* is on the "Fitness of Holy Scripture for unfolding the Spiritual Life of men." The *second* is on "Christ the Desire of all Nations," or the "Unconscious Prophecies of Heathendom." Besides introductory and concluding lectures, the subjects discussed are, the Unity of Scripture; the Manifoldness of Scripture; the Advance of Scripture; the Past Development of Scripture; the Inexhaustibility of Scripture; the Fruitfulness of Scripture. And of the second series: the Vanquisher of Hades; the Son of God; the Perfect Sacrifice; the Restorer of Paradise; the Redeemer from Sin; the Founder of a Kingdom. These great themes are discussed in a manner worthy of the Christian scholar. The Lectures are marked by a vigor, comprehensiveness, and depth of thought, which grasps the great outlines of Revelation; and at the same time, by a distinctness of conception, which seizes and unfolds the beauties which are scattered over the exhaustless field. We rarely find a writer who combines such synthetic and analytic power. These Lectures, so eminently suggestive, will form a rich treat for every Minister who appreciates the true dignity of his calling, and may be read profitably by every educated and thoughtful Christian.

The Last Enemy Conquering and Conquered. By George Burgess, D. D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Maine. Philadelphia: H. Hooker, 1850. 12mo. pp. 330. New Haven: S. Babcock.

The intellectual resources of Bishop Burgess, in variety, extent, and readiness, are, in our judgment, second to no other man of his age in our country. His "Pages from the Ecclesiastical History of New England," exhibited his closeness of observation and nicety of discrimination, on a particular subject. The book before us, presents the subject of Death in every conceivable aspect; physically, morally, psychologically, humanly, and Christianly. His sixty-nine chapters, usually of three or four pages each, are crowded with illustrative facts; such as we

doubt if any other man living could have collected in so small a compass, and yet so far from being a mass of dry details, there is throughout, a richness of thought, a chastened delicacy of sentiment, and a fervor of devotion worthy of a Christian poet and scholar.

The PROEM is an introductory poem of about 150 lines, and is one of the most finished and exquisitely beautiful things we ever read.

LIFE AND LETTERS OF THOMAS CAMPBELL. Edited by William Beattie, M. D., one of his Executors. In two volumes, 12mo. pp. 556, 522. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1850. New Haven: S. Babcock.

No other poet, we think, who has written so little, has established so brilliant a reputation as Thomas Campbell. One secret of his fame, lay in the great amount of labor and care expended upon what he actually published. Nor do we agree with Jeffrey, who spake of him as "simmering his brains to serve up a little dish of poetry, instead of pouring out a whole caldron." That same excessive sensibility, which, as Walter Scott said, made him a bugbear to himself, and which often led him to consign to the flames in the morning, the preceding night's labor, was but the index of a power, which, when permitted to speak, swayed all hearts, and silenced the most illnatured of snarling critics. His "Pleasures of Hope," and his "Gertrude of Wyoming," with half a dozen ballads, gave him at once the immortality of a true poet.

Dr. Beattie has executed his task judiciously and successfully. He has drawn largely on the poet's letters for the materials; and of these, the latter seem much the more unconstrained and attractive. As the founder of London University, the Lord Rector of Glasgow University, the friend of Scott, Moore, Rogers, Alison, Stewart, and many other persons distinguished in the world of letters, his correspondence is a rich intellectual treat. Of Campbell's religious sentiments, not much can be said. His father was a Scotch Presbyterian, the eloquence of whose *extempore* prayers seem to have left a stronger impression on the poet's mind than his Calvinistic tenets. The absence of all recognition of the consolations of the Christian Faith, when, in his sore affliction, he unbosoms his whole heart to his friends; and an acknowledged frailty, which, without perhaps acquiring complete mastery, grew upon him amid the sad vicissitudes of declining years, leave painful impressions upon the mind of the Christian reader. In both these respects, we cannot but contrast his character with that of Southey and Wordsworth.

A letter of Washington Irving to the Publishers, giving his own personal recollections of Campbell, forms an appropriate introduction to the work.

SERMONS by Henry Edward Manning, M. A., Archdeacon of Chichester. Series the third. New York: Stanford & Swords, 1850. 8vo. pp. 322.

The numerous and warm admirers of Manning will not be disappointed in this new volume of Sermons. The secret of the Author's popularity, is his clear conception and delineation of the inner life of the soul; the truthfulness with which he utters the heart's deepest breathings and emotions; the awful reverence with which he ever contemplates divine things; and at the same time, the utmost simplicity, the absence of all mannerism, in his style. Notwithstanding the prominence of the *objective* in his estimate of the Christian system, we scarcely know a writer who dwells so continually upon the *subjective*. The type of Christian character, which such a man is calculated to foster, is so unlike that of our age and times, it has so little of that superficial, brawling, canting, pharisaism, it is so noiseless, retiring, modest, deep, and heart-searching, that we cannot but commend the book earnestly to all our readers.

There are many expressions in the book which we dislike, and wish the author had avoided them.

THE LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE OF ROBERT SOUTHEY. Edited by his son, the Rev. C. C. Southey, M. A., Curate of Plumbland, Cumberland. In six parts. Part IV. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1850. 8vo. New Haven: S. Babcock.

This work increases in interest and value as it advances. Southey, as he rose in reputation and greatness, expressed his opinions with greater apparent sense of responsibility. There have been few more beautiful or noble characters than his, whether we consider his public or private life; in both he elicits our veneration and our love. This Fourth Part, covers his correspondence from 1813 to 1819, and embraces perhaps the most interesting part of his personal history—his appointment to the Laureateship—his opinions upon the struggle with France—his letters from the Continent, &c. His power with the people now began to be felt, and he was solicited to become connected with the Times Newspaper, which he declined. Such of our readers as will take pleasure in the frank opinions of one of the noblest of men, freely expressed in his intercourse with congenial minds, will find a rare treat in the Life and Correspondence of Southey.

DR. JOHNSON: HIS RELIGIOUS LIFE AND HIS DEATH. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1850. 12mo. pp. 406. New Haven: S. Babcock.

Having seen unfavorable notices of this book in non-Episcopal papers, we half suspected what the ground of offence was; and we find that we were not mistaken. Dr. Johnson was a zealous Churchman, with an admiration of the Liturgy almost amounting to idolatry, and his gigantic mind when it gave utterance to its opinions of the Church and of Dissent, employed language which expressed what he meant. The author of this volume has given an elaborate and judicious delineation of Dr. Johnson's religious character, and has collected from many sources, a mass of illustrative anecdotes and incidents. The volume is one of great interest, and will be sure to find readers, except among the smallest kind of Lilliputians. It is a touching spectacle, to see such a man as Dr. Johnson, with eternity just before him, casting himself deliberately upon the Atoning Sacrifice of the Cross, as his only refuge.

THE THEOLOGICAL AND LITERARY JOURNAL. Edited by David H. Lord. July, 1850. New York.

The main design of this Quarterly is to advocate a certain theory on the interpretation of Prophecy. The Editor appears to maintain, in common with others who style themselves "Millenarians," that the *visible* second Advent of Christ, is to *precede* the restoration and conversion of the Jews, the resurrection of the Saints, the conversion of the Gentiles, the establishment of His Kingdom, and the period of the *Millenium*. The Editor exhibits all the oracular authority, dogged obstinacy, and bitter vituperation of modern theorists on this subject. The tone in which these men write, obliges us to say, that we have not a particle of confidence in their theory, and that the past history of all such attempts to fathom the mysterious depths of prophecy, might with propriety suggest less confidence, and more modesty. We refer the reader to the Article in the April number of the Church Review, on the "Theories of the Second Advent," by one of the most profound scholars in this country.

EARNESTNESS; or Scenes in the Life of an English Bishop. By Charles B. Taylor, M. A., Author of "Lady Mary," &c. New York: Stanford & Swords, 1850. 12mo. pp. 370. New Haven: A. C. Heitmann.

We shall not criticise this story as a work of art; nor stop to commend the portrait of the character of an Earnest Christian Bishop; nor dwell upon the question whether the author has not done injustice to the consistency, we might say, morality of life of many of the English Clergy; but we do ask, why, in a book which contains so much that is excellent, has he taken pains to say, that the English Church is "a human Institution;" and to admit a German Pastor's dec-

laration, that "all Christian preachers are Bishops;" and to use the term Bishop "in the technical sense of clerical overseership."—We have read this work under the painful conviction, that Erastianism has so thoroughly pervaded the English Establishment, that secessions to Rome, or to Dissent, or to the Scottish Church, are hardly matters of surprise. And we can also better appreciate the deep emotions of the Bishop of London, in his late speech in the House of Lords.

SCENES IN A CLERGYMAN'S LIFE. By Rev. C. B. Taylor. New York: Stanford & Swords, 1850. 12mo. pp. 308.

This work is written in the same spirit as that just noticed. The collection in one volume of so many startling facts, has to us an appearance of unreality; and will probably gratify that love of morbid excitement which is so predominant. We dare say the book will do good, and will most certainly be popular.

GIBBON'S HISTORY OF THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE. Milman's Edition. In six volumes. Vol. II, and III, and IV. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1850. 12mo. New Haven: S. Babcock.

We agree entirely with an English print, that this is the only Edition of Gibbon to which parents, and guardians, and Academical authorities ought to give any measure of countenance. The Messrs. Harpers reprint is neatly published, and at a price which seems like a charitable offering to the public.

ELEMENTARY SKETCHES OF MORAL PHILOSOPHY, *delivered at the Royal Institution, in the years* 1804, '5, '6. By the late Rev. SYDNEY SMITH, M. A. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1850. 12mo. pp. 392. New Haven: S. Babcock.

The title of this book would lead us to look for an original contribution to an important science, from a pen well known in the learned world. The "Sketches," however, consist of twenty-seven popular lectures, delivered before a London audience, left in an imperfect state by the author, and not designed for publication. They are written in a bold, dashing style; abound in sound sense; and his remarks on Wit, Taste, the Conduct of the Understanding, Habit, and his lectures on the History of Moral Philosophy, will be read with interest and profit.

RAILWAY ECONOMY: *A Treatise on the New Art of Transport, its Management, Prospects, and Relations, Commercial, Financial, and Social. With an Exposition of the Practical Results of the Railways in operation in the United Kingdom, on the Continent, and in America.* By DYONISIUS LARDNER, D. C. L. &c. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1850. 12mo. pp. 442. New Haven: S. Babcock.

The modern railway dates back only the distance of twenty years, and yet it has already become one of the great instruments of reform, industrial, commercial, social, and political. In the United States, Great Britain, Belgium, Germany, France, and Russia, it is silently working wonderful revolutions. It is an Anglo-Saxon notion, and is destined to spread far and wide Anglo-Saxon influence. By it the shores of the Pacific and Atlantic, England and her East India possessions, will soon be brought near together. Spain has not as yet a light-house on her coast, nor a railroad in her interior. Italy, too, has attempted to put her ban upon this terrible leveller of caste, and clanship, and despotism. The "Railway Economy" has become so potential, that it is time to collect and classify its facts, and to systematize its results. This has been done by Mr. Lardner in the book before us. It contains a mass of statistics methodically arranged, presenting a birds-eye view of the whole subject. In the United Kingdom there are now open 5,996 miles of railway; there being 4,656 miles in England, 846 in Scotland, and 494 in Ireland. The whole number of miles of railway in the United States is about 8,000, at an expense of over two hundred millions of dollars.

THE PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE OF THE REPUBLIC. Translated from the French of Alphonse De Lamartine. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1850. 12mo. pp. 164. New Haven: S. Babcock.

Lamartine, by a strange course of events, from being the idol of France, has become one of the most unpopular men in it, and his *hegira* is already recorded. We cannot but regard his present position, hated by the Socialists and Red Republicans, and feared by the President and his creatures, as a bad omen for the Republic. The book before us confirms us in our opinion. We cannot here speak of him as the statesman, orator, and poet. If his life is spared, (he is about 58 years old,) and the Republic lasts, his own name may yet be connected with his country's history. We believe him to be one of the truest patriots of France, and his ostracism to be one of those national sins which will not fail to be atoned.

MCCLINTOCK'S SECOND BOOK IN GREEK.

The "Second Book in Greek," by Prof. McClintock, has just been published by Harper & Brothers. It completes the course of grammatical instruction in the Greek language, of which the author's "First Book in Greek" was the introductory part. It contains the syntax of the language, with reading lessons in prose, the rules of prosody, instruction in the dialects, reading lessons in verse, together with copious notes upon the Selections, and a Vocabulary. Dr. McClintock is an accomplished and accurate scholar, and his work is founded on rational principles of instruction. We know of no elementary work so well calculated to initiate the student into the structure of this most beautiful and exact language.

PICTORIAL FIELD BOOK OF THE REVOLUTION; *or Illustrations by Pen and Pencil of the History, Scenery, Biography, Relics, and Traditions of the War for Independence.* By Benson J. Lossing. With 600 engravings, &c. New York: Harper & Brothers. In twenty 8vo. Nos. Nos. IV and V, 1850. New Haven: S. Babcock.

This is not one of the catch-penny pictorials of the day. In its typography, engravings, and literary execution, it is every way worthy of its noble design, and most creditable to its enterprising publishers. It is a thoroughly national work, and when completed will form one of the most splendid publications ever issued from an American press. They who have an eye for the nice delicacy of the illustrations, should secure the numbers as they are issued.

THE PRELUDE: *or Growth of a Poet's Mind.* An Autobiographical Poem. By WILLIAM WORDSWORTH. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 12mo. pp. 374. New Haven: A. C. Heitmann.

To appreciate Wordsworth, one must have a soul attuned more or less keenly to the gentler and sweeter harmonies of nature; capable of relishing the pleasures of a sentiment which is meditative and reflective; one must be able to see and feel that the natural world, all around, is typical, almost sacramental; shadowing forth, and as it were, breathing into the soul, holy truths. Hence, love of Wordsworth's poetry is almost a sure indication of purity of heart. A strong love of his poetry, is evidence of a very high order of intellect. Neither a weak man, or a very bad one, will ever admire him; although very weak and very bad men have admired such poets as Byron and Burns. Wordsworth is unquestionably the great poet of this century. "The Prelude," just published by the Appletons, is an autographical description of a progressive growth of thought, opinion, and feeling, something of which every person of reflection is conscious of, and of which Wordsworth has given, in his own case, a beautiful description. This Poem, which is in blank verse, partakes of the author's well-known characteristics, and will be read with great pleasure by all his admirers. Certain incidents or events scattered at intervals along his life, are made the occasions of his somewhat discursive reflections; as Childhood; School-time; Residence at Cambridge; Summer

vacation; Books; Cambridge and the Alps; Residence in London; Retrospect; Residence in France; Imagination and Taste, how impaired and restored; Conclusion. This poem, which was written many years since, was designed as the introduction to a larger work, of which "the Excursion" should form a part.

THE GOSPEL ITS OWN ADVOCATE. By GEORGE GRIFFIN, LL. D. Appleton & Co. 12mo. pp. 352.

We have read this work with interest, and deem it an instructive volume. It is the language of a lawyer, entering into the spirit of his subject, and urging its claims with the eloquence, force, and conclusive argumentation characteristic of his profession. In a few instances, the evidence is pressed further than writers on the subject have generally supposed it would bear; further than the Author would have urged it, had he had the original words of the writers before him. It is, however, an interesting, and cannot fail of being a useful addition to our popular treatises on the Evidences of Christianity.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPY OF LEIGH HUNT; *with Reminiscences of Friends and Contemporaries.* New York: Harper & Brothers. 12mo. 2 vols. pp. 300, 332. New Haven: S. Babcock.

If our readers are familiar with the writings and character of Leigh Hunt, they will not need to be told, that these volumes abound in good humor, in wit genial rather than brilliant, and in amusing personal incidents. His recollections of Wordsworth, Coleridge, Shelley, Keats, Byron, Lamb, Moore, and Hazlitt; his narrative of his connection with the Examiner; his imprisonment; his sea voyage to Italy; his residence there; the death of Shelley; his return to England, &c., &c., are all related with simplicity and frankness. At the same time, his biography contains all sorts of ugly sentiments, and expressions of hatred of positive and distinctive Christianity, its Doctrines, Ministry, and Ordinances, which he takes no pains to conceal. This feature of the volumes, deserving as it does the severest reprobation, will, we are sorry to say, be its passport to an increasing number of readers in our country. The moral tendency of the work is of the Byron and Shelley stamp; without the coarseness of the first, or the malignity of the second. Still it is seductive and dangerous. To us, the most agreeable portions of his volumes are, his description of life in Genoa, Florence, and other parts of Northern Italy.

THE EARL'S DAUGHTER. By the Author of Amy Herbert, &c. Edited by the Rev. William Sewell, B. D. New York: D. Appleton & Co. New Haven: S. Babcock, 1850. 12mo. pp. 347.

We cannot go into an analysis of this story, in which Lady Blanche Evelyn figures as the heroine. With much that is improbable, some things overstrained, and some things almost unsuccessfully attempted, it is one of those thrilling tales for which Miss Sewell's pen is so widely known. We do not think that it is so ably written as Laneton Parsonage, and some of her other works. It is a book which any parent need not hesitate to put in the hands of his children.

HANDBOOK OF MEDIÆVAL GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY. By Wilhelm Pütz, Principal Tutor at Gymnasium of Düren. Translated from the German by Rev. R. B. Paul, M. A., Vicar of St. Augustines, Bristol; and late Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1850. 12mo. pp. 212. New Haven: T. H. Pease.

A good text-book on this period of Geography and History, has long been a desideratum; and yet we think the work before us all that could be desired. It is clear in its arrangement, condensed, and, as far as we can judge, accurate in its statements. It divides the "Middle Ages" into four Periods; the First, from the dissolution of the Western Empire, to the accession of the Carlovingians and Abbasides: the Second, from their accession to the first Crusade: the Third, in-

cludes the age of the Crusades: the Fourth, reaches from the Crusades to the discovery of America. The Appendix, by the American Editor, Prof. Green, supplies a list of authorities on the Several Periods.

THE SHOULDER-KNOT; or Sketches of the threefold life of man. A story of the Seventeenth Century. By T. F. Tefft. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1850. 12mo. pp. 306.

The author of this story, is said to be the Editor of a Monthly Magazine in the west. The leading facts which he has worked into this romance, are passages in the history of Louis XIII, and his illustrious Queen, Anne of Austria. It is written in an earnest style, abounds in touching incidents, inculcates a pure Christian morality, and vindicates the doctrine of Divine retribution.

WHAT A MOTHER CAN ENDURE. New York: Stanford & Swords. 12mo. pp. 66.

This is a juvenile story, profusely illustrated with wood cuts, narrated in a simple, but effective manner, and containing an excellent moral. It is a good book for the Nursery, and for Sunday Schools.

THE HISTORY OF DARIUS, by Jacob Abbott. New York: Harper & Brothers. 18mo. pp. 286. With engravings. New Haven: S. Babcock.

This is a new volume in Abbott's serials of historical sketches for youth. We have before spoken of the tasteful execution of these attractive and exceedingly popular volumes.

THE SPONSOR'S GIFT, or the Candidate for Confirmation instructed, &c., with devotions and directions, &c. By Rev. N. S. Richardson. New York: Stanford & Swords, 1850. 24mo. pp. 60. New Haven: A. C. Heitmann.

We may be allowed to say, that the publishers have issued a neat edition of this work on Confirmation, in paper covers for gratuitous distribution; embellished with an appropriate engraving, representing the administration of this Apostolic rite. It is used by several of the Clergy in preparation of their classes, whose adoption of it, is the highest recommendation which it can receive. It is also handsomely bound in muslin with gilt edges, forming an appropriate "Sponsor's Gift." The "Pastor's Appeal," of which this is an enlargement, is out of print.

HARPER'S NEW MONTHLY MAGAZINE. Nos. III and IV, Aug. and Sept., 1850.

This Magazine deserves more than a bare announcement. The Messrs. Harpers, by their long acquaintance with the issues of the foreign press, and their facilities for anticipating every thing of a taking and valuable character, and by their perfect command over every thing in the shape of book-making materials, have all the resources for getting up a Monthly Magazine of the most attractive character. Their efforts have already met with remarkable success. The selections are mostly lively and entertaining, though articles of a scientific or grave character, are occasionally introduced. Tasteful illustrations also add to the value of the work. Each number contains a Record of Current Events, Literary Notices, Sketches of Fashions, &c., &c.

LATTER DAY PAMPHLETS. Edited by Thomas Carlyle. No. VII. Hudson's Statue. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1850. 12mo. pp. 40.

Another magnificent croaking serenade from the great English frog-pond.

The following Pamphlets have been received.

The Bishop of Fredericton's, N. B., Charge to the Clergy, at his Second Triennial Visitation.

A most able production, suited to the times.

Bishop Smith's Fourth Charge, "The Blessedness of the Sacraments." Bishop Smith's Essay on the "Position of Episcopalians in relation to Christians of other Names."

Bishop Doanes' Funeral Sermon on the death of President Taylor.

Bishop Lee's Charge, "The One Mediator."

Bishop McCoskry's "Three Sermons on Important Occasions."

Bishop Potter's Charge on the "Method, Matter, and Object of Ministerial Study." A noble production.

Bishop Burgess' Charge, "Great Principles."

Bishop Burgess' Address to the Graduating Class in the Gen. Theological Seminary, on "The Passage into the Ministry." Worthy of being written in letters of gold.

Bishop Upfold's Address in Convention, June 7, 1850.

Rev. Mr. Gassaway's Argument in Maryland Convention, May 31, 1850, on "The Limits of Episcopal Prerogative."

Hugh Davey Evans' Examination of said Argument.

Examination of said Argument by a Presbyter of the Diocese.

A Layman's Plain and Practical Remarks on the Letters of Rev. Dr. Johns and Vestry, to Bishop Whittingham.

Member of the Virginia Convention, on the Constitutionality of a Canon passed at the last Convention, 1850.

These five pamphlets deserve serious attention; as they discuss principles of the greatest importance. A promised Article for our pages, from one of our most learned Bishops, in review of Judge Hoffman's new work on the Canon Law of the Protestant Episcopal Church, leads us to suspend any remarks of our own, on a subject which deserves, and we hope will receive, thorough examination. All true Churchmen will be glad to see certain points definitely settled.

Rev. Dr. J. T. Brooke's "Plain Sermon for the Times."

Rev. Dr. Francis Vinton's "Pastoral Offering on Confirmation."

Rev. Dr. C. M. Butler's Sermon on the death of President Taylor.

Rev. E. F. Slafter's Discourse on the death of President Taylor.

Rev. John Woart's Discourse before the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, on their ccxii Anniversary, Boston.

A Layman's Observations on Mr. Goode's Work on Baptism. Baltimore, 1850.

Rev. Dr. Wm. Bacon Stevens' Sermon on the death of President Taylor.

Rev. Dr. Wm. Bacon Stevens' Sermon before the Board of Missions, Hartford, Ct., 1850.

Both these Sermons are characterized by an effective eloquence.

Rev. Mr. Craik's Defence of his Pamphlet against certain Presbyterian attacks.

Mr. Craik's opponents will learn the value of discretion.

The Act of Incorporation, Constitution, and Statutes of the General Theological Seminary, 1850.

Proceedings of the Board of Trustees of the Seminary at its Annual Meeting, June, 1850.

Proceedings on the Fourth of July, 1850, at Burlington College, N. J.

Register of St. James' College, Maryland, 1850.

The Motto of Jubilee College. Vol. I, No. 12.

The True Catholic. Baltimore, Md.

Silliman's Journal of Science, for September.

Rev. A. B. Chapin's Letter to Bishop Hopkins on "The Era of the Crucifixion."

Rev. A. B. Chapin's "Review of the History of Christ Church, West Haven," Conn.

A Word of Self-defense. Read by the Rector, at a full meeting of the Wardens and Vestry of St. Michael's Church, Trenton, New Jersey, and published with their unanimous approval. Sept. 1850.

Art. IX.—LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

AMERICAN.

Rev. J. P. Fletcher's Notes from Nineveh, and Travels in Mesopotamia, Assyria, and Syria, is an interesting volume, relating in part to the scenes so well described by Layard. Alexander on the Psalms, a new translation with notes, has been recently published. Abbè Martinet's Religion in Society, or the Solution of the Great Problems, has been translated and republished, with an introduction by Bishop Hughes. It is pithy, pert, and partial. New editions of Dorr's Churchman's Manual, Fleetwood's Life of Christ, and the Liturgy of King's Chapel, (Unitarian,) have recently been issued. Burn's Mothers of the wise and good, and Jerram on Infant Baptism, have been republished. Rev. M. Schuyler of St. Johns', Buffalo, has published a volume consisting of five Sermons, on the Ministry and Worship of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in reply to an assault upon the same, by Rev. M. L. R. P. Thompson, D. D., a Presbyterian of the same city. The reply is characterized as able, lucid, and satisfactory. Europe, Past and Present, by Ungewitter, is a comprehensive and valuable manual of European Geography and History, brought down to the present time. Giles' Christian Thoughts on Life is described as a work of interest. So also is McFarlane's Turkey and its Destiny, though lacking depth and order. A work has recently been published entitled Historical View of the languages and literature of the Slavic Nations, with a sketch of their popular poetry. The author's name, Talvi, is an assumed one, being the initials of her maiden name, T[herese] A[dolfine] L[ou isa] V[on] J[acob,] now Mrs. T. A. L. Robinson. It is a work of interest and merit. Dr. John Pye Smith's Relation between the Holy Scriptures and some parts of Geological Science, has been republished. The Prelude, an Autobiographical Poem, developing the growth of a Poet's mind, is a work of interest recently republished. Picturesque Sketches in Greece and Turkey, by Aubrey de Vere, is also a work of value. "Music as it was and as it is," by Rev. N. E. Cornwall, treating in a popular and scholarlike way, a subject of great importance, will be published by the Messrs. Appletons in a few days, in a handsome 12mo. form.

ENGLAND.

Rev. Thomas Woodward has edited the Letters of the late Rev. William Archer Butler, of Dublin University, On the Development of Christian Doctrine, first published in the Irish Ecclesiastical Journal, in reply to Mr. Newman's Theory. Of all the answers to Mr. Newman, this is the most complete and satisfactory of any we have seen. Rev. R. I. Wilberforce has recently published a volume of Sermons, entitled the New Birth of Man's Nature, in further illustration of the views expressed in his able and interesting treatises on the Incarnation and Baptism. Rev. F. C. Massingberd has published a Letter addressed to Rev. William Goode, showing that the opinion of Cranmer, Ridley, and Bucer, were opposed to those contained in a Letter of Peter Martyr, recently published by Mr. Goode. A new edition of Bishop Bethell on Baptism, has recently been published. Dr. Wordsworth's Sermons on the questions of the day, has been published. Hasse's Life of Anselm of Canterbury, has been translated and abridged by Rev. William Turner. Rev. John M. Neale is publishing a History of the Holy Eastern Church. Havernick's Introduction to the Pentateuch, has been translated and published at Edinburgh. H. C. Rawlinson has published a Commentary on the Cruciform inscriptions of Babylonia and Assyria. Tomkins' Hulsean prize Essay for 1849—the influence of the Hebrew and Christian Revelations upon ancient heathen

writers, has just been published. A treatise on the Royal Supremacy, by Dr. Pusey, has also appeared. Also a translation of Botta's Letter on Nineveh. Laud's Conference with the Jesuite Fisher has also been republished. R. W. Mac Kay has published a work on the Progress of Intellect, in which he attempts to account for the influence of religion on the mind of man, in the most thoroughly rationalistic way. Opportune to which as an antidote, is the publication of John Evelyn's Rational Account of the True Religion, after having lain in manuscript for two centuries. Hook's Christian taught by the Services of the Church, has already reached a third Edition.

CONTINENTAL.

Botta's great work, giving an account of the Explorations made under his direction, in the vicinity of Nineveh, of which we gave some account in our review of Layard's work, has at last reached completion at Paris. "It consists of five folio volumes of the largest size; only 400 copies have been printed; 300 of them are to be distributed by the government, and 100 for booksellers, to be sold. The price is 1800 francs a copy, the total expense of the edition being 296,000 francs."

The following Letter from Tholuck, dated Halle, March 26, 1850, though not strictly literary, is too important not to be placed on record. "If the question were asked, have things become better or worse since the German Revolution of March, 1848? we could only answer—As far as human observation extends, decidedly worse. A relaxation on the part of Government in the administration of the laws, has ended in the bursting open of the floodgates of iniquity, and the general loosening of all moral restraints. Indifference to religion, and hostility against it are greatly increased. Attendance at public worship, in many of the Prussian provinces, is grievously neglected. On a Sabbath-day, about five weeks ago, at the principal divine service, the congregation at the Cathedral here in Halle consisted of fourteen persons; at another Church, of six; and at a third, of five. The following day I went to the week-day service, and was the *only* attendant! The Protestant Churches on the Rhine, and in Westphalia, we do not find deserted to the same fearful extent. The number of free congregations increases proportionably. They are with us invariably, either Deistical or Atheistical in their opinions. The latter party have Balzer for their President, at Nordhausen, and Wislicen at Halle. Their aim is the diffusion of *philanthropic sentiments, (humanismus;)* their god, an indefinite first principle developed in man. Wislicen has avowedly cast off all religion; his lectures are simply moral, or an exposure of the impositions and follies of the Christian faith. The Deistical congregations are either German Roman Catholics, who are everywhere on the decline where the social connection is not broken up, or Uhlich's Protestant seceders. They are found in the villages of all our provinces, and even in Berlin, where they take the name of Primitive Christians, (Ur-Christian.) Democrats and Socialists join the communion of Ulich or Belzer, and the whole movement assumes a political aspect. What are we to expect from a generation growing up ignorant of God, and taught to regard all religion as needless restraint, and immorality as a ridiculous fiction?

"Thus much is visible to the eye of man; farther it cannot penetrate to discover the probable issue of all these events, and whether it is to be in an improved state of affairs. We have no Ecclesiastical constitution at present. If the great Evangelical Church, thrown back upon her own resources by separation from the State, is to be split into numberless sects, hostile to one another, perhaps it may tend to the deepening of spiritual life where it really exists. That the truly regenerate, the awakened and living Christians, both among the clergy and laity, are far more zealous than formerly, is perfectly true; while the slumberers have even sunk lower, losing even that which they seemed to have."

A new Commentary on the Hebrew has been published by Stier, at Halle. De Valroger has recently published a thorough examination of the Philosophical Systems of Eclecticism, Rationalism, and Syncretism, as set forth by Cousin, Jouffroy and other French writers of the present day. It is highly commended by the Romish Reviewers.

ECCLESIASTICAL REGISTER.

SUMMARY OF HOME INTELLIGENCE.

ORDINATIONS.

DEACONS.

Name.	*Bishop.*	*Time.*	*Church.* *Place.*
Austin, Benj.,	McIlvaine,	Aug. 4, 1850.	St. Paul's, Mt. Vernon, O.
Barrès, Wm. H.,	DeLancey,	July 7, 1850.	Trinity, Geneva, W. N. Y.
Betts, Beverly R.,	Whittingham,	June 30, 1850.	Trinity, N. Y. City.
Birchmore, John W.,	Eastburn,	May 19, 1850.	Trinity, Boston, Mass.
Boyd, John,	McIlvaine,	Aug. 4, 1850.	St. Paul's, Mt. Vernon, O.
Cady, Philander R.,	Whittingham,	June 30, 1850.	Trinity, N. Y. City.
Callaway, C. M.,	Meade,	July 12, 1850.	Christ, Alexandria, D. C.
Clements, Samuel,	Potter,	July 21, 1850.	St. Andrew's, Phil., Pa.
Clover, L. P.,	Meade,	July 7, 1850.	Fork-Church, Hanover, Va.
Coffey, Wm. S.,	Whittingham,	June 30, 1850.	Trinity, N. Y. City.
Duane, Rich. Bache,	Potter,	July 21, 1850.	St. Andrew's, Phil., Pa.
Durell, Geo. Wells.,	Burgess,	Aug. 11, 1850.	St. Paul's, Brunswick, Me.
Furey, John,	Potter,	July 21, 1850.	St. Andrew's, Phil., Pa.
Gahagan, W. P.,	Meade	July 12, 1850.	Christ, Alexandria, D. C.
Hopkins, J. H., Jr.,	Whittingham,	June 30, 1850.	Trinity, N. Y. City.
Keith, Cleveland,	Meade,	July 12, 1850.	Christ, Alexandria, D. C.
Lightbourn, F. J. L.,	DeLancey,	July 7, 1850.	Trinity, Geneva, W. N. Y.
Moore, John W.,	Whittingham,	June 30, 1850.	Trinity, N. Y. City.
Moyses, Edward,	Whittingham,	June 30, 1850.	Trinity, N. Y. City.
Remington, E. F.,	Eastburn,	May 19, 1850.	Trinity, Boston, Mass.
Richards, Geo. F.,	Kemper,	June 13, 1850.	St. Matthew's, Kenosha, Wis.
Richters, Toenjes,	Whittingham,	June 30, 1850.	Trinity, N. Y. City.
Robert, P. G.,	Meade,	July 12, 1850.	Christ, Alexandria, D. C.
Rowland, John,	Doane,	June 30, 1850.	St. Mary's, Burlington, N. J.
Safford, Philander C.,	McCoskry,	June 9, 1850.	Zion, Pontiac, Mich.
Seymour, Wm. W.,	Whittingham,	June 30, 1850.	Trinity, N. Y. City.
Spencer, John S.,	Whittingham,	June 30, 1850.	Trinity, N. Y. City.
Stringfellow, H., Jr.,	Meade,	July 12, 1850.	Christ, Alexandria, D. C.
Strong, E. A.,	McIlvaine,	Aug. 4, 1850.	St. Paul's, Mt. Vernon, O.
Thrall, S. Chipman,	Doane,	Sept. 1, 1850.	St. Mary's, Burlington, N. J.
Townsend, I. L.,	Whittingham,	June 30, 1850.	Trinity, N. Y. City.
Travis, Robert, Jr.,	Whittingham,	June 30, 1850.	Trinity, N. Y. City.
Tuttle, Ruel H.,	Brownell,	June 30, 1850.	Christ, Hartford, Conn.
Webbe, Wm. T.,	Whittingham,	June 30, 1850.	Trinity, N. Y. City.
White, J. Campbell,	Meade,	July 12, 1850.	Christ, Alexandria, D. C.
Williams, Wm. H.,	Whittingham,	June 30, 1850.	Trinity, N. Y. City.

PRIESTS.

	Name.	*Bishop.*	*Time.*	*Church.*	*Place.*
Rev.	Babcock, Theo.,	Whittingham,	July —, 1850.	St. Paul's,	Saratoga, N. Y.
"	Brooke, R. D.,	Meade,	June 10, 1850.	St. John's,	Halifax Ct. Ho., Va.
"	Cook, E. R. T.,	Whittingham,	June 30, 1850.	Trinity,	N. Y. City.
"	Cox, Samuel,	Whittingham,	June 30, 1850.	Trinity,	N. Y. City.
"	Cushman, G. F.,	Cobbs,	July 5, 1850.	St. John's in the Wil'ness,	Ala.
"	Howard, Orin R.,	DeLancey,	July 7, 1850.	Trinity,	Geneva, W. N. Y.
"	Frost, Wm. J.,	Whittingham,	June 30, 1850.	Trinity,	N. Y. City.
"	Irish, W. N.,	Johns,	July 12, 1850.	Christ,	Alexandria, D. C.
"	Macauley, Geo.,	Elliott,	May 12, 1850.	———,	———, Ga.
"	McCollough, J. D.,	Gadsden,	July 21, 1850.	Calvary,	Glen Springs, S. C.
"	McNamar, John,	Kemper,	June 13, 1850.	St. Matthew's,	Kenosha, Wis.
"	Peters, Thos. M.,	Whittingham,	June 30, 1850.	Trinity,	N. Y. City.
"	Richards, E.,	Potter,	Aug. 19, 1850.	St. Luke's,	———, Pa.
"	Shield, Chas. H.,	Johns,	July 17, 1850.	———,	Warrenton, Va.
"	Smith, John C.,	Burgess,	Aug. 4, 1850.	St. John's,	Bangor, Me.
"	Slattery, Geo.	Burgess,	July 2, 1850.	Trinity,	Saco, Me.
"	Willard, Geo.	McCoskry,	June 9, 1850.	Zion,	Pontiac, Mich.
"	Williams, G. P.,	McCoskry,	June 9, 1850.	Zion,	Pontiac, Mich.

REMOVALS.

	Name.	*To Church.*	*Place.*
Rev.	Bean, Henry H.,	St. Martin's,	Marcus Hook, Del.
"	Bishop, H. N.,	St. Phillip's,	Circleville, Ohio.
"	Breck, James Lloyd,	Mission School,	Minnesota Territory.
"	Chapin, Alonzo Bowen,	St. Luke's,	South Glastenbury, Conn.
"	Clarke, Charles P.,	St. Stephen's,	Terre Haute, Ind.
"	Clarkson, David,	Chaplain,	Fort Scott, Mo.
"	Cole, Azel D.,	Pres. Nashota House,	Nashota Lakes, Wis.
"	Davis, Edward,	Calvary,	Burnt Hills, N. Y.
"	Elmendorf, John J.,	(Assist.) Emmanuel,	New York City.
"	Franklin, Thomas L.,	St. Ann's,	Amsterdam, N. Y.
"	Harrison, Joshua L.,	Emmanuel,	Norwich, W. N. Y.
"	Hill, William H.,	———,	Morris, Otsego Co., W. N. Y.
"	Hitchcock, Solomon G.,	———,	Piermont, N. Y.
"	McCurdy, David H.,	Grace,	Van Voorst, N. J. [land, Va.
"	McGuire, E. B.,	———,	Cople Parish, Westmore-
"	Merrick, John A.,	Mission School,	Minnesota Territory.
"	Miller, B. M.,	———,	Church Hill, Miss.,
"	Merre, John Wells,	(Assist.) St. Ann's,	Morrisania, N. Y.
"	Moyses, Edward,	St. Luke's,	Hope, N. J.
"	Preston, William,	Trinity,	Columbus, Ohio.
"	Rice, Spencer M.,	St. John's,	Clayville, W. N. Y.
"	Roberts, Edmund,	St. Peter's,	Niagara Falls, W. N. Y.
"	Shindler, R. D.,	Principal Acad.,	Upper Marlborough, Md.
"	Taylor, C. O.,	St. Paul's,	Columbus, Ohio.
"	Townsend, L. Leander,	Grace,	Cherry Valley, N. Y.
"	Tuttle, Isaac H.,	St. Luke's,	New York City.
"	Sprigg, D. Francis,	Trinity, etc.,	Martinsburgh, Va.
"	Washbon, D.,	(Assist.) Epiphany,	Philadelphia, Pa.
"	Watson, William,	Christ,	Hudson, N. Y.
"	Weller, R. H.,	St. Phillip's Chapel,	Memphis, Tenn.
"	Williams, William H.,	Trinity,	Granville, N. Y.

Rev. Wilcoxson, Timothy,	Mission School,	Minnesota Territory.
" Wright, Daniel G.,	(Assist.) Grace,	White Plains, N. Y.

CONSECRATION OF CHURCHES.

Church.	*Place.*	*Bishop.*	*Time.*
Calvary,	Glen Springs, S. C.,	Gadsden,	July 21, 1850.
Calvary,	Burnt Hills, N. Y.,	Whittingham,	July 1, 1850.
Christ,	Milton, Penn.,	Potter,	July 17, 1850.
Emmanuel,	Adams, W. N. Y.	DeLancey,	July 15, 1850.
Holy Innocents',	Albany, N. Y.,	Whittingham,	Sept. 3, 1850.
Nativity,	New York City,	Whittingham,	Sept. 8, 1850.
St. James',	Greenville, Tenn.,	Otey,	Aug. 11, 1850.
St. John's,	Centreville, Va.,	Johns,	July 14, 1850.
St. John's,	Portsmouth, Va.,	Johns,	May 29, 1850.
St. John's,	Columbia, Va.,	Johns,	July 31, 1850.
St. John's,	Louisville, Ky.,	Smith,	May 21, 1850.
St. Mary's,	Bayou Goula, La. .	Polk,	July 21, 1850.
St. Paul's,	Nantucket, Mass.,	Eastburn,	July 24, 1850.
St. Paul's,	Columbia, Penn.,	Potter,	———, 1850.
———,	Lawrenceville, S. C.,	Gadsden,	July 18, 1850.
St. Paul's,	Culpeper Co., Va.,	Johns,	July 21, 1850.

DIOCESAN.

MAINE. The Journal of the 31st Annual Convention of this Diocese, held July, 1850, furnishes the following particulars. Clergy, 12. Baptisms, 131. Confirmations, 64. Communicants, 704. Marriages, 32. Burials, 77. Sunday School teachers, 80; Scholars, 592. Contributions, $2,265.89. Candidates for Orders, 4.

NEW HAMPSHIRE. The Journal of the 50th Annual Convention of this Diocese, held May, 1850, gives the following summary for the present year. The number of Parishes is 10. Clergy, 8. Baptisms, (50 Infants, 17 Adults,) 67. Communicants added, 61. Died or removed, 23. Present number, 552. Confirmed, 51. Marriages, 27. Burials, 66. S. S. Scholars, 237. Contributions, $2,110.

MASSACHUSETTS. The Journal of the last Convention of this Diocese, makes a handsome pamphlet of 140 pages, and gives the following statistics. Clergy, 80. Parishes, 63. Baptisms, (Infants, 871, Adults, 122,) 993. Communicants added, 656. Died or removed, 411. Present number, 5,142. Confirmed, 332. Marriages, 238. Burials, 636. S. S. Scholars, 3,853. Contributions for religious purposes, $25,148.

RHODE ISLAND. The Journal of the 60th Annual Convention of this Diocese, held June, 1850, gives the following statistics. Parishes, 24. Clergy, 25. Baptisms, (Infants, 240, Adults, 46, not specified, 21,) 307. Communicants added, 192. Died and removed, 76. Total, 2,064. Confirmed, 89. Marriages, 154. Burials, 141. S. S. Teachers, 310; Scholars, 2,060. Religious contributions, as reported, $7,282.64.

CONNECTICUT. The Journal of the 66th Annual Convention of this Diocese gives the following statistics. Parishes, 111. Clergy, 107. Families in 67 Parishes, as by Reports, 5,366. In the other 43 Parishes of the Diocese, according to Reports of previous years, 2,580. Total, 7946. Baptisms of Infants in 83 Parishes, none being reported in 27 others, 860. Of Adults in 51 Parishes, none being reported in 59 others, 216. Total, 1,076. Confirmations in 50 Parishes, 600. Communicants, added by removal in 36 Parishes, 224. Added anew in 37 Parishes, 379. Lost by removal in 42 Parishes, 277. Lost by death in 42 Parishes, 124. Reported as added, without distinction of manner, in 11 Par-

ishes, 176. Present number in 70 Parishes, as by this year's Reports, 7,273. In other 40 Parishes, by Reports of former years, 2,087. Total, 9,360. Marriages in 70 Parishes, 379. Burials in 80 Parishes, 833. S. S. Teachers in 42 Parishes, 514. Scholars in 51 Parishes, 3,903. Contributions, reported from 64 Parishes, $25,973.98. From the Bishop's Address, it further appears that there have been, during the past year, Ordinations to the Diaconate, 7; the Priesthood, 8. Total, 15. Institutions of Clergy, 1. New Churches consecrated, 1. In process of erection, 3. Dimissory Letters, given to Clergymen, 13. Received, 8. Candidates for Holy Orders, present number, 31.

PENNSYLVANIA. The Journal of the 66th Annual Convention of this Diocese, held May, 1850, gives the following statistics for this Diocese. Churches in the Diocese, 148. Whole number of Clergymen, 144. Families, (43 Parishes not reporting,) 4,689. Baptisms, (Adults, 256, Infants, 2,139,) 2,395. Confirmations. 826. Communicants added, 1,072. Present number, 9,987. S. S. Scholars, 12,251. Amount of Collections, $85,192.57. Ordinations—Deacons, 5. Priests, 10, Clergymen received into the Diocese, 12. Left, 13. Churches consecrated, 4. Corner-stones laid, 3.

DELAWARE. The Journal of the Annual Convention of this Diocese reports 19 Parishes, and 16 Clergymen, and gives the following statistics. Baptisms, (Infants, 114, Adults, 7,) 121. Confirmed, 47. Communicants—Died, 14. Removed, 39. Added, 68. Present Number, 537. Marriages, 32. Funerals, 84. S. S. Teachers, 81; Scholars, 552.

MARYLAND. The Journal of the 62d Annual Convention of this Diocese, held May, 1850, gives the following particulars. Parishes, 104. Clergy, 103. Baptisms, (Adults, 84, Infants, 1,404, not specified, 442,) 1,930. Confirmed, 515. Communicants. Died, 103. Removed, 203. Added, 573. Whole present number, 7,138. Marriages, 478. Funerals, 840. S. S. Teachers, 327; Scholars, 2,167. Contributions, $21,713.44.

VIRGINIA. The Journal of the Annual Convention of this Diocese reports 109 Clergy belonging to the same, and gives the following statistics. Baptisms, (Adults, white, 81, colored, 5—86. Infants, white, 602, colored, 161—763,) 849. Confirmations, 287. Communicants, added, 535. Removed, 328. Suspended, 17. Died, 134. Losses by removal, suspension, and death, 479. Net gain, 76. Total number of Communicants in the parishes which have reported, 5,147. Number in parishes not reporting, about 200. Total, 5,347. Marriages, 275. Funerals, 580. Number of Families, 2,373. Amounts contributed to the different institutions and charities of the Church, $29,030.16.

SOUTH CAROLINA. The Journal of the Annual Convention of this Diocese, held at Charleston, February 20th, gives the following particulars. The number of Clergy canonically resident in the Diocese, is 71 ——; and of Parishes, 50, and 3 Missionary Congregations. Two new congregations, the Church of the, Holy Apostles, Barnwell C. H., and Calvary Church, Glen's Springs, were admitted into union with the Convention. The Bishop reports, during the year, 27 Canonical visits, and 24 informal visits to parishes. Confirmed on 29 occasions, 365 persons; 222 were of the class of "servants." There are four candidates for Holy Orders, one of whom is a student in the General Theological Seminary. Two Deacons have been ordained, and three priests. One Presbyter has been displaced. The number of miles traveled was 2,790. There are 50 on the list of Parishes and Churches. The following is the summary of the Parochial Reports, for the year ending Dec. 31, 1849. Baptisms, (Adults, white, 31, colored, 237—268; Children, white, 343, colored, 669—1,011,) 1,279. Marriages, (white, 71, colored 94,) 165. Burials, (white, 255, colored, 89,) 344. Congregations—Communicants, (white, 2,669, colored, 2,247,) 4,916. Non-communicants, (white, 2,247, colored, 666,) 2,913. Children under 14, (white, 2,620, colored, 396,) 3,016. Families, (white, 638, colored, 104,) 742. Families belonging to other Congregations, (white, 114, colored, ——,) 114. Children Catechised, (white, 770, colored, 1,421,) 2,191. Confirmed by the Bishop, (white, 135, colored, 124,) 259. S. S. Teachers, (white, 236, colored, 2,) 238; Scholars, (white, 1,021, colored, 1,134,) 2,165.

GEORGIA. The *Journal* of the 28th annual Convention of this Diocese, held May, 1850, gives the following statistics for the present year:—Parishes, about 20. Clergy, 25. Baptisms, infants, 191; adults, 18; total, 227. Confirmations, 88. Communicants, added, 102; removed, 37; died, 11; present number, 862. Marriages, 42. Funerals, 92. Contributions, for missions, Diocesan, $1,466 57; Foreign, $645 12½; Domestic, $440 82½; other objects, 5,482 24½; total, $8,078 50. Sunday School teachers, 80; scholars, 856. The Committee on Missions had received $1,476 60, and spent $1,438 07, leaving a balance of $38 53; and had paid off all arrears to the missionaries.

FLORIDA. The *Journal* of the 12th Annual Convention of this Diocese, held in January, 1850, gives the following:—The statistics are not thought to present as favorable a state of things in the Diocese as actually exists. Baptisms, 103. Communicants, 264. Marriages, 30. Burials, 39. Sunday School teachers, 41; scholars, 206. Contributions, $3,156 41. During the past year, no Confirmations have been held, there being no opportunity afforded to the young and others to ratify their baptismal obligations in that Apostolic rite.

LOUISIANA. The *Journal* of the Convention of this Diocese, held May 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th, in St. John's Church, Thibodeaux, gives the following particulars: There are 23 Churches and 25 Clergymen canonically resident in the Diocese. The Bishop and eleven of the Clergy entitled to seats, and eight lay delegates from five parishes, attended the meeting.

The Bishop's Address represents the Church as making rapid progress in some places, and that much zeal has been shown in erecting suitable places of worship. During the past year he has consecrated *one* Church—St. Peter's, New Orleans, for seamen; and had confirmed 168 persons on 14 occasions. He had also attended the consecration of the Rt. Rev. Dr. Green as Bishop of Mississippi. There is *one* candidate for Orders.

The following summary is copied from the Parochial Reports:—Baptisms, white adult, 27, infant, 413; colored adult, 18, infant, 311; total, 769. Confirmed, 161. Communicants, died, 22; removed, 96; added, 196; white, 649; colored, 198; total, 847. Marriages, 178. Funerals, 414. Sunday School teachers, 58; scholars, 554. Contributions for Church purposes, $3,151.

TEXAS. The *Journal* of the 1st Annual Convention of this Diocese, held May, 1850, gives the following statistics:—Baptisms, 166. Confirmations, 71. Communicants, 262. Sunday School teachers, 35; scholars, 210.

MISSISSIPPI. The *Journal* of the 24th Annual Convention of this Diocese, held May, 1850, furnishes the following particulars:—Parishes, 24. Clergy, 17. Families, 250. Baptisms, 196. Confirmations, 60. Communicants, 405. Burials, 60. Sunday School teachers, 62; scholars, 372. Contributions, $1,581 12.

KENTUCKY. The *Journal* of the 22d Annual Convention of this Diocese, held May, 1850. Parishes, 23. Clergy, 28. Baptisms, 335. Confirmations, 138. Communicants, 1,005. Marriages, 42. Burials, 136. Sunday School teachers, 135; scholars, 1,120. Contributions, $12,226 11.

MISSOURI. The *Journal* of the 10th Annual Convention of this Diocese, held June, 1850, gives the following statistics:—Parishes, 11. Clergy, 15. Baptisms, 388. Confirmations, 86. Communicants, (now,) 433.

MICHIGAN. The *Journal* of the 16th Annual Convention of this Diocese, held June, 1850, gives the following particulars. Clergy, 34. Parishes, 33. Baptisms, adult, 59; infant, 213; total, 272. Confirmations, 143. Communicants, added, 150; died, 10; removed, 42; present number, 1,545. Marriages, 67. Funerals, 114. Sunday School teachers, 151; scholars, 971. Missionary contributions, $617 78. General, $283 91. Other contributions, $8,363 72.

ILLINOIS. The *Journal* of the Annual Convention of this Diocese, held in 1849, gives the following particulars:—Parishes reported, 50, though five of them are not yet in union with the Convention. Clergy, 30. Baptisms, infant, 364; adult, 58; total, 422. Confirmed in 19 parishes, 58. Communicants in 37 parishes, 1,393.

INDIANA. The Journal of the 13th Annual Convention of this Diocese, held June, 1850, gives the following summary:—Parishes, 35. Clergy, 21. Families,

269. Children baptized, 105; adults, 18; total, 123. Confirmations, 88. Communicants, 549. Marriages, 26. Funerals, 73. Sunday School teachers, 111; scholars, 716. Contributions, $611 75.

Wisconsin. The *Journal* of the Annual Convention of this Diocese, holden in Trinity Church, Janesville, June, 1849, gives the following particulars: The number of Clergy in the Diocese, is 22; and the organized Parishes are 30. The Bishop has confirmed 92. Ordained Deacons, 2. Priests, 1. Licensed Lay-Readers, 10. Candidates for Holy Orders, 11. Marriages, 3. Laid Corner Stone, 1. Received Priest, 1. Baptized infants, 12. Adult, 1. Transferred Candidates, 2. Transferred Priests, 2. Displaced 1 Priest. Families in 10 Parishes, 492. Individuals in 8 Parishes, 2,140. Communicants in 30 Parishes, 1,356. Baptisms in 13 Parishes, adults 37. Baptisms in 22 Parishes, infants, 244. Total, 281. Confirmed in 16 Parishes, 170. Marriages in 15 Parishes, 73. Burials in 16 Parishes, 142. S. S. Teachers in 7 Parishes, 70. Scholars in 7 Parishes, 515. Contributions for Church purposes, from 11 Parishes, $4,761 69. Clergy canonically resident, 24. Churches on the list, 31.

Minnesota. In June, 1850, the Rev. J. L. Breck, lately of the Nashotah Mission, and the Rev. J. A. Merrick, and the Rev. T. Wilcoxson, arrived at Minnesota to establish a new Mission. At present they are at St. Paul, where they have purchased three acres of land, and erected a small house. They perform all the domestic labors of the establishment; have four or five places of stated services to which they travel on foot; and have one young man already preparing for the ministry. The corner-stone of a new Church was laid at St. Paul, September 5th.

OBITUARY.

Died at Brooklyn, N. Y., June 19, 1850, Rev. Philip E. Milledoler, M. D., late Rector of Bethesda Church, Saratoga Springs, N. Y. [The particulars of his death have not yet been obtained.]

Died at Cold Spring, L. I., August 10, the Rev. Isaac Sherwood, Rector of St. Johns' Church in that place. Mr. Sherwood went to Cold Spring as Lay-reader in May, 1834. He was ordained in August of the same year, and remained in charge of the Parish until his death. For the last few years, he was aided by the faithful services of the Rev. David Brown. The Church building in Cold Spring was erected, that at Huntington repaired, and the Parish at Oyster Bay revived, under his auspices. In each of these places, he held regular services, so far as time and strength would allow, during the 16 years of his ministerial life. A singularly pure minded man, exceedingly laborious in the Ministry, deeply regretted by all who knew him.

Rev. Enos Woodward died in Chester Co., Penn., Aug. 13, 1850, aged 58 years. He was born in Mason Co., Kentucky, April 4, 1792. His parents were Presbyterians. The high Calvinistic doctrines in which he was educated, resulted in his confirmed skepticism. He was a commissioned officer under Gen. Harrison in the last war with Great Britain, and was brought occasionally under the preaching of the Gospel, which led to his conversion, and to his subsequent union with the Episcopal Methodists. The arbitrary government of this sect, induced him to join the Protestant Methodists, among whom he occupied various stations of eminence. He was never a Methodist at heart. Though strongly prejudiced against the Protestant Episcopal Church, an examination of her claims removed his objections, and he was ordained Deacon in 1839 by Bishop McIlvaine. He officiated successively at Allegany City, Penn., Brownsville and Chester Co., where he died very suddenly of apoplexy, without a groan or struggle. Rev. Dr. Bull preached his funeral Sermon from Gen. v, 24, and he was followed to his grave on the 15th of Aug., by a large concourse of Clergymen and Laity. He was a plain, practical, earnest preacher, mainly anxious to win souls to Christ. To the people of his charge, he was greatly endeared. A widow and several children mourn his loss.

DEATH OF THE PRESIDENT.

The nation having been again called to mourn the death of its Chief Magistrate, the following brief account of his life is added to our obituaries.

Gen. Zachary Taylor, President of the United States, was born in Orange Co., Virginia, in 1790. His father, Col. Taylor, served in the war of the revolution, and in 1790 emigrated from Virginia to Kentucky, where he bore a conspicuous part in the labors and struggles of the early settlers.

In May, 1808, Zachary Taylor was commissioned as a Lieutenant in the 7th Regiment of U. S. Infantry. In 1812 he was made Captain, and placed in command of Fort Harrison on the Wabash. When the war with Great Britain commenced, the fort was attacked by four hundred Indians, and for his successful defence of it, he was brevetted Major. After that war, he received the rank of Colonel, and during the Black Hawk war in 1832, distinguished himself at the battle of Bad-axe, which resulted in the capture of Black Hawk and the Prophet.

In 1836, he was ordered to Florida, in command of a separate column, and in December, 1837, fought at the battle of Okee-cho-bee, which resulted in the defeat of a large body of the Indians. In May, 1845, Texas was annexed to the Union, and in August following, General Taylor, then in command of the first department of the army, proceeded with a portion of his troops to Corpus Christi. On the 11th of March, 1846, he took up his line of march for the Rio Grande, where he arrived on the 28th. On the 12th of April, he was summoned by the Mexican General to evacuate his posts on the river, which he refused to do. On the 1st of May he left his entrenchments opposite Matamoros, to open the communication with Point Isabel. On the 8th of May, on his return to relieve Fort Brown, which was bombarded by the Mexicans, he was encountered by 6000 of the enemy at Palo Alto, whom he defeated. His own force consisted of 2100 men. The next day, the 9th, he again met them at Resaca de la Palma, and after a hard-fought battle, routed them with great slaughter, and took possession of Matamoros.

These two signal victories, obtained with such disparity of force, produced an enthusiastic admiration of General Taylor, and of his gallant companions in arms. On the 21st and 22d of September, he assaulted Monterey, a fortified city in Mexico, which, after a desperate resistance, capitulated. On the 22d Feb. 1847, with a force consisting of 5000 men, he encountered the Mexicans at Buena Vista under Santa Anna, 20,000 strong, and totally defeated them. On the 14th Feb., 1849, on an examination of the electoral votes for President and Vice President, he was declared duly elected President of the United States, and was inaugurated the 4th of March following. Had he lived to the 24th of next November, he would have been sixty-six years old.

SUMMARY OF FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

CONSECRATION OF THE BISHOP OF MONTREAL.

The Queen has authorized the foundation of a Second Bishopric in Lower Canada, which province will thus be divided into the two Dioceses of Quebec and Montreal. Her Majesty has nominated the Rev. Francis Fulford, M. A., Minister of Curzon Chapel, Hanover Square, and late Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, to be first Bishop of the newly constituted See of Montreal. Bishop Mountain, who has heretofore administered the undivided Diocese, will bear the title of Bishop of Quebec. Bishop Fulford was consecrated in Westminster Abbey, on St. James' day, July 25. The officiating Bishops were the Archbishop of Can-

terbury, and the Bishops of Oxford, Norwich, Salisbury, Chichester, and Toronto. The Bishops of Oxford and Norwich presented the candidate. Bishop Fulford is from one of the oldest families in England, and his election to this important post, is regarded as eminently judicious and promising.

NEW COLONIAL BISHOPRICS.

Late advices say that three additional Colonial Bishoprics are to be immediately erected; one for Mauritius, of which Rev. Ernest Hawkins, B. D., will be the incumbent; one for Western Australia, to which Rev. James Harris, M. A., Stepney, will be appointed; and one for Sierra Leone, of which the incumbent will be the Rev. T. W. Weeks, M. A., of Lambeth.

THE JUDGMENT IN THE GORHAM CASE.—On Friday, March 8th, 1850, Lord Langdale delivered the Judgment of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, in the case of Gorham *vs.* the Bishop of Exeter. Vice Chancellor Knight Bruce was the only Judge who dissented from the opinion; the Archbishops of Canterbury and York are understood to assent to the decision, and the Bishop of London to be opposed to it. Its delivery occupied about an hour. We have no space for it here; it closes as follows: "The doctrine held by Mr. Gorham is not contrary or repugnant to the declared doctrine of the Church of England, as by law established; and that Mr. Gorham ought not, by reason of the doctrine held by him, to have been refused admission to the vicarage of Brampford Speke. And we shall, therefore, humbly report to her Majesty, that the sentence pronounced by the learned Judge in the Arches Court of Canterbury, ought to be reversed; and that it ought to be declared that the Lord Bishop of Exeter has not shown sufficient cause why he did not institute Mr. Gorham in the said vicarage."

The Judicial Committee, in the course of their decision, say, that they are not called on to decide, whether Mr. Gorham's opinions are theologically sound or unsound, &c.; but whether they are contrary to the doctrines of the Church of England, as taught in her Articles, Formularies, and Rubrics.

This Judgment of the Committee decides nothing, it pretends to decide nothing, the Committee had power to decide nothing, as to the question, what is the doctrine of the Church of England respecting Infant Baptism. Hence, we think unnecessary alarm has been excited. The Committee only declare, that the latitude of interpretation on the point in question, allowed by the Church, is broad enough to include sentiments entertained by Mr. Gorham. In doing this, however, we think the Committee should have at least guarded their decision against its almost certain liability to abuse. Its practical tendency will be, to countenance a non-natural sense to the language of the Formularies of the Church. If Mr. Gorham is to be tolerated, without a word of caution, in denying the Sacramental character of Baptism in the case of infants, (*and we do not see that he holds it to be a Sacrament in any true and primitive sense,*) so also another class of men may claim toleration, while subscribing to the *Thirty-Nine Articles*, while, at the same time, they reject their plain and obvious meaning. In other words, this decision of the Judicial Committee, is very much like a second edition of *Tract Number Ninety*, with a new title page. And they who approve it, have no right to complain if the same thing comes out again by and by, under some new garb. The comprehensive theory of the Articles and Offices of the Church, is unquestionably the true theory. But it is the comprehensiveness of the circle, its radii all uniting in one centre, and not of mere superficiés dotted with a thousand points, and their radii crossing each other in all directions.

The Bishop of Exeter was not, however, to be so easily foiled in his refusal to institute Mr. Gorham. By his Counsel, Sir Fitzroy Kelly, he applied to the Court of Queen's Bench, for a prohibition of the Institution of Mr. Gorham, on the part of the Dean of the Arches, or the Archbishop of Canterbury. The application was based on the ground, that, in a matter pertaining to the Crown, an appeal from the Court of Arches should have been to the Upper House of Convocation, and not to the Queen in Council; and, hence, that the decision of the latter was

null and void. The application was sustained by an appeal to two Statutes, 24 Henry viii, c. 12, and 25 Henry viii, c. 19. The Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench, (Lord Campbell,) on the 25th of April, gave the decision of the Court; in which he objected to this construction of the Statutes, as the last of the two Statutes, dated after Henry had broken with Rome, did not contain the exception in cases referring to the Crown. He referred also to the uniform practice for three centuries. From the Court of Queen's Bench, the Bishop of Exeter appealed to the Court of Common Pleas. Here, too, the decision was against him. As a last resort, he went to the Court of Exchequer, where, on Saturday, June 29, the findings of the other Courts were sustained; and decision rendered, that appeals from the Court of Arches, even in matters pertaining to the Crown, were to the Judicial Committee, and not to Convocation.

The Bishop of Exeter has shown a perseverance which can hardly be surpassed; and has subjected himself to a ruinous bill of costs. A final decision has, at last, been reached, although under circumstances which amount to a strong protest against the decision itself. Mr. Gorham was instituted by Sir Herbert Jenner Fust, Dean of Arches, Aug. 6, 1850.

The matter has produced great excitement in England, and has been made the occasion of reviving another subject, the restoration of Convocation. Four of the Scottish Bishops, Skinner, Torry, Forbes, and Trower, have sent an address to the Bishop of London, publicly thanking him "for refusing to concur in a decision, whereby it is propounded that the regeneration of infants in Holy Baptism is not the clear and unquestionable doctrine of the Church of England." Large numbers of English Clergy have published strong protests against the decision. Some have even threatened to leave the Church of England, if the Judgment is persisted in. A letter from the Bishop of Exeter to Mr. Maskell, (since apostatized,) and another from the Bishop of London to A. B. Hope, Esq., M. P., place this matter of leaving the Church on its just grounds.

The most signal protest yet manifested, was at a meeting in London, on the 22d of July, in St. Martin's Hall. On account of the great crowd in attendance, a meeting was also simultaneously held at Freemason's Hall. Fifteen hundred Clergy are reported as being present, besides a large number of influential laymen. The Bishop of Bath and Wells was the only prelate at the meeting, yet twenty-four out of twenty-seven Bishops, it is said, are in favor of the revival of Convocation, as the ultimate Court of Appeal on all doctrinal questions. We have full reports of the speeches made, by Rev. Mr. Denison, Lord Nelson, Mr. A. B. Hope, M. P., Rev. Mr. Sewell, Rev. Dr. Pusey, Rev. J. Keble, and others. The tone of the meeting was moderate, solemn, and determined. While we sympathize with the English Church in her Erastian bondage, we cannot but ask, is she prepared to cut the cords that bind her to the State? Will she give up her political preferments, her seats in the House of Lords, &c.? Will the State concede to her the enjoyment of her temporalities? Dare the Crown divorce itself from the Church?

We append the following Petition to the Queen, as containing the best summary of the historical argument which we have seen. It will repay careful examination.

TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

The humble Petition of the Undersigned Members of Convocation and Bachelors of Civil Law in the University of Oxford,

SHEWETH—That we, your Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, do acknowledge with ready mind that Prerogative, which, as our Article* declares, "We see to have been given always to all Godly Princes in Holy Scripture by God Himself, that is, that they should rule all states and degrees committed to their charge by

* Art. 37.

God, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Temporal, and restrain, with the civil sword, the stubborn and evil-doers."

That we own that your Majesty, as supreme Governor over all persons, spiritual or temporal, in the realm committed to your Majesty by God, is entitled to give redress to all your Majesty's subjects who feel themselves aggrieved, and we gladly attribute to your Majesty all that "authority,* in causes Ecclesiastical," which was given to "Christian Emperors of the Primitive Church."

That we entreat your Majesty's gracious attention to the following statement:†

1. That the only authority claimed by Christian Emperors, and acknowledged by the Church in Ecclesiastical causes, has been to give, upon appeal, new "Episcopal Judges."‡

2. That the Church, of which your Majesty is a member, has declared that "the Church hath authority in controversies of faith."§

3. That Magna Charta‖ begins by declaring—"We have granted to God, and by this our Charter have confirmed for us and our heirs for ever, that the Church of England be free, and shall have all her whole rights inviolable;" and among these liberties, it was secured by one of the most ancient laws of this realm, that she should "have¶ her judgments free."

4. That the largest claim ever made of old by any King of England, was in the Constitutions of Clarendon, in the reign of your Majesty's predecessor, King Henry II, wherein it was provided that** "if the Archbishop failed to shew justice, recourse was at last to be had to the King, that by his precept the controversy might be terminated *in the Archbishop's Court.*"

5. That in the Statute†† called "Articuli Cleri," the Clergy claimed, and your Majesty's predecessor, King Edward II, by advice of the spiritualty and temporalty allowed, "that spiritual persons, whom our Lord the King doth present unto benefices of the Church, if the Bishop will not admit them for lack of learning, or for other cause reasonable, may not be under examination of lay persons in the cases aforesaid, as it is now attempted, contrary to the Decrees Canonical, but that they must sue unto a Spiritual Judge for remedy, as right shall require." To which the answer in the Statute is—"Of the ability of a Parson presented unto a Benefice of the Church, the examination belongeth to a Spiritual Judge, and so it hath been used heretofore and shall be hereafter."

6. That in the twenty-fourth year of the reign of your Majesty's predecessor, King Henry VIII, it was declared by Statute,‡‡ with the full consent both of the spiritual and temporal estates of the realm, that this realm of England is an empire governed by one supreme head and King, unto whom all sorts and degrees of people, whether spiritual or temporal, are bounden to bear natural and humble obedience, he having also power to render justice to them without restraint or appeal to any foreign prince or potentate.

7. That it was at the same time, and by the same Statute, declared, that the spiritualty, now being usually called the English Church, has power when any cause of the law divine, or of spiritual learning, may happen to come in question, to declare, interpret, and shew the same; that it always hath been reputed, and also found of that sort, that both for knowledge, integrity, and sufficiency of numbers, it hath always been thought, and is also at this hour sufficient and meet of itself, without the intermeddling of any exterior person or persons, to declare and determine all such doubts, and to administer all such offices and duties, as to their rooms spiritual doth appertain.

8. That in the same year in which the Statute§§ was passed, which made it

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* Taken from Canon 2. The words "that the Godly Kings had amongst the Jews" are omitted, as not bearing formally on the subject of the petition.

† The petition has been thrown into this form, in order that Members of Convocation, who have not time to verify facts stated, may not be responsible for them, but only for the prayer of the petition.

‡ Codex Eccl. Afr., can. 104. § Art. 20.

‖ 9 Henry III, c. 1. "Confirmation of Liberties."

¶ Law of King Withred, A. 697. Spelman, t. i, p. 194.

** c. 8. Wilkin's Concilia, ii, 435. †† 9. Edw. II, st. i, c. 13.

‡‡ 24 Henry VIII, c. 12, s. 1. §§ 25 Henry VIII, c. 19.

"lawful to the parties grieved, for lack of justice in any of the Courts of the Archbishop, to appeal to the King's Court of Chancery," it was admitted by another Statute, that heresies should be finally judged in the Bishop's Court,* and in 1530, King Henry VIII, himself stated, in a proclamation, that "Cognizance of heresies, errors, and Lollardies, appertaineth to the Judge of the Holy Church, and not to the Judge secular."

9. That by the ancient law of the land, it is admitted that "it† doth not appertain to the King's Court to determine schisms or heresies," and that where the original cause of the suit is matter whereof the "King's Court hath cognizance, the King's Court is to consult with Divines, to know whether it be a schism or not."

10. That the Statutes, restoring the supremacy to the Crown, under your Majesty's predecessor, Queen Elizabeth, was for "the‡ restoring and uniting to the Imperial Crown of the realm, the *ancient* jurisdictions, authorities, superiorities, and preëminencies, to the same of right belonging or appertaining," and that that Statute has been declared, by the authority of Sir Edward Coke, to be "not§ a Statute introductory of a new law, but declaratory of the old."

11. That although the "reformation of Ecclesiastical laws," prepared under your Majesty's predecessor, King Edward, by reason of his death‖ never received the sanction of the law, yet, that being prepared by Archbishop Cranmer with others, they are some indication of what was then intended; and these provide that "when¶ any cause should devolve to the Crown, it should, *if a grave cause*, be settled by a provincial council."

12. That, during the whole reign of King Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Queen Elizabeth, "there** is no trace of any of the nobility or common law judges in any commission," nor afterwards, "in one commission out of forty," until the overthrow of the royal authority in the Great Rebellion.

13. That your Majesty's predecessor, Queen Anne, declares, "We are†† pleased to find that, according to the opinion of eight of our twelve Judges, and of our Attorney and Solicitor-General, as the law now stands, a jurisdiction in matters of heresy and condemnation of heretics is proper to be exercised in Convocation."

14. That the Court of Delegates having gradually declined and become generally unsatisfactory, the ultimate Court of Appeal has, by recent acts,‡‡ been transferred wholly to laymen, and a very grave cause, affecting a fundamental doctrine of the Church, has recently been decided by them.

15. That, from the time of the Apostles, such a question was never decided by any other than the Bishops of the Church.

16. That such a power supersedes the functions of the Church itself, as declared in our Article,‖‖ more especially since the Synods of the Church are not actually in practice admitted to declare the doctrine of the Church, if it shall be called in question.

17. That the existence of such a state of things is a grievance of conscience, and that this grievance is aggravated by the fact, that the members of the Judicial Committee, except two, are not necessarily members of the English Church, and that these two need not necessarily sit in any cause.

18. That the Court has lately declared that the Church of England does not teach distinctly and definitely in a matter of faith.

19. That the laxity of interpretation of the Formularies of the Church, sanctioned by this judgment, would very seriously affect the good faith of subscrip-

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* 25 Henry VIII, c. 14. † Wilkins, iii, 739. Specot's case, Coke's Reports, p. 5.

‡ 1 Eliz. c. i, s. 1. The title is "An Act to restore to the Crown the *ancient* jurisdiction over the estate Ecclesiastical and Spiritual, and abolishing all Foreign Powers repugnant to the same."

§ Cawdrey's case, Coke's Reports, p. 5. ‖ Reformat. Leg. Eccles. Præf.

¶ Ibid. De Appellat. c. xi, p. 283. In other causes, it was provided that three or four Bishops should be appointed by the Crown for that end.

** Gibson's Codex, Introd. p. xxi, on the authority of the Reg. Cur. Delegat.

†† Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, given in Whiston's account of the Convocation's proceedings.

‡‡ 2 and 3 Gul. IV, c. 92, and 3 and 4 Gul. IV, c. 41. ‖‖ Art. 20.

tion, the religious observances, and ultimately the soundness of faith in the Church and the University.

20. That this grievance presses very heavily upon the consciences of very many of your Majesty's subjects.

21. That your Majesty's predecessor, King Charles I, in a declaration still prefixed to the Articles, and printed in the Book of Common Prayer, promised—"That out of our Princely care that the Churchmen may do the work which is proper unto them, the Bishops and Clergy, from time to time in Convocation, upon their humble desire, shall have licence under our broad seal to deliberate of, and to do all such things as, being made plain by them, and assented unto by us, shall concern the settled continuance of the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England now established."

Your petitioners, therefore, having this statement before us, and feeling convinced that both the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England are endangered, by the reference of causes, involving that doctrine, to the above Court, and also that doubt and uncertainty have been cast upon her doctrine as to the Sacrament of Baptism, by the recent decision,

HUMBLY PRAY—That your Majesty will be pleased to give your royal assent, that all questions touching the doctrine of the Church of England, arising in appeal or in your Majesty's Temporal Courts, shall hereafter, (as suggested to your Majesty's predecessor, King Edward VI,) be referred to a Synod.

That your Majesty will be pleased to give your royal sanction to a bill for enacting that the judgment of such Synod shall be binding upon the temporal Courts of these realms.

And further, that your Majesty will be pleased to refer the matter of doctrine recently questioned, to the Church itself, in such way as your Majesty may be advised by the Collective Episcopate.

That so the members of the Church of England may know certainly what is the doctrine of the Church on the Sacrament of Baptism, and that the Church itself may enjoy full freedom to exercise its inherent and inalienable office of declaring and judging in all matters purely spiritual, to the welfare of your Majesty and of these realms, the salvation of souls, and the glory of its Divine Head.

And your Petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

It is the object of the above document, as will at once be perceived, to prove that, at the Reformation, the Church of England did not abandon the principle of self-government, and self-control in spiritual matters. And it is, probably, the strongest presentation of the argument which can possibly be made. And yet, practically, to all intents and purposes, that Church has yielded up certain of her own spiritual prerogatives to the State; and that State has been becoming more and more thoroughly radical and unchurchlike in its policy and measures every year.

We do not hesitate then, as an American Churchman, to say, that the time has come for that Church to re-assert her power, and re-assume her prerogatives. We say further, that, in this respect, she cannot vindicate her own Reformation, nor make good her claims to Catholicity, while this prerogative of the Church is surrendered. She has exchanged the popery of Rome, for the popery of Kingcraft at home. Viscount Fielding, who presided over the late great Protestation meeting, has gone over to the Roman Schism, expressly on this ground—that the English Church has no actual power of defining and determining, authoritatively, in respect to doctrine and discipline. This, too, we take it, was Newman's strong plea. This difficulty is beginning to agitate the minds of the most intelligent and thoughtful laymen in the English Church.

Now, as we have before said, there is no immediate occasion in the late Gorham decision to agitate this question. That decision has not changed, in any way, the doctrine of the English Church. There has, therefore, been, in fact, no special reason for leaving the Church. Nor, if there were reason, do these perverts gain their object by giving adhesion to the Church of Rome, as they will find at length, to their sorrow. If they have left a *nonentity*, they have not found the *entity* which they seek. And yet we venture to predict, that such instances of

defection, with the growing life of that Church, will not cease to occur, until the Church in England, as the Church in America, throws herself upon her principles, as the Church, not *of England*, but *of Christ*. In precisely what form or accidents, that power should be embodied, whether in Convocation or Synod, we cannot say. We are growingly of the opinion that our own American Conventional system comes nearer to the pattern of the first Council of the Church, (that at Jerusalem,) than any other in existence. To say that the Church of Christ may not safely be trusted with such a deposit, is faithless dishonor cast upon CHRIST Himself.

COMMISSIONERS' SECOND REPORT OF THE SUBDIVISION OF PARISHES.

This report, dated May 3d, 1850, and signed by the Archbishop of York, Lord Harrowby, the Bishops of London and Lichfield, Lord Ashley, Sir Sidney Herbert, and other distinguished persons of the English Church, contemplates the speedy addition of a large number of Parishes in the Church, and the provision of adequate funds for the erection of Churches and their endowment. We gather from the report the following facts. There is immediate demand for the erection of about 600 new Churches, the estimated cost of which is £2,000,000. One half of this, it is believed, might and would be raised by private efforts. The other half, it is proposed to provide for by the Church, without diminishing her efficacy, and this by placing the 777 livings now in the presentation of the Lord Chancellor, in the hands of purchasers, in whom the perpetual patronage should be vested. Individual members of the Church, of wealth and liberality, it is believed would, by purchasing the advowsons, not only adequately endow a large number of Parishes now having insufficient livings, but would also thus raise funds sufficient for the erection of the 600 new Churches. For the *endowment* of these Churches, the increasing value of the Revenues of the Church, which may now be calculated upon, will, it is supposed, soon be quite sufficient. There are 330 benefices in the patronage of the Lord Chancellor, the income of which is insufficient to support a resident Pastor. A reason for the transfer of the patronage from the Lord Chancellor, is, that originally said office was in the hands of ecclesiastical persons. So it was under Edward VI and Charles I. The impropriety of vesting a politician with a patronage greater than is entrusted to any six prelates of the Church, is apparent enough. And a management of the existing Church funds, which shall call into activity the coöperation, zeal, and charity of her living members, is now all that is necessary.

PARLIAMENTARY INTELLIGENCE.

EDUCATIONAL BILL.—A Bill was brought before Parliament under the auspices of Mr. Fox, Mr. Roebuck, Mr. Hume, and others, to promote a system of merely secular education. A number of gentlemen characterized this infidel movement as it deserves.

Parliament has already passed a Bill to establish Colonial Governments for the Australian Colonies, each to consist of an Upper and a Lower House.

Mr. Heywood moved in the House of Commons for an address to the crown, praying for a commission of inquiry into the state of the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Dublin.

A Bill for dispensing with the usual oaths in the admission of Baron Rothschild (a Jew) to the House of Commons, to which he was elected from London, has been shuffled off to the next Parliament.

On the 15th of August, Parliament was prorogued until Oct. 15th. The Queen read the prorogation speech in person. Among other acts passed by this Parliament, were, one for the gradual discontinuance of interments within the walls of London; and another for the extension of the Elective Franchise in Ireland.

On Monday, June 3d, the Bishop of London moved the second reading of a Bill for a new Court of Ecclesiastical Appeals, before whom shall come all litigated *doctrinal* questions. The Bishop supported the Bill in an exceedingly able

speech, as did also the Bishop of Oxford, Lord Stanley, and the Earl of Harrowby. It was opposed by the Marquis of Lansdowne, Lord Campbell, and others. It was finally lost, by a vote of 84 to 51. Among those who voted against it, were the Bishops of Durham, Down, Norwich, and Worcester. 14 Bishops present voted in its favor; as did also the Archbishop of Canterbury and several other Bishops who voted by proxy. The Archbishop of York, and the Bishops of Chester and St. David's, though present, did not vote. Lord Brougham, who is an adept in the art of dodging, spoke one way and voted another.

ENGLISH CHURCH.

According to a Parliamentary paper published lately, the last diocesan returns show 7,779 resident incumbents, and 3,094 non-resident. There are 7,917 glebe houses, and 11,611 benefices. The number of Assistant-Curates to incumbents is 2,998, with stipends varying from £10 a year to £300. The largest number in one class (940) receive £100, and under £110.

MISCELLANEOUS.

A monument has been erected in Canterbury Cathedral, to the memory of Archbishop Howley. It is a recumbent effigy with a Bible clasped to the breast.

The Rev. W. Maskell, late examining chaplain to the Bishop of Exeter, has passed over to the Roman schism.

At a meeting recently held in London, the Bishop of London in the chair, it was resolved to place a whole length effigy of the late William Wordsworth, in Westminster Abbey; and, if possible, a monument to his memory in the neighborhood of Grasmere, Westmoreland. Her Majesty headed the subscription with a gift of £50.

Louis Philippe, Ex-King of France, died at Claremont, England, Aug. 26, 1850, in the 77th year of his age.

The Rev. Dr. Wiseman, Romish Bishop of London, has been recently chosen Cardinal, and has removed to Rome. He is one of the most thoroughly learned men in the Romish Church. It is said he has an eye to the mitre, and to the abolishing of a forced celibacy of the Clergy.

PRAISEWORTHY MUNIFICENCE.

Miss Burdett Coutts, who has already distinguished herself by her almsdeeds, has recently erected a beautiful Church, at her own expense, in the city of London. The plan contemplates a parsonage, two School houses, to contain five hundred scholars, with apartments for teachers, &c. The Church is of the style of the latter part of the 14th century, and was consecrated on the Festival of St. John the Baptist. It contains free sittings for six hundred persons. The Duke of Wellington presented a superb altar cloth for the Holy Table.

DEATH OF WILLIAM WORDSWORTH.

The most eminent poet of England, and, perhaps, of the world, died at his residence, Rydal Mount, Windemere, on the 23d of April, in the eightieth year of his age. We are indebted for the following sketch of his life and character, to Mr. Bryant, of the New York Evening Post.

Wordsworth was born on the 7th of April, 1770, at Cockermouth, in the county of Cumberland. His parents were of the middle class, and he was educated, together with his brother, Dr. Wordsworth, the author of several ecclesiastical works of merit, at the Hawkshawk Grammar School. At a very early age he exhibited a natural desire to study, a habit of thoughtfulness, and a passion for poetry. When at school, he was distinguished by his devotion to his classical studies; and the impressions thus created were clear and vivid.

In his youth he made a pedestrian tour in France, Switzerland, and Italy, of which the result was a volume of poems, entitled "Descriptive Sketches in Verse." This production was accompanied by another poetical work, entitled the "Evening Walk," an "Epistle to a young lady from the lakes in the north of England." These formed, together, the young poet's first appeal to the public. They were issued in 1793, and at once arrested the attention of discerning men. Mr. Wordsworth afterwards went to Paris, but was compelled, by the "Reign of Terror," to return to England.

It was about this period that the revolution in France had attained its height; and its influence upon his imagination was no less forcible than that produced by it upon the buoyant and vigorous, but as yet, untried heart and intellect of his friends and frequent companions, Coleridge, Southey, and Lloyd. The earnest thoughts that had been generated by his continued meditations upon this theme, found an utterance in the "Descriptive Sketches," and "Evening Walk," to which we have just referred. These, however, ended the republican imaginings of Wordsworth.

In 1797, Wordsworth had conceived a plan for the regeneration of English poetry, and accordingly, in 1798, he published, in conjunction with Coleridge, a collection of what he called "Lyrical Ballads." The majority of these productions were from his own pen; but his book, so far from making converts to his peculiar way of thinking, met everywhere with the bitterest contempt and ridicule. The Edinburgh Review denounced his theory as "puerile," and stigmatized his verses as a species of second-rate nursery rhymes. There can be no doubt that Wordsworth, in his zeal to redeem the English muse from a corrupted and inane phraseology, pushed his favorite theory too far; yet among these very much derided lyrical ballads, are to be found poems which are equal to any that he has written.

In the year 1803, Wordsworth married Miss Mary Hutchinson, of Penrith. They resided at Grassmere, in Westmoreland. In 1807, Mr. Wordsworth published a second volume of "Lyrical Ballads," and his other poetical works appeared at intervals, sometimes of one, sometimes of two, three, or more years. In 1809, he gave to the world a prose work, now almost forgotten, the object of which was to stimulate the national feeling against the French, by advocating the war in Spain.

In 1814, he published his large work, the "Excursion," a poem ill conceived in plan, and wanting the interest of a work of art, but so full of isolated passages of grandeur and beauty, so nobly inspired by an enlarged philosophy, and elevated by religious feeling, that, even with its faults, it remains a living and enduring testimony to the folly of Lord Byron's hasty and flippant satire.

In the year 1815, appeared the poem called "The White Doe of Rylstone," which contains some exquisite passages; and, in the same year, while giving to the world another edition of the "Lyrical Ballads," Mr. Wordsworth felt himself called to publish a defense of the system on which he had constructed some of his poems. To this he had been provoked by the strictures, justifiable, perhaps, in many respects, which had appeared in the two great quarterly reviews, from the pens of Gifford and Jeffrey, their editors. His next publication amounted to a practical defiance of those great despots of the literary world, for in his "Peter Bell," and "The Waggoner," he carried his new system to an extent which, in spite of the poetical power displayed in them, almost shook the faith of those in whom some of his other works had inspired an admiration and veneration, almost amounting to worship. His "River Duddon," a collection of descriptive sonnets, some of which are master-pieces, appeared in 1820, followed, at long intervals, by other works, in which the nobler characteristics of his genius were developed, and his attempts to invest with a poetical interest subjects utterly incapable of imaginative treatment were abandoned.

Mr. Wordsworth had early received the appointment of Distributor of Stamps for the counties of Westmoreland and Cumberland. This, with the tardy though sure profits of his works, enabled him to live in a dignified independence, in the midst of those beautiful scenes by which so much of his best poetry had been in-

spired. On the death of Southey, he was nominated to the post of Poet Laureate. In this capacity he wrote an ode on the Queen's visit to Cambridge. Dying at fourscore years of age, Wordsworth enjoyed the happiness, so rarely given to men of the highest order of intellect, of contemplating the certainty of his own fame, and of seeing reversed by his contemporaries, those hasty judgments which are usually left to the retribution of posthumous contempt.

In this country, Wordsworth is more highly esteemed than any other English poet, by intellectual and cultivated people. He enjoys a particular popularity among the members of the Church. A great many editions of his poems have been published in the United States; the most complete being that put forth by Professor Reid, of Philadelphia, who, in a very elaborate preface, classes Wordsworth's among the five great names of English poetry, thus—Chaucer, Spenser, Shakspeare, Milton, Wordsworth.

DEATH OF SIR ROBERT PEEL.

The greatest English Statesman of the age died on Tuesday, July 2d, at about 11 o'clock, P. M., in the 62d year of his age. The cause of his death was an injury received on the Saturday preceding, June 28th, from being thrown from his horse, just after leaving Buckingham Palace. On Friday he delivered an animated speech in Parliament. We gather the following leading facts of his life from our English files. He was born in October, 1788, at Tamworth. His father was a distinguished cotton spinner, of Manchester, who accumulated an immense fortune. His oldest son, Robert, was sent to Harrow School, where he was fellow pupil with several persons afterwards distinguished; and was subsequently sent to Oxford University. In 1809, he entered Parliament, at the age of twenty-one years, as representative of Cashel. In a few months he was appointed an under-Secretary of State, in the Home Department; and, in 1812, was chosen Chief Secretary for Ireland. He procured the "Insurrection Act," and, in 1817, the establishment of a general police, by which he quieted rebellion in Ireland. In 1818, he resigned his Irish Secretaryship, and represented the Oxford University in Parliament, until 1829. In 1819, he introduced his famous Currency Bill, for contracting a paper currency, a measure he had always opposed, and was brought into collision with his own father, who represented Tamworth. In 1820, June 8th, he married Julia, daughter of Gen. Sir John Floyd, aged 25 years, by whom he leaves five sons and two daughters. In 1822, he became Home Secretary, and vigorously opposed Canning's Catholic Emancipation Bill. In 1826 he introduced his memorable Reform of the Criminal Code, by which death ceased to be the penalty, except for great crimes. In 1828, the Canning and Goderich Administrations having become defunct, the Duke of Wellington succeeded as Prime Minister, and Peel, as Home Secretary; and, in 1829, these men disappointed friends and enemies by endorsing and carrying the "Catholic Emancipation Bill." For this treachery, Oxford disowned him, and elected Sir Robert Inglis in his place. He was, however, returned by the close borough of Westbury. The Reform movement of 1830 drove Wellington and Peel from office, yet the fall of the Melbourne ministry, in 1834, summoned Peel from Italy, as Prime Minister; but the next year he was defeated, and resigned. In 1839, he was summoned to form a new ministry; but, in consequence of misunderstanding with the Queen, he relinquished the attempt. In 1841, the Whig ministry having been discharged, Peel came again into power; and his cabinet continued till 1846, during which time he repealed the Corn Laws, and established Free Trade. The "Country Party" was so active in its opposition under Bentick and D'Israeli, as its leaders, that Peel, in 1846, retired; since which, though nominally a Tory, he has been the leader of a conservative body, so-called, vibrating between the Tory and Radical parties, distrusted, and yet feared and respected by both. His abandonment of his own principles, and of the Church, on the "Papist Relief Bill," has never been forgiven him by Churchmen, as it was the opening wedge of a movement whose end is not yet. The London Chronicle says of him, "Such a continuation of qualities,—of wisdom, the fruit of long ex-

perience—of caution, the consequence, not of timidity, but of prudence—of boldness, tempered by sagacity—of information, gleaned through a long and laborious public life—of high probity, and sensitive honor—of statesmanlike wisdom, not disdaining popular influence and sympathy—of eloquence, spontaneously springing from the peculiar wants of his position, and intuitively adapted to the occasions of its exercise—such a rare union of many requisites for a statesman and minister in a popular Government, will not soon be seen again in any individual." And the Daily News says, "Sir Robert Peel has expired at the age of 62. He occupied a seat in Parliament for forty-one years. He was the master-spirit of the House, thoroughly acquainted with all its springs of action, and knowing when and how to touch them." Sir Robert received the last Sacrament, on Monday evening before his death, from the Bishop of Gibraltar. Though his family were proffered, by the Queen and Parliament, a public funeral, yet it was known to be his wish to be buried without ostentation, in the vault of the Parish Church of Drayton, by the side of his father and mother. He left his papers in the hands of Lord Mahon, and Mr. Edward Cardwell, M. P.

DEATH OF LORD JEFFREY.

Francis Jeffrey, so well known in the literary world, died at his seat in Craigerook, near Edinburgh, on the 26th of January, aged 67 years. He was born at Edinburgh in 1773; was educated at the High School of his native city, in the Glasgow University, and Queen's College, Oxford. He was called to the Bar in 1794, where he became somewhat distinguished. In 1802, he was one of the three projectors of the Edinburgh Review, Sydney Smith being its first editor. On Mr. Smith's promotion in the Church, Mr. Jeffrey became sole editor of the Review, three numbers only having been issued, and retained this position until 1829, or about 27 years. At this period, he was elected Dean of the Faculty of Advocates, a post of distinction at the Scottish Bar. In 1830 he was elected member of Parliament, where he remained four years; when he obtained a seat on the Scottish Bench, which office he held until his death. It was as editor of the Edinburgh Review, that Jeffrey's reputation was almost wholly gained. Here he drew around him a galaxy of talent, (not, to be sure, always under his control,) and seizing hold of all the subjects of the day, politics, jurisprudence, and religion, gave to the pages of his Review almost oracular authority. As a critic, he was not always just or discriminating. Scott, Byron, Southey, Wordsworth, Coleridge, and others, suffered under his merciless lash, although his censures were, in part, subsequently retracted. Some of these distinguished sons of genius, however, never forgave him, and seldom spoke of him save with hatred or contempt. Still he conducted the Review with great tact and judgment. His style was clear and strong, rather than eloquent, and he knew how to use the weapons of wit and satire most effectively. As an author, he is not known out of the pages of his Review; and his four volumes of collected Essays, have not been very successful in winning the favor of the public.

DEATH OF NEANDER.

This distinguished Scholar and Historian, died at Berlin, on the 14th of July, in the 62d year of his age. He was born in 1787, at Gottingen, of Jewish parents; and was Professor of Theology in the University of Berlin, at the time of his death. He was never married, and was eccentric but very simple in his manners. His great work on History is left in an unfinished state, having been brought down to about the middle of the 14th century. Some account of his writings may be found in the April Number of this Review. The principal among them, are "Julian and his Times," 1812; "St. Bernard and his Times," 1813; "The Development of the Gnostic System," 1818; "St. Chrysostom," 1822; "The Anti-Gnostics," 1826; "Planting of the Church by the Apostles," 1832; "Life of Jesus," in reply to Strauss, 1837; "History of the Christian Church." The fatal disease which terminated his life, was a species of cholera.

Prof. Strauss delivered the funeral Sermon. Lighted candles were kept burning around his body at the funeral, and were also carried before him in the funeral procession. He was buried July 17.

ROMAN CATHOLIC COUNCIL AT PARIS.

The Council convoked by the Archbishop of Paris, commenced its sittings on Monday, Sept. 17, 1849, in the chapel of the religious Seminary of St. Sulpice, and continued its sessions until Friday, Sept. 28th. After having heard mass, the members formed themselves into small groups, or, as they are called, congregations, to examine the questions which are to be resolved afterwards by the general congregation.

A private conversation took place in the morning of Monday, to verify the claims of those desirous of attending, to regulate the order of the proceedings, and to name the theologians who were to be present. The same day, at 3 o'clock, the first general congregation took place, when the Archbishop of Paris delivered an address, indicating the objects of the council. Three decrees were then read, De aperiendo synodo; de modo vivendi in concilio; and de professione fidei, which were to be promulgated at the first general sitting. The nomination of the officers of the Council was then proceeded to. M. M. Libour and Ravinet were appointed Secretaries; M. M. Bouquet and Heron, Promoters; and M. M. Eglee, de Conny, and Hugin, Masters of the Ceremonies. Among the theologians of the Council are M. de Courson, superior-general of the Company of St. Sulpice; Father de Ravignan, of the Company of Jesus; Father Rubillon, M. M. Carriere, and Icard, professors of the religious seminary of St. Sulpice; the Abbe Langlois, superior of the religious seminary of Foreign Missions; M. Hanicle, cure of St. Severin; the Abbe Bautain, the Abbe Serbert, &c. The course of proceeding connected with the council was as follows: They rise at 5 o'clock, recite the breviary, and then hear mass, which is celebrated at half-past 7 o'clock; after that the private sittings of the Bishops and theologians; breakfast takes place at 11 o'clock, and during its continuance portions of the Holy Scriptures, and of the life of St. Charles, the restorer of councils in the 16th century, are read; at 1 o'clock the divine office; at 3 general sitting of the Council; at 6 dinner, accompanied by reading as in the morning; and the day closes by prayers at 9. The council is divided into five committees—1, that of decrees; 2, doctrine; 3, ecclesiastical studies; 4, discipline; and 5, canonical law. Precedence is given, not to dignity, but to seniority of nomination. The council hold—1, private congregations or sittings; 2, general ones; 3, solemn sessions. The private congregations are a kind of Bureau, when the matters to be afterward examined are first discussed; the general congregations are the meetings to which the private ones send in their reports; and the solemn sessions are intended to pronounce on and publish the decrees decided on in the general congregation.

It met for the last time on Friday Morning. The litanies of the Saints were chanted, and mass performed as usual; afterwards the Fathers formed themselves into a circle around the sacred volume, with the theologians of the council and inferior ecclesiastics, in a second circle behind them; ten other Bishops were seated in the stalls of the chapel; amongst the latter were the Papal Nuncio, Father Regis, Superior of the Trappists of Staoneli in Africa, and the Archbishops of Naby and Kerintrina in Mount Libanus. The decrees were then pronounced:—1, Of Diocesan Synods. 2, Of Errors attacking the foundations of religion, (those condemned were, first,—On the Nature of God; secondly,—On Supernatural Causes; thirdly,—On the Sacred Writing; fourthly,—On the Most Holy Trinity;) 3, Of the new sect called Work of Mercy. 4, Of Miracles and Prophecies not received. 5, Of Holy Images, and the respect due them, and errors to be avoided. 6, Of Errors which destroy the foundations of Justice and Charity. 7, Of Ecclesiastical Tribunals. 8, Of Residence. 9, Of the Sanctification of Sundays and Fast Days. 10, Of the Preaching the Word of God, and the Baptism of Infants. 11, Of Dignity in ceremonies. 12, Of the Visitation and Care of the Sick. 13, Of the Duties of the Clergy during Epidemics. 14, Of the Carrying

into Execution of Pious Bequests. 15, Of Offerings and Casual Gifts. 16, Of the conduct of the Clergy in political matters. 17, Of the Intervention of the Press in Religious Questions. 18, Of the Relations of the Faithful with those who are not of the Faith. 19, Of Ecclesiastical Studies—of the examinations of young priests. 20, Of the Execution of the Decrees.

After the reading of these decrees, which occupied two hours, the Fathers affixed their signatures below them, and exchanged the kiss of peace.

We regard the restoration of the Sessions of the Synod of the Gallican Church, especially at the present moment, as a marked event. That Church has never sympathized in the absolutism of its neighbors the Austrians and Spaniards; and the predominating influence of France in Italy, renders the position of the French Church, just now, one of considerable promise.

ROMISH SYNOD OF IRELAND.

A body claiming to be the National Synod of Ireland, assembled by the authority of the Pope, at Thurles, on the 22d of August. This is the first meeting of such a Council in Ireland for several centuries.

FRANCE.

The new Electoral Law passed the House of Deputies, on the 31st of May, by a vote of 483 to 241. This law will disfranchise about four millions of voters. The family of Louis Philippe, with the exception of the Duchess of Orleans, is anxious for a reconciliation of the Bourbons. The elements of another Revolution in France are gathering.

KING'S COLLEGE, TORONTO, CANADA.

An act of gross injustice towards this College and the Church, has lately been committed by the Provincial Legislature of Upper Canada. King's College was incorporated in 1827, by Royal Charter under George the Fourth, it was liberally endowed, and placed under the direction of the Church of England. The Legislature of Upper Canada, in 1849, passed an Act subverting the Charter, abolishing all religious tests in its guardians and professors; excluding all forms of Divine Worship, and all public prayer, and rendering the College essentially an infidel institution. This base act has not been consummated without remonstrance on the part of the Church. The Bishop of Toronto has opposed the whole movement, with an ability, energy, and meekness, which have commanded our admiration and highest respect. He has now gone to London to lay the case at the foot of the Throne, and before the Houses of Parliament; and if he fails to secure redress there, prepared to seek assistance for a new Institution, "the Church University," in behalf of which, the Churchmen of Canada have already contributed munificently. A large amount of Church property in Canada is held by Romanists and others, by no other title than that which in the present case has been ruthlessly violated. In the United States the Church has been defrauded in the same way. Sectarian hatred has robbed the Church in Virginia and Vermont of property most sacredly hers; and which we trust she will yet in some way recover to the uttermost farthing. In any event, there is a God of justice who rules in the earth, and He will yet make the wrath of man to praise Him, even though the Church may be temporarily spoiled by the connivance of time-serving Churchmen, and truckling politicians.

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THE WRITINGS OF HAWTHORNE.

ART. I.—*Mosses from an old Manse.* By NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE. New York: Wiley & Putnam, 1846.

The Scarlet Letter. A Romance. By NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE. Boston: Ticknor, Reid & Fields, 1850.

CURRENT Literature, in America, has generally been forced to depend, for criticism, upon personal partiality or personal spleen. We have had very little reviewing on principle; almost none with the pure motive of building up a sound and healthful literature for our country, by cultivating merit, correcting erratic genius, abasing assumption and imposture, and insisting on the fundamental importance of certain great elements, without which no literature can be either beneficial or enduring. Our reviews have, accordingly, exercised very little influence over public taste. They have been rather tolerated than approved; and, for the most part, have led a very precarious existence, rather as attempts than as achievements; creditable make-believes; tolerable domestic imitations of the imported article; well enough in their way, but untrustworthy for opinion, and worthless for taste. Their reviewals of cotemporary authors have too commonly been a mere daubing of untempered mortar, or else a deliberate assault, with intent to kill. In either case the reviewer has betrayed him-

self, as writing, not for the public, but for the satisfaction or the irritation of the author; and the game of mock reviewing has become as notorious as that of mock auctions. The intelligent public hears the hammering and the outcry, but has got used to it, and passes by. Nobody's opinion of a book is the more or less favorable for anything that can be said in this or that periodical. If a reviewal appears, it is at once understood that some friendly Mæcenas has elaborated three sheets of tender concern for the sale of Mr. Plume's new Poem, and has bribed the Editor of "The Ephemeral" to print it, by placing it, gratuitously, at his service, and purchasing a number of copies; or that, by a similar arrangement, Mr. Penn's particular enemy, an old college rival, has found vent for a long-fermenting heartfull of malice, in a criticism of Penn's maiden romance, which lacks nothing but a little imitative wit and pungency to make its borrowed formalisms a tolerable caricature of Jeffrey. Who cares for a volume of such mere puffs and invectives? The review comes quarterly, and is taken benevolently, and read skippingly, and paid for grumblingly; but it drags on from year to year without expiring, for several reasons; for, in the first place, everybody contributes to it, and wants to lay up his own trash in a convenient form; and then, everybody that do n't contribute has a friend that does, and would n't like to seem indifferent to a friend's lucubrations; and lastly, everybody else that subscribes, does it for the encouragement of American manufactures, or because he is aware that it looks respectable to have a review somewhere at hand, in his parlor. Ah! how very differently an old subscriber takes to his "Blackwood," or his "Edinburgh." There is a welcome for the genuine article, which can no more be mistaken than the warm shake of the hand, and the illuminated stare, with which we make a time-honored friend at home in a minute. "Here it comes, true to the day," shouts the subscriber, as he wheels the great chair to the parlor grate, and snatches *Maga* from the grinning negro, who hands it in, with the air of a Pharisee doing a good action—"here 's old Ebony! candles, Pompey! Mary, my dear, bring my paper-knife! now for Kit North! Why, no! buff and blue, after all—well, it 's the Edinburgh, and we 'll have something about France and Louis Napoleon; let 's see how the world goes." Who has not been actor, or spectator, in scenes like this? But now for a picture even more likely to be recognized. "Who rung the door-bell, Pompey?" "Nobody, sir, but a boy with a book; I left it in the entry, sir." "Left it in the entry—blockhead, why did n't ye bring it here!" "La! papa," says

Miss Mary, "'t was nothing but the National Review; Pompey knows you never read it." "Oh, dear!" responds the old worthy—"well, child, let 's have a game of chess." American periodical literature is, verily, in a flourishing condition.

So it must be, however, till our periodicals become something more than repositories of sophomorical eulogy, or ribaldry, upon literary toys and trifles. Reviews are superfluous, except as they represent a want, which they undertake to supply, from competent resources, and in an earnest spirit of accomplishing an honorable purpose. We make no apology, therefore, for becoming reviewers, when we acknowledge our earnest hope, not only that we may do something to assist the literary and theological studies of Anglo-American Churchmen, but that we may make the voice of the Church more audible to the American public in general, and thus may exercise, for the benefit of popular authors, some salutary influence upon public taste. Our mission—to borrow a little cant from the times—is, indeed, rather religious than literary; yet, in an age when literature makes very free with religion, we must be pardoned for supposing that religion owes some attention to literature. We grant that we have little taste for popular criticism, and if anybody chooses to assert that we are not qualified critics, we concede it entirely. A critic of popular writers should undoubtedly be *totus in his*, and we confess ourselves, almost *totus in aliis*. A critic should have no sick folk to visit, no sad folk to comfort, no heavy-laden to minister unto; he should have no babes to christen, no couples to marry, no sermons to prepare, no disciples to teach; above all, he should have no spasmodic door-bell, with its perpetual dingle-dingle communicating perpetual breaks, dashes, and disconnections to his pen; and to all such disqualifications, with others, we plead guilty, still devoutly hoping that we shall never be disposed to exchange the wear and tear of this kind of life for the fairest ideal of literary seclusion of which we ever dreamed. And yet we grant the critic's to be no ignoble, albeit an "ungentle craft." Our views of its importance are very high, and we consider the devotion of enthusiasm its just demand. Let him only be allowed a critic who can sit, like Pygmalion, studying beauty by the day's work, in lonely rapture, alike imperturbable and undisturbed; or give him the name, who can bend, as we once beheld an anatomist, over a putrid corpse, cutting and sawing with intense satisfaction, and wholly oblivious of his nose. A critic, we allow, must be, both actively and passively, an abstraction; he must be "an honest chronicler, like Griffith," if he would prove

A speaker of men's living actions,
And keep true honor from corruption;

and yet, in order thereto, he must first be like Burton, "a mere spectator of other men's fortunes and adventures, and how they play their parts." It is true that to most of these demands we are wanting; yet our apology for taking up a popular work, now and then, in a critical vein, shall be offered in pleading an abstraction of another kind. We are free, at least, from that literary contact which has infected American reviewers so generally, with the malady of which we complain, and which necessarily breeds selfish and personal feelings of affection or of hate. We know not the literary world, except from a distant view, and have nothing in common with its aims or its occupations; but we think it high time that the literary world should learn that Churchmen are, in a very large proportion, their readers and book-buyers, and that the tastes and principles of Churchmen have as good a right to be respected as those of Puritans and Socialists. It is in this relation to our subject that we have taken up the clever and popular writings of Hawthorne; and we propose to consider them, without any attempt to give them a formal review, just in the free and conversational manner which is permitted to table-talk or social intercourse; and if we can thus afford our author a candid exhibition of the impressions he is producing on a large, but quiet portion of the community, and prompt him to a future career more worthy of their entire regard, we shall feel that we have done the State, as well as the Church, some service; and no anxiety for our reputation as critics shall spoil our appetite for a smoking plum-pudding at Christmas.

In taking up Mr. Hawthorne's volumes, we are happy to particularize our general professions of impartiality, and to describe ourselves as heartily his well-wishers, knowing nothing either of him or his works, beyond what is patent to all men, in his own published confessions, or in other publications of the popular character. True we must own to a little prejudice against him, as a conspicuous member of the Bay School, but, in counterpoise, we must put in a profession of a specific feeling in his favor, as at all events one of the best of them, the very Irving of Down-East. He is one of the few Bays whose freest egotism seldom moves our disgust, and whom we are, in truth, disposed to thank for gossiping at random about himself and friends, as if every one knew both him and them, and were anxiously watching them with telescopes and lorgnettes. In fact, we were particularly interested in his

graphic description of that ancient seat of witchcraft in which he tells us he was born, for having had forefathers of our own among the broad-banded and steeple-crowned worthies of old Salem, we were glad to learn, more than geographies and gazetteers are wont to tell us, of its appearance and present condition. Nay, we began to feel a degree of cousinry with our author, in spite of ourselves, when, in an old family record of a marriage not very remotely connected with our own existence, we found the name of his ancestor, *Colonel Hathorn*, familiarly mentioned, with those of other Salemites who hasted to the wedding, in the year of Grace 1713, and were there gravely lectured, over their sack-posset, by godly Master Noyes, the Puritan parson. With such, and many other feelings in our author's favor, we take up his works. In fact, who can resist a pleasant influence in his behalf, exhaling from his very name, redolent as it is of guilelessness and spring-tide, and rich with associations derived from old ballads and madrigals that celebrate the garden-like agriculture of England? In faint suggestiveness too of "Hawthornden," it has a flavor of Scots poesy and the English drama; of Drummond and of Jonson; and if some patriot Pope or Gifford wants a name whose easy lubricity of pronunciation just suits a flowing line, who would not wish that Hawthorne's might be paired with Irving's, as indissolubly as Beaumont's with Fletcher's, and that the twain might be freely allowed to rank as the *lucida sidera* of our literary horizon? It is not for want of a predisposition to admire and praise our author and his performances, that we shall be obliged to say many things in a different humor.

Mr. Hawthorne must be now in the middle-way of his life, and we are glad to learn, by a morning paper of the day on which we write this paragraph, that both he and Mr. Longfellow have bought farms in Berkshire, Massachusetts, which will necessarily keep them, for a good part of the year, about as distant from Boston as the limits of the Bay State will allow. These two fine specimens of the Eastern School, in poetry and prose, seem to have been, in some degree, yokefellows, from the start. They are both set down, by Mr. Griswold, as born in 1807, and they seem to have been classmates at Bowdoin College, in 1825. In more than one of his works, Mr. Hawthorne has shown a disposition to make no secret of his intimate relations with Longfellow, and of his familiar visits to the poet's charming domestic circle; and we can easily conceive that it is with much of brotherly feeling that these distinguished gentlemen are now turning themselves

into a pair of metaphorical farmers, among the turnips and pigs of Berkshire. As an author, Mr. Hawthorne's name came before the public, for the first time, in 1837, when the first volume of his "Twice Told Tales" was collected from magazines and other periodicals, and given to the world under its very appropriate, and not infelicitous title. A second volume appeared in 1842; and he has since published "The Journal of an African cruiser," and "Mosses from an old Manse." His last production is "The Scarlet Letter," which appears to have been commenced only as one tale of a series, similar to those of his former books, but which is expanded to a little book of itself, and comes forth as "a romance," with a more ambitious appearance than belongs to any of its predecessors. As its author has freely indulged in autobiography, we shall be pardoned for presenting our readers with a few particulars derived from that source, and from others of a similar kind. Mr. Bancroft, it would seem, procured him the post of "Surveyor of the port of Salem," the duties of which are very amusingly described in his introduction to the "Scarlet Letter." After three years of public employment, the change of Administration, in 1849, remitted him, in company with many other patriotic public servants, to "the shades of private life," and he appears to have resumed his literary occupations, in consequence of this alteration in his circumstances. At some former period, since his leaving college, he has managed to spend three years of his life in an old New England parsonage, which fell vacant by the demise of its more appropriate tenant, the last of a long succession of village pastors, which evidently began with a Calvinistic dynasty, and died out in a Socinian one. To this residence in a decayed mansion, we owe "the Mosses from an old Manse," a very euphonious title certainly, although, to let the "Mosses" alone, we are disposed to doubt whether the house from which they came was a "Manse," any more than its departed occupants would have professed themselves Scotch presbyterians. However, we wish our author had never found worse quarters; but the life of a Bay writer generally leads us somewhere into a mist, and we accordingly encounter an intimation that "the Brook-farm community, at West Roxbury," was once the wiser and richer for Mr. Hawthorne's residence among them, as a practical disciple of Owen, Fourier, and St. Simon! In his own volumes we find plaintive allusions to the fact; and, as Mr. Griswold's biographical sketch does not pretend to make it a secret, we have only to congratulate our author upon the timely disbanding of the *phalansteries*, into which he had suf-

fered himself to be enrolled. Like other "Boston Notions," the community at Brook-farm has had its day, and its former associates, as we learn, have passed into various phases of subsequent existence, most of them running the restless round of enthusiasm, and finding themselves at last, some Quakers and some Papists, some believing nothing at all, and some trying to believe everything. We bespeak indulgence, however, for our author, whom some will be inclined to censure unduly for the company he has kept. Our readers have probably no idea of the way in which such experiments are regarded at the seat of Mutual Admiration. There, where every man is a gospel unto himself, and where the necessity of a new revelation, suited to the age, is the only admitted doctrine of religion, a graduate of Brook-farm would be regarded with particular consideration, as an experimental philosopher; and we doubt not that he has accordingly made considerable figure in the charmed circle, and is the more looked up to for his acquaintance with the interior of a community, compared with which a madhouse should be regarded as a University. Mr. Hawthorne has too much good taste to tell us of the degree of consideration to which he has been borne by his real talent and peculiar qualifications, among his literary friends; but he spares no encomium when he takes an opportunity to mention the names of Alcott, Thoreau, Lowell, Hillard, and a Mr. Ellery Channing of Assabeth, whose classic refinement, subtile intellect, poetic sentiment and what not, are never sparingly attested, although it is impossible for us to conjecture what these respectable persons may have to do with either the "Old Manse" or "The Scarlet Letter," to justify their being mentioned in one, or both, in a manner so unusual that we are led to suppose them heroes of the narrative, or else to lament our own ignorance of their possible celebrity. The only direct allusion to his own rank, into which our author is betrayed by the habits of his School, occurs, if we rightly recollect, in the introduction to his last work, where he *naively* confesses his surprise that the clerks and tide-waiters at the Custom-house evinced no sense of his literary importance when he came among them, and, as "Surveyor of the port," undertook to show them that "a man of thought, fancy, and sensibility, may at any time be a man of affairs." To our homely ideas, it would be something to the purpose if Mr. Hawthorne could show a dignified precedent for his life at Brook-farm; but, with an evident fear that his Custom-house life would be most likely to imperil his caste in "the circle," he goes on to remember that Burns was an exciseman, and

Chaucer a comptroller of the wool-tax, and smuggles in the conclusion that "they were each of them a Custom-house officer in his day, as well as himself." After this consoling discovery of a literary warrant for his employment, it is pleasing to find that Mr. Hawthorne allowed his name to be grossly marked on boxes of herrings, and bags of coffee, and quintals of codfish, in due course of trade, with a praiseworthy effort to maintain a sublime indifference to the fact that the same had been "blazoned abroad on title-pages." It will illustrate what we have heretofore said of the Trimontane horizon, if we proceed to quote our author's lament over the indifference with which Salem tax-gatherers daily accosted him, when compared with his experiences in Boston. "It is a good lesson, though it may often be *a hard one*," says he, "for a man who has dreamed of literary fame, and of making for himself a rank among the world's *dignitaries* by such means, to step aside, out of the narrow *circle* in which his claims are recognized, and to find how utterly void of significance beyond that *circle*, is all that he achieves, and all he aims at!" We waive allusion to this use of the word *dignitaries*, which might alarm a Sidney Smith or a Milman, with fears that Mr. Hawthorne was looking to a stall at their side, but we must be allowed a laugh at the downright Bostonian character of this whole extract. Who but one of the *circle* could ever have entered a Custom-house with so many thoughts of literature? Surely, had we been so fortunate in our lay experiences, as to have got that Surveyorship, and had we enjoyed twice the reputation that even the "Twice Told Tales" could give, it does seem to us there would have been no great hardship in entering at once upon our duties, without a thought of being saluted either as a Burns or a Chaucer in disguise. It strikes us, moreover, that we should have pushed in among the herrings, and scored our democratic name upon the gunny-bags, without any of our author's misgivings that we were throwing away valuable autographs. We are sure that nothing could have been harder to endure with gravity, than a *salaam* to our authorship from the deputy-surveyors and inspectors. Tare and trett should be the only literary associations with such officials, and red tape and sealing-wax the nearest approach to "books and stationery" which we could wish from them. How it should be "a hard lesson" to become a witness of their simple devotion to their business, and to find one's self not half so important to them as their next meal, we are at loss to conjecture. What should they have done to soothe our author's feelings, or to acquit themselves of insensibility?

We really can think of no ceremony that would have relieved him, short of that for making a Grand *Mamamouchi*, in Molière's *Bourgeois Gentilhomme*. The fact is, a Bay-writer is too commonly afflicted with a painful sense of literary consequence; he lives among imaginary Boswells; he feels that eating, drinking, sleeping and snoring with him are a virtual biography; and the tincture of this spirit which amuses us in Hawthorne, is merely a proof of the intensity with which it pervades the School to which he belongs.

Still another illustration of the School may be found in our author's elaborate remarks upon himself, under the ingenious paronyme of "Mons. de l' Aubépine." We think far more highly of Hawthorne than he does of himself, judging by the reflection which we find in his own mirror. "He occupies," says he, "an unfortunate position, between the transcendentalists, (who, under one name or another, have their share in all the current literature of the world,) and the great body of pen-and-ink men, who address the intellect and sympathies of the multitude. If not *too refined*, at all events too remote, too shadowy and unsubstantial in his mode of development to suit the taste of the latter class, and yet too popular to satisfy the spiritual or metaphysical requisitions of the former, he must necessarily find himself without an audience, except here and there an individual, or *possibly an isolated clique*." Pooh, pooh! Mr. Hawthorne, are you in earnest, or are you not? If not—why, in the name of sense, stand whining about Mons. de l' Aubépine's unpopularity, when you know that Hawthorne's books are fairly thumbed to pieces by the readers of all circulating libraries, and that everybody is disposed to like them and to buy them; if you are, pray throw away your transcendentalism, and your sympathetic ink, your refinement and your remoteness, your circle and your clique, and come down to flesh and blood, and live, and act, and talk like other men, and we assure you, you have talents that will take care of themselves, yes, and give you returns in hard cash besides, to stock that Berkshire farm! Forgive the matter-of-fact suggestion; but we live in "a bank-note world," and must sometimes condescend to men whose "talk is of bullocks." In our opinion, a little less starch and cambric and a little more bone and sinew, would be the thing for many a clever fellow in the Bay metropolis who is always "dying of a rose in aromatic pain;" and we never hear a really gifted man talking in this vein of Mons. de l' Aubépine, without longing to make so bold as to ask him to a bit of roast beef and a bottle of brown stout, in a plain, family way, with a benevolent idea of invigorating

his constitution in time to prevent the process of evaporative dissolution.

We have done ourselves injustice, if, in our free-spoken attempts to expose the unhappy effects of the School upon Mr. Hawthorne's originally fine powers, we have shown any lack of regard for his genius, in itself considered. Far more should we deprecate any appearance of personal disrespect; and we trust our good humored purpose in the banter we have indulged, will not be misinterpreted. We are sorry, and we own it, to see so really fine a mind, so much provincialized; and we speak the more earnestly, because we are sure that were he only a little less of a man than we think him to be, he could not but have become much more intensely so, and because we fear that this provincialism is, even now, likely to increase upon him. But to prove how exceedingly we were taken with him, at first sight, we must acknowledge that we were ignorant of the existence of so clever a writer, until we came across his "Celestial Railroad," in the columns of a newspaper. Such genuine grit, in so perishable a form, arrested our attention in no ordinary degree; and it was not until we had shown about our discovery among our friends, that we found we were merely admiring what everybody seemed to know. It is a humorous and satirical vision of a modern railway, erected on the route of Bunyan's Pilgrim. Was ever a happier thought, except the original? The story has all the humor of travesty, with nothing of its vulgar poverty of invention; and one is made to feel as if he were whisking in cars over the weary lengths which Christian once plodded on foot, and observing everywhere the effects of the nineteenth century, upon antiquated places and fashions. The "Pilgrim's Progress," in spite of its doctrinal errors, is a prodigy of literature. It is the one instance which flings back the sneer—*ne sutor ultra crepidam*—let the tinker stick to his kettle. To ignore it as the work of an illiterate enthusiast, is no longer possible; it is a classic of the language; part of that great store of literary material, which has so inwrought itself with the productions of other men's minds, that it is the hypothesis of the entertainment to be derived from general reading. A chance-begotten thing it may be; such a progeny as morbid religion and erratic genius never procreated before, and can never by any luck, repeat; but here it is, not only living, but immortal. Hawthorne's "Railroad" assumes that no one who reads the English language can be ignorant of the original, and so it is: nor can we say a better thing of the parody, than that it deserves to become a perpetual pendant to its archetype.

We should imagine it the most natural production of our author's genius, which his books contain. It seems to have proceeded from the man himself, in a happy moment of oblivious indifference to his School, and his circle; for strange to say, it satirizes German rationalism, transcendentalism, and all the varieties of dreamy irreligion, for habitual encouragement of which, the School are so notorious. It is one of the cleverest, best sustained, and most ingenious specimens of quiet satire to be found in our language.

To Hawthorne, if we judge him in his best mood, may justly be ascribed the merit of reflective powers habitually active, connected with a style that is taking, apparently unstudied, and generally perspicuous and expressive. He has been compared with Irving; but though in some respects he is not injured by the experiment, he must be considered, in others, as decidedly inferior. Irving is the better artist, and that not only in the choice of words, but in the arrangement of details, the production of effect, and the breadth and completeness of design; but had Hawthorne the taste and discrimination, and something more of the instinctive delicacy of Irving, we are not sure that the latter would long be left lonely in his preëminence. We are confirmed in these impressions by the opinions expressed in a very favorable critique of "the Mosses from an old Manse," which appeared a few years ago in a European Periodical.* The reviewer considers Hawthorne's style only occasionally comparable to that of Irving, but gives him credit for deeper thought. He is said to fail in character, and in verisimilitude; not that his incidents are particularly improbable, but that his leading ideas are extravagant, while he depends for effect upon a playful fancy and a charming control of language. If this criticism be just, it points out one very great fault; but from a Bay-writer we should naturally look for the *non ben trovato* precisely there, in personal character, because the ideal of character, after which the imagination of the School is perpetually straining, is essentially a false and unnatural one. Hence their humanities are the reverse of human. A bewitching "Birth-mark" on the cheek of Aylmer's lovely wife—the print of some fairy's tiny fingers who touched the sweet babe with benediction—becomes a torment to the husband who has a chemical devil in his head, and must needs devote soul and body to the erasure of the brilliant blemish, which consumes him the more, because but for it, his Georgiana would be an angel. This is the basis of

* Blackwood, 1847.

one of Hawthorne's unnatural stories, which the reviewer cites. With ordinary husbands such a blemish would become a beauty; even a mole becomes proverbially attractive to a devoted lover: but with one who dreams of reconstructing society, and who would have men and women live as if the Fall were not a reality, we must not marvel that an Aylmer is a very plausible sort of a person. There is a good moral, however, in the result, for he succeeds triumphantly—so triumphantly that the lady dies of chemistry in the moment when her husband is shouting his raptures over the splendid experiment. What would Transcendentalism be at, but a similar attempt to erase the outside birth-marks of humanity, which would end in destroying humanity itself! Then again, the reviewer cites the story entitled the "Artist of the Beautiful," in criticising which he labors under the same infelicitous ignorance of what a Bay-writer is thinking about. More than once he complains of an unintelligible sentence, without the least idea that he is censuring the vernacular of a School in which "achieving the Beautiful," is the daily effort of every disciple; and he seems equally surprised that the Promethean passion of the hero should exhaust itself in the creation of a mechanical butterfly, which might be the more becoming handiwork of a watchmaker and a Chinese painter of piths! But here again, as in the disappointing issue of the story, the spirit of the School is dominant over the genius of the author. He lives and breathes in an atmosphere where men and women are wont to expend a fever of inspiration in the creation of just such butterflies, and where life itself is wasted in chasing them to destruction.

We thank the Scottish critic for touching gently these faults in the tales of our clever countryman, while he goes on to commend his style as much better in the essays, and as not unworthy of Addison or Steele. Though he somewhat dilutes this high compliment, afterwards, it is with a common reference to all correct writers in America. He thinks our purists are too pure, or rather too artificially so; much the same, we suppose, as a dentist's teeth are more perfect than nature's, and become repulsive for lack of those very inequalities which are graceful and life-like. Poor Jonathan! We despair of his ever learning to write the language which he pronounces so ill; for if he exposes himself in the manner of Headley, its incurable vulgarity is cited as essential and instinctive; while the mannerism of Channing and Ware is equally laughed at, as the adoption of a schoolboy's accuracy, for want of the confident, but careless art of a well-

bred man. It is curious to observe what minute blemishes, moreover, always strike an Englishman, in an American author. The Blackwood critic, whom we have cited, though far enough above the spirit of picking motes out of Brother Jonathan's eye, furnishes us not a little amusement, when we discover that without mentioning the alteration, he has slyly changed a *baggage-car* into a *luggage-van*, for the benefit of English travelers in Mr. Hawthorne's "Celestial Railroad."

Our readers must have felt that it is rather of our author's School, than of him, that we have been disposed to complain; for to it we have alike attributed the blemishes pointed out by ourselves and others. He is a writer, who, under other influences, might have contributed to our literature a variety of sterling and valuable works, admitting of no dispute as to their merit, or who would have made even popular tales the vehicle of deep and earnest suggestion to the young, as well as of pure amusement to all classes. We would exhort him against becoming a trifler, as one who must give account for gifts that might be prolific of good to the world. If, even now, he would resolve to make his future career one of high moral principle, and to use his talents not so much for "making himself a rank among the world's *dignitaries*," as for doing good in his day and generation, we know of no one more likely to succeed in becoming one of the world's *benefactors*, and gaining quite enough of its empty admiration beside. Not that we would have him change his songs into sermons, or his tales and romances into moral essays. We are not of those who question the utility of fairy fiction as the costume of severe and homely truth. Parable and allegory have been the vehicle of wisdom, among all cultivated nations; yes, of inspired wisdom, too; of Nathan's rebuke, when he pointed the arrows of the Law at the sinner's conscience, and of the love of Jesus Christ, when he opened to the sick and needy the healing waters of the Gospel. The principle thus established leaves nothing for the casuist to prescribe, but that stories should be always of moral benefit to those whole faculties of soul, and mind, and heart, with which God claims to be loved and served. Here is the standard, therefore, by which we are to estimate the tale-writer. In the one case, he may be justly regarded as a preceptor who has mastered the difficult art of imparting instruction, with impressions of pastime, and who has managed to make even the recreations of the mind, subservient to its most laborious exercises: in the other he is, in short, a nuisance in society, which it becomes the duty of good citizens to

abate. Let the father snatch the pestilent romance from the hands of the maiden and the boy, and give it to be ignominiously destroyed by the scullion: let the school-master weed the filthy pages out of desks and pockets, and give the lads a laugh at the bonfire they will create; and let the press approve itself as an engine of moral, as well as of mental light, by such wise judicial censures, as shall fix all the ignominy of the scourge, the pillory, and the brand, upon the writer who panders to the brothel, and exhausts his powers in producing and sowing the seeds of incalculable evils to the souls of men and the structure of society.

But this principle of moral criticism bears harder upon our author than anything we have said before. As yet our literature, however humble, is undefiled, and as such is a just cause for national pride, nor, much as we long to see it elevated in style, would we thank the Boccaccio who should give it the classic stamp, at the expense of its purity. Of course we cannot expect to see it realize that splendid ideal which a thoughtful Churchman would sketch for it, as equally chaste in morals, lofty in sentiment, uncorrupt in diction, and in all points conformable to truth; but surely we may demand that it shall keep itself from becoming an offense to faith, and a scandal to virtue. Not that we expect the literary pimp to cease from his disgusting trade, but that we hope to keep writers of that class out of the pale of Letters, and to effect the forcible expulsion of any one of a higher class, who, gaining upon our confidence by dealing at first in a sterling article, afterwards debases his credit, by issuing with the same stamp a vile, but marketable, alloy. In a word, we protest against any toleration to a popular and gifted writer, when he perpetrates bad morals. Let this brokerage of lust be put down at the very beginning. Already, among the million, we have imitations enough of George Sand and Eugene Sue; and if as yet there be no reputable name, involved in the manufacture of a Brothel Library, we congratulate the country that we are yet in time to save such a reputation as that of Hawthorne. Let him stop where he has begun, lest we should be forced to select an epitaph from Hudibras, for his future memorial:

> "Quoth he—for many years he drove
> A kind of broking trade in love,
> Employed in all th' intrigues and trust
> Of feeble, speculative lust;
> Procurer to th' extravaganzy
> And crazy ribaldry of fancy."

It is chiefly, in hopes, to save our author from embarking

largely into this business of Fescennine romance, that we enter upon a brief examination of his latest and most ambitious production, "The Scarlet Letter."

The success which seems to have attended this bold advance of Hawthorne, and the encouragement which has been dealt out by some professed critics,* to its worst symptoms of malice prepense, may very naturally lead, if unbalanced by a moderate dissent, to his further compromise of his literary character. We are glad, therefore, that "The Scarlet Letter" is, after all, little more than an experiment, and need not be regarded as a step necessarily fatal. It is an attempt to rise from the composition of petty tales, to the historical novel; and we use the expression *an attempt*, with no disparaging significance, for it is confessedly a trial of strength only just beyond some former efforts, and was designed as part of a series. It may properly be called a novel, because it has all the ground-work, and might have been very easily elaborated into the details, usually included in the term; and we call it *historical*, because its scene-painting is in a great degree true to a period of our Colonial history, which ought to be more fully delineated. We wish Mr. Hawthorne would devote the powers which he only partly discloses in this book, to a large and truthful portraiture of that period, with the patriotic purpose of making us better acquainted with the stern old worthies, and all the *dramatis personæ* of those times, with their yet surviving habits, recollections, and yearnings, derived from maternal England. Here is, in fact, a rich and even yet an unexplored field for historic imagination; and touches are given in "The Scarlet Letter," to secret springs of romantic thought, which opened unexpected and delightful episodes to our fancy, as we were borne along by the tale. Here a maiden reminiscence, and here a grave ecclesiastical retrospection, clouding the brow of the Puritan colonists, as they still remembered home, in their wilderness of lasting exile! Now a lingering relic of Elizabethan fashion in dress, and now a turn of expression, betraying the deep traces of education under influences renounced and foresworn, but still instinctively prevalent!

Time has just enough mellowed the facts, and genealogical research has made them just enough familiar, for their employment as material for descriptive fiction; and the New England colonies might now be made as picturesquely real to our perception, as the Knickerbocker tales have made the

* See a late article in the Massachusetts Quarterly.

Dutch settlements of the Hudson. This, however, can never be done by the polemical pen of a blind partisan of the Puritans; it demands Irving's humorously insinuating gravity, and all his benevolent satire, with a large share of honest sympathy for at least the earnestness of wrong-headed enthusiasm. We are stimulated to this suggestion by the very life-like and striking manner in which the days of Governor Winthrop are sketched in the book before us, by the beautiful picture the author has given us of the venerable old pastor Wilson, and by the outline portraits he has thrown in, of several of their cotemporaries. We like him all the better for his tenderness of the less exceptionable features of the Puritan character; but we are hardly sure that we like his flings at their failings. If it should provoke a smile to find us sensitive in this matter, our consistency may be very briefly demonstrated. True, we have our own fun with the follies of the Puritans; it is our inseparable privilege as Churchmen, thus to compensate ourselves for many a scar which their frolics have left on our comeliness. But when a degenerate Puritan, whose Socinian conscience is but the skimmed-milk of their creamy fanaticism, allows such a conscience to curdle within him, in dyspeptic acidulation, and then belches forth derision at the sour piety of his forefathers—we snuff at him, with an honest scorn, knowing very well that he likes the Puritans for their worst enormities, and hates them only for their redeeming merits.

The Puritan rebelling against the wholesome discipline of that Ecclesiastical Law, which Hooker has demonstrated, with Newtonian evidence, to be but a moral system of central light with its dependent order and illumination; the Puritan with his rough heel and tough heart, mounted upon altars, and hacking down crosses, and sepulchres, and memorials of the dead; the Puritan with his axe on an Archbishop's neck, or holding up in his hand the bleeding head of a martyred king; the Puritan in all this guilt, has his warmest praise, and his prompt witness that he allows the deeds of his fathers, and is ready to fill up the measure of their iniquity; but the Puritans, with a blessed inconsistency, repeating liturgic doxologies to the triune God, or, by the domestic hearth, bowing down with momentary conformity, to invoke the name of Jesus, whom the Church had taught him to adore as an atoning Saviour—these are the Puritans at whom the driveler wags his head, and shoots out his tongue! We would not laugh in that man's company. No—no! we heartily dislike the Puritans, so far as they were Puritan; but even in them we

recognize many good old English virtues, which Puritanism could not kill. They were in part our ancestors, and though we would not accept the bequest of their enthusiasm, we are not ashamed of many things to which they clung, with principle quite as characteristic. We see no harm in a reverent joke now and then, at an abstract Puritan, in spite of our duty to our progenitors, and Hudibras shall still be our companion, when, at times, the mental bow requires fresh elasticity, and bids us relax its string. There is, after all, something of human kindness, in taking out an old grudge in the comfort of a hearty, side-shaking laugh, and we think we are never freer from bitterness of spirit, than when we contemplate the Banbury zealot hanging his cat on Monday, and reflect that Strafford and Montrose fell victims to the same mania that destroyed poor puss. But there is another view of the same Puritan, which even a Churchman may charitably allow himself to respect, and when precisely that view is chosen by his degenerate offspring for unfilial derision, we own to a sympathy for the grim old Genevan features, at which their seventh reproduction turns up a repugnant nose; for sure we are that the young Ham is gloating over his father's nakedness, with far less of sorrow for the ebriety of a parent, than of satisfaction in the degradation of an orthodox patriarch. Now without asserting that it is so, we are not quite so sure, as we would like to be, that our author is not venting something of this spirit against the Puritans, in his rich delineation of "godly Master Dimmesdale," and the sorely abused confidence of his flock. There is a provoking concealment of the author's motive, from the beginning to the end of the story; we wonder what he would be at; whether he is making fun of all religion, or only giving a fair hint of the essential sensualism of enthusiasm. But, in short, we are astonished at the kind of incident which he has selected for romance. It may be such incidents were too common, to be wholly out of the question, in a history of the times, but it seems to us that good taste might be pardoned for not giving them prominence in fiction. In deference to the assertions of a very acute analyst, who has written ably on the subject of colonization, we are inclined to think, as we have said before, that barbarism was indeed "the first danger" of the pilgrim settlers. Of a period nearly cotemporary with that of Mr. Hawthorne's narrative, an habitual eulogist has recorded that "on going to its Church and court records, we discover mournful evidences of incontinence, even in the respectable families; as if, being cut off from the more refined pleasures of society, their

baser passions had burnt away the restraints of delicacy, and their growing coarseness of manners had allowed them finally to seek, in these baser passions, the spring of their enjoyments." We are sorry to be told so, by so unexceptionable a witness.* We had supposed, with the Roman satirist, that purity might at least be credited to those primitive days, when a Saturnian simplicity was necessarily revived in primeval forests, by the New England colonists:

> Quippe aliter tunc orbe novo, cœloque recenti
> Vivebant homines:

but a Puritan doctor in divinity publishes the contrary, and a Salemite novelist selects the intrigue of an adulterous minister, as the groundwork of his ideal of those times! We may acknowledge, with reluctance, the historical fidelity of the picture, which retailers of fact and fiction thus concur in framing, but we cannot but wonder that a novelist should select, of all features of the period, that which reflects most discredit upon the cradle of his country, and which is in itself so revolting, and so incapable of receiving decoration from narrative genius.

And this brings inquiry to its point. Why has our author selected such a theme? Why, amid all the suggestive incidents of life in a wilderness; of a retreat from civilization to which, in every individual case, a thousand circumstances must have concurred to reconcile human nature with estrangement from home and country; or amid the historical connections of our history with Jesuit adventure, savage invasion, regicide outlawry, and French aggression, should the taste of Mr. Hawthorne have preferred as the proper material for romance, the nauseous amour of a Puritan pastor, with a frail creature of his charge, whose mind is represented as far more debauched than her body? Is it, in short, because a running undertide of filth has become as requisite to a romance, as death in the fifth act to a tragedy? Is the French era actually begun in our literature? And is the flesh, as well as the world and the devil, to be henceforth dished up in fashionable novels, and discussed at parties, by spinsters and their beaux, with as unconcealed a relish as they give to the vanilla in their ice cream? We would be slow to believe it, and we hope our author would not willingly have it so, yet we honestly believe that "the Scarlet Letter" has already done not a little to degrade our literature, and to encourage social licentiousness: it has started other pens on like enterprises,

* Barbarism the first Danger, by H. Bushnell, D. D.

and has loosed the restraint of many tongues, that have made it an apology for "the evil communications which corrupt good manners." We are painfully tempted to believe that it is a book made for the market, and that the market has made it merchantable, as they do game, by letting everybody understand that the commodity is in high condition, and smells strongly of incipient putrefaction.

We shall entirely mislead our reader if we give him to suppose that "the Scarlet Letter" is coarse in its details, or indecent in its phraseology. This very article of our own, is far less suited to ears polite, than any page of the romance before us; and the reason is, we call things by their right names, while the romance never hints the shocking words that belong to its things, but, like Mephistophiles, insinuates that the arch-fiend himself is a very tolerable sort of person, if nobody would call him Mr. Devil. We have heard of persons who could not bear the reading of some Old Testament Lessons in the service of the Church: such persons would be delighted with our author's story; and damsels who shrink at the reading of the Decalogue, would probably luxuriate in bathing their imagination in the crystal of its delicate sensuality. The language of our author, like patent blacking, "would not soil the whitest linen," and yet the composition itself, would suffice, if well laid on, to Ethiopize the snowiest conscience that ever sat like a swan upon that mirror of heaven, a Christian maiden's imagination. We are not sure we speak quite strong enough, when we say, that we would much rather listen to the coarsest scene of Goldsmith's "Vicar," read aloud by a sister or daughter, than to hear from such lips, the perfectly chaste language of a scene in "the Scarlet Letter," in which a married wife and her reverend paramour, with their unfortunate offspring, are introduced as the actors, and in which the whole tendency of the conversation is to suggest a sympathy for their sin, and an anxiety that they may be able to accomplish a successful escape beyond the seas, to some country where their shameful commerce may be perpetuated. Now, in Goldsmith's story there are very coarse words, but we do not remember anything that saps the foundations of the moral sense, or that goes to create unavoidable sympathy with unrepenting sorrow, and deliberate, premeditated sin. The "Vicar of Wakefield" is sometimes coarsely virtuous, but "the Scarlet Letter" is delicately immoral.

There is no better proof of the bad tendency of a work, than some unintentional betrayal on the part of a young fe-

male reader, of an instinctive consciousness against it, to which she has done violence, by reading it through. In a beautiful region of New England, where stage-coaches are not yet among things that were, we found ourselves, last summer, one of a traveling party, to which we were entirely a stranger, consisting of young ladies fresh from boarding-school, with the proverbial bread-and-butter look of innocence in their faces, and a nursery thickness about their tongues. Their benevolent uncle sat outside upon the driver's box, and ours was a seat next to a worshipful old dowager, who seemed to bear some matronly relation to the whole coach-load, with the single exception of ourselves. In such a situation it was ours to keep silence, and we soon relapsed into nothingness and a semi-slumberous doze. Meanwhile our young friends were animated and talkative, and as we were approaching the seat of a College, their literature soon began to expose itself. They were evidently familiar with the Milliners' Magazines in general, and even with Graham's and Harper's. They had read James, and they had read Dickens; and at last their criticisms rose to Irving and Walter Scott, whose various merits they discussed with an artless anxiety to settle forever the question whether the one was not "a charming composer," and the other "a truly beautiful writer." Poor girls! had they imagined how much harmless amusement they were furnishing to their drowsy, dusty, and very unentertaining fellow traveler, they might, quite possibly, have escaped both his praise and his censure! They came at last to Longfellow and Bryant, and rhythmically regaled us with the "muffled drum" of the one, and the somewhat familiar opinion of the other, that

"Truth crushed to earth will rise again."

And so they came to Hawthorne, of whose "Scarlet Letter" we then knew very little, and that little was favorable, as we had seen several high encomiums of its style. We expected a quotation from the "Celestial Railroad," for we were traveling at a rate which naturally raised the era of railroads in one's estimation, by rule of contrary; but no—the girls went straight to "the Scarlet Letter." We soon discovered that one Hester Prynne was the heroine, and that she had been made to stand in the pillory, as, indeed, her surname might have led one to anticipate. We discovered that there was a mysterious little child in the question, that she was a sweet little darling, and that her "sweet, pretty little name," was "Pearl." We discovered that mother and child had a meet-

ing, in a wood, with a very fascinating young preacher, and that there was a hateful creature named Chillingworth, who persecuted the said preacher, very perseveringly. Finally, it appeared that Hester Prynne was, in fact, Mrs. Hester Chillingworth, and that the hateful old creature aforesaid had a very natural dislike to the degradation of his spouse, and quite as natural a hatred of the wolf in sheep's clothing who had wrought her ruin. All this leaked out in conversation, little by little, on the hypothesis of our protracted somnolency. There was a very gradual approximation to the point, till one inquired—"did n't you think, from the first, that he was the one?" A modest looking creature, who evidently had not read the story, artlessly inquired—"what one?"—and then there was a titter at the child's simplicity, in the midst of which we ventured to be quite awake, and to discover by the scarlet blush that began to circulate, that the young ladies were not unconscious to themselves that reading "the Scarlet Letter" was a thing to be ashamed of. These school-girls had, in fact, done injury to their young sense of delicacy, by devouring such a dirty story; and after talking about it before folk, inadvertently, they had enough of mother Eve in them, to know that they were ridiculous, and that shame was their best retreat.

Now it would not have been so if they had merely exhibited a familiarity with "the Heart of Mid-Lothian," and yet there is more mention of the foul sin in its pages, than there is in "the Scarlet Letter." Where then is the difference? It consists in this—that the holy innocence of Jeanie Deans, and not the shame of Effie, is the burthen of that story, and that neither Effie's fall is made to look like virtue, nor the truly honorable agony of her stern old father, in bewailing his daughter's ruin, made a joke, by the insinuation that it was quite gratuitous. But in Hawthorne's tale, the lady's frailty is philosophized into a natural and necessary result of the Scriptural law of marriage, which, by holding her irrevocably to her vows, as plighted to a dried up old book-worm, in her silly girlhood, is viewed as making her heart an easy victim to the adulterer. The sin of her seducer too, seems to be considered as lying not so much in the deed itself, as in his long concealment of it, and, in fact, the whole moral of the tale is given in the words—"Be true—be true," as if sincerity in sin were virtue, and as if "Be clean—be clean," were not the more fitting conclusion. "The untrue man" is, in short, the hang-dog of the narrative, and the unclean one is made a very interesting sort of a person, and as the two qualities are

united in the hero, their composition creates the interest of his character. Shelley himself never imagined a more dissolute conversation than that in which the polluted minister comforts himself with the thought, that the revenge of the injured husband is worse than his own sin in instigating it. "Thou and I never did so, Hester"—he suggests: and she responds—"never, never! What we did had *a consecration of its own*, we felt it so—we said so to each other!" This is a little too much—it carries the Bay-theory a little too far for our stomach! "Hush, Hester!" is the sickish rejoinder; and fie, Mr. Hawthorne! is the weakest token of our disgust that we can utter. The poor bemired hero and heroine of the story should not have been seen wallowing in their filth, at such a rate as this.

We suppose this sort of sentiment must be charged to the doctrines enforced at "Brook-farm," although "Brook-farm" itself could never have been Mr. Hawthorne's home, had not other influences prepared him for such a Bedlam. At all events, this is no mere slip of the pen; it is the essential morality of the work. If types, and letters, and words can convey an author's idea, he has given us the key to the whole, in a very plain intimation that the Gospel has not set the relations of man and woman where they should be, and that a new Gospel is needed to supersede the seventh commandment, and the bond of Matrimony. Here it is, in full: our readers shall see what the world may expect from Hawthorne, if he is not stopped short, in such brothelry. Look at this conclusion:—

"*Women*—in the continually recurring trials of wounded, wasted, wronged, misplaced, or erring and sinful passion, or with the dreary burden of a heart unyielded, because unvalued and unsought—came to Hester's cottage, demanding why they were so wretched, and what the remedy! Hester comforted and counseled them as best she might. She assured them too *of her firm belief*, that, at some brighter period, when the world should have grown ripe for it, in Heaven's own time, *a new truth would be revealed, in order to establish the whole relation between man and woman on a surer ground of mutual happiness.*"

This is intelligible English; but are Americans content that such should be the English of their literature? This is the question on which we have endeavored to deliver our own earnest convictions, and on which we hope to unite the suffrages of all virtuous persons, in sympathy with the abhorrence we so unhesitatingly express. To think of making such

ɔulations the amusement of the daughters of America! ɔ late Convention of females at Boston, to assert the "rights ɯoman," may show us that there are already some, who ık the world is even now *ripe for it;* and safe as we may pose our own fair relatives to be above such a low conta- ı, we must remember that to a woman, the very sugges- ı of a mode of life for her, as preferable to that which the ıpel has made the glorious sphere of her duties and her joys, n insult and a degradation, to which no one that loves her ıld allow her to be exposed.

We assure Mr. Hawthorne, in conclusion, that nothing less n an earnest wish that his future career may redeem this step, and prove a blessing to his country, has tempted us ɔnter upon a criticism so little suited to our tastes, as that his late production. We commend to his attention the ıarks of Mr. Alison, on cotemporary popularity, to be nd in the review of Bossuet. We would see him, too, ng to a place among those immortal authors who have lothed the lessons of religion in the burning words of gen- ;" and let him be assured, that, however great his momen- y success, there is no lasting reputation for such an one as ıs, except as it is founded on real worth, and fidelity to the ɾals of the Gospel. The time is past, when mere author- ı provokes posthumous attention; there are too many ı write with ease, and too many who publish books, in our s, for an author to be considered anything extraordinary. ns perish in newspapers, now-a-days, which, at one time, d have made, at least, a name for biographical dictiona- and stories lie dead in the pages of magazines, which l once have secured their author a mention with pos- . Hereafter those only will be thought of, who have ned their writings in the hearts and lives of a few, at who learned from them to love truth and follow virtue. ɣe of "mute inglorious Miltons," is as dead as the age valry. Everybody can write, and everybody can . But still, the wise are few; and it is only the wise, ın attain, in any worthy sense, to shine as the stars

ADAMS' ELEMENTS OF CHRISTIAN SCIENCE.

ART. II.—*The Elements of Christian Science. A Treatise upon Moral Philosophy and Practice.* By WILLIAM ADAMS, S. T. P., Presbyter of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Wisconsin. Philadelphia: H. Hooker, 1850. 8vo. pp. 380.

WE have opened this respectably looking octavo with no ordinary interest, for a variety of reasons. It is not only the most elaborate treatise on that particular branch of Science which has yet been produced within our branch of the Church, but it has been written, not amid the associations of a University, or by one having at command either of the few respectable public libraries in the older States, but in the almost unbroken wilds of the distant west, and where, but as yesterday, was the home of the wild Indian and the buffalo. Philosophy, Moral and Intellectual, and studies of a kindred nature, have thus far gained little attention among the members of our Communion. Mental effort has taken, almost exclusively, other directions. The wants of the Church have demanded other kinds of labor. Investigation has been directed to the region of history, especially the early history of the Church; its origin, organization, unity, ministry, sacraments, and doctrines; and nearly all the works which have issued from the Church have partaken more or less of this character. As a consequence, intelligent Churchmen have become familiar with the leading and important facts bearing upon that subject.

There is another reason why philosophical studies have received little attention among us. There has existed a positive disinclination in respect to them; a deeply felt consciousness of their inutility, and even of their mischievous tendency. This is only the natural consequence to the Church, from what she has witnessed around her. The various Christian sects in this country, first in New England, and subsequently elsewhere, have, for a century, been engaged in hair-splitting controversies; contending about Necessity and Free-will; Moral and Natural Ability; Grace resistible and Grace irresistible; and the result has been that, according to their own admission, their Creeds and Platforms, under this reforming and re-reforming process, have been divested of one after

another of their distinctive features, until now they have lost their individuality, and with this, their authority and hold upon the public mind; and if these denominations have, at the present day, any standard of orthodoxy by which to try a heretic, nobody seems to be able to tell exactly where or what it is. It is not strange that the Church, which has thus far had enough to do in contending for what she regards as the outward bulwarks of the Faith, and bearing witness, meanwhile, to the progress of things around her, has come to feel a thorough distrust of all such metaphysical subtilties; and has been content with the bare announcement of the Great Facts and Doctrines of the Gospel, without much regard to their philosophical arrangement and explanation. And, for ourselves, we cannot doubt that she has thus far acted wisely. At the same time, it ought to be said, that the Church can never act her part, or fulfill her mission at the present day, without at least a thorough acquaintance with the field which God is calling her to occupy. Nor do we doubt that, in ignoring so thoroughly as some writers in the Church have done, all philosophical tendencies and speculations, they have themselves unconsciously fallen into the use of language, which, while it is unscriptural and uncatholic, misrepresents the truth which it is their calling and their ambition to teach.

Besides, the special work which the Church is now called upon to do, is in no small or unimportant part, ethical or subjective, and pertains to the inward rather than the outward in religion. It is not enough, in these days, to stop with defending the outposts of Christianity. The contest is becoming, and has become one *pro aris et focis*. The work of the Church, in these perilous days, is to cultivate the Life of God in the soul. And while she may well eschew those theological and dialectical contests, which are wailing their own funeral dirge in the prevailing impiety which is now following in their train, at the same time she is bound to have at least some clear conception of the work with which she is entrusted; its necessity, nature, difficulties, and encouragements, all of which imply a clear apprehension of what is meant by Christian Ethics.

There is another fact which invests the volume before us with interest. It is a work from a Western Seminary hitherto chiefly known by its practical character, and which by its success and efficiency, promises to exert no small influence upon the Church in that growing section of the country. We are not blind to the probability that the great Western Valley will, within a half century, contain the numerical

strength of our country; and that the influences which shall form and direct that mass of mind, must, to a great extent, spring from her own institutions. She must educate and Christianize herself. The Church of Rome, with her accustomed sagacity, is acting upon this foreseen fact, and is already dotting the West with well-endowed Seminaries and Colleges.

United then to our brethren, who are there laboring, by a common bond, realizing to some extent, the importance of their position, we are bound to scan closely the manner in which they enter upon their momentous work of laying the foundations of the Church of God, believing, as we firmly do, that the Church is to be the great conservative element there, as well as here, but especially there, in our social structure.* Passing events are indicating that not the East only, but the West, is to be the battle-ground, where the great contest with infidelity is to be fought; and with an array of forces and instrumentalities on either side, investing the struggle with vast importance to the Church of God, present and prospective.

The Author of this new treatise will not, therefore, be surprised, if we examine his positions with some care; nor must he think us captious, if we seem more intent, and occupy more time in pointing out what appear to us defects in his work, than its many excellences. The brief space to which we are limited, will compel us to pass over several topics suggested by our somewhat copious notes, and to confine our attention to one or two points which we regard as mainly important.

The Author, at the close of his volume, having, as he says, "done his best to supply" "the want of a true Christian Ethics," makes the following observation:—

"I profess to present the Ethics of the Ancient Church. Augustine, Athanasius, Cyril, Cyprian, Origen, Tertullian, these men whom every puny writer of the present day thinks himself privileged to scorn at—these are the sources from whom I have obtained the principles here presented in a connected form—men who often by the meditation of a whole life of holiness and self-denial, thought out and established forever the Christian solution of a single one of the problems of nature herein discussed! These results the theologian will often discern in these pages, given in a few lines, while, in the original, volumes hardly embrace their discussion. For myself, therefore, I claim no praise of originality, or of genius; but that one, of bringing again before the world, in a shape to every one tangible, the Ethical Science of Apostolical Christianity, undivided and at unity with itself."—(P. 377.)

* Among the last words of John C. Calhoun, was a public tribute to the conservative influence of the Protestant Episcopal Church; and it can hardly have escaped the notice of the most careless observer, that in this day of reckless radicalism, among the noble men who are rallying around the Constitution of the United States, that last hope of Republican Governments, so many, like Clay and Webster, have imbibed those lessons of high national virtue and patriotism from her teaching.

Now, upon this passage, we have some remarks to make, before proceeding to examine the book itself. The Author has given us what he denominates a system of Christian Ethics. The features of that system are, in his book, clearly and strongly defined; with the recognition of the terminology of modern ethical science. Whether his system is in itself a perfect system of Christian Ethics or not—with that question we are not now concerned. The remark which we have to make, is, that no such system, *as a system*, was known to "Apostolical Christianity;" and that the Ancient Writers, Athanasius, Cyril, Cyprian, Origen, Tertullian, and Augustine, to whom he alludes, were utter strangers to what would now be understood, and what the writer himself evidently understands, by a system of Ethical Science. The historical fact is, that Philosophy, as held and taught in Apostolical times, and as embraced or rejected by the Fathers, and by primitive Christians, was altogether a different thing from Philosophy as understood now. And, so far as it entered into theological teaching, and began to give shape to theological opinions, it took altogether a different direction from that which the Author would lead us to suppose. Philosophy was devoted first to Dialectics, to Physics, to Metaphysics, and then to Ethics. We shall not here attempt a description of Philosophy as taught by Socrates and his disciple Plato, and by Aristotle, especially, whose dialectics exerted such prodigious influence upon the Church in subsequent times. Suffice it to say, that on points which are essential in a system of Ethics, they were at loggerheads with each other; and had either dim, or no conceptions of certain facts and principles on which a system of Christian Ethics must be based; such as the nature of Good—placing that good in contemplation or knowledge; the origin of Evil; the organization, faculties, powers and passions of the Human Mind. Their whole system lacked the first and primary element of Christian virtue, namely, Charity or Love. They stand out, in the Providence of God, as witnesses on the page of history, to show by their own impotence the necessity of that Light and Life, which in the person of Jesus Christ, were now about to break forth upon the world. Plato appears before us, exhausting his mind in the bare contemplation of the *ideal*, leaving the *actual* uncared and unaccounted for; while Aristotle descending into the region of the actual, only bewilders us by resolving the origin of existence into its own potentiality. Nor is it strange, that the Epicurian and Stoic philosophies, better suited to the tastes and practical views of the masses of men, should have followed

the purer but more complicated and artificial systems of Plato and Aristotle. These were the systems, arrayed in the graceful drapery and stamped with the serene beauty of Grecian taste, but yet cold and lifeless as the famous statue of Phidias, which had taken possession of the educated mind of Greece, when St. Paul, on Mars Hill, proclaimed a new and divine Philosophy; "foolishness" as it was to the venerable casuists at his feet.

Whether, indeed, the Pagan Philosophy should be studied at all, and employed in the propagation of Christianity, was a question upon which the earlier Fathers were divided. Upon the conversion, however, to the Faith, of men devoted hitherto to such studies, as Clement of Alexandria, Justin Martyr, and Lactantius; and in the conflicts, which the preachers of the Cross began to encounter with men who saw their own systems dissolving like mists before the morning sun, and especially upon the admission of Greek learning into the Christian Schools, Philosophy soon began to be studied and its influence to be seriously felt. The Christian warrior felt that he had a right to appropriate to himself the spoils of battle, and to gird on the beautiful but untried armor which he had not yet learned to distrust. That philosophy was, however, at the first, of the Eclectic character.

"I do not," says Clement of Alexandria, "call that philosophy which either the Stoics, the Platonists, the Epicurians, or the Peripatetics singly teach, but whatever dogmas are found in each sect to be true, and conducive to the knowledge and practice of piety and justice, these collected into one system, I call philosophy."—*Strom.* l. I, p. 288.

The same general opinion was maintained by other early writers, as Justin Martyr, Gregory Thaumaturgus, Lactantius and others. At an early period, of all the philosophers, Plato began to exert most influence in the Church; partly from the purity of his sentiments, and from the impression that he had imbibed his views on many points, as concerning God, Virtue, and the Future State, from the Hebrew Scriptures. Augustine went so far as to contend, that in some respects, he deserved to be called a *Christian* philosopher.

The introduction of philosophy into the Church had a twofold tendency, both to strengthen and to weaken her. There can be no doubt, but that it is to the refinement of Grecian intellect, sharpened by the dialectics of the Schools, that we are indebted for the wonderful precision of the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds: a precision which guards those sacred formulas from the possibility of misapprehension, as to the

essential doctrine of the Trinity, both then and now. Indeed, we have never been more strongly impressed with the fact of the mental acumen of the Early Fathers, and of the clearness with which they grasped the great doctrines of the Gospel, than when we have seen the ingenious quibblings and twistings of such men as Channing, and Emerson, and Bushnell, precisely met by the bold statements of old Athanasius; every word of whose Formula is essential to the integrity of the orthodox Faith; and so it is proving itself in our own times.

But on the other hand, the Heathen Philosophy had its work of mischief too. That feature which may be described under the general term Gnosticism, laid the foundation of a system of practical morality, from which the Church has never yet been freed. Regarding the soul as an emanation from the divine nature, and sin, as having its origin in matter, hence, mainly, arose those austerities, by which the soul should be freed from its encumbrances, and restored to communion with its Author. And hence the doctrine of celibacy, excessive fastings, and mortifications, and that whole system of monasticism and pietism which grew into such general favor, and which resulted in the fixed disciplinary features of Rome, a compound of ecclesiastical dogma and philosophical theory. The introduction of philosophy into the Church, led to evils of another kind, to which we will in a moment allude.

Mr. Adams claims for his System of Ethics the authority of Origen! We are at a loss in what language to express our surprise at such a claim; and are forcibly reminded of the indispensable necessity of that line of demarcation which distinguishes the Early Fathers as authoritative witnesses of facts and verities on the one hand, and as the authors of mere opinions on the other. There is such a line of distinction, and while it gives us the full strength of their testimony, according to St. Vincent's rule, it, at the same time, saves our appeal to those early witnesses from deserved reproach.*

Thus Origen maintained such opinions as these. He held that the Divine Nature is the fountain of matter, and is itself, in some sense, material; that God, angels, and the souls of men are one and the same substance; that evil spirits are degraded by being confined to a grosser body, and in these they are purged from their guilt till they are prepared to ascend to

* As a curious illustration of Clement of Alexandria's fanciful method of interpreting the Scriptures, see his comments upon the history of Abraham, Sarah, and Hagar.—*Strv. lib.* i, p. 333.

a higher order; that human souls were formed by God before the bodies, into which they are sent as into a prison, for the punishment of their sins; that they pass from one body to another; and that all things are in perpetual rotation, receding from, and at last returning to the divine fountain; whence an eternal succession of worlds, and the final restoration of the souls of bad men, and of devils, after certain purgations, to happiness; and much more of the same sort. Now, we have alluded to these wild vagaries of Origen, who, though a rare genius, was yet deluded by his fondness for an allegorical and mystical system of interpretation of Scripture, for the mere purpose of showing the utter absurdity of looking to him as, in any sense, the author of a true system of Christian Ethics.

Nor, indeed, even in Augustine, the Corypheus of the Latin Fathers, do we find ourselves any nearer our object, in our search after a system of Ethical Science. Originally a Manichæan, and dissipated in morals, and a distinguished teacher of Rhetoric, his conversion to Christianity was a marked event in the history of the Church. He wrote out of the fullness of his own heart, on the Sovereignty of Grace, and its conquests over the corruption of human nature. His "Confessions," especially, will never cease to be known in the Church, so long as true contrition seeks for the most fitting language to utter its deepest breathings before God. Still, Augustine was fitted, neither by education nor by taste, to frame a system of Christian Ethics. With the Greek Fathers he was but imperfectly acquainted. His great strength lay in polemic divinity, and he was a better logician than metaphysician. His vast influence upon the Church, in all coming time, is seen especially in the tendency which he fostered to engage in dialectical subtilties and quibbles. The truth is, there was no well-defined system of Christian Ethics known in those times. Physics and Metaphysics, Philosophy and Ethics, were alike afloat at sea, a mere chaos of opinions, a strange medley of dogmas, in which it would be difficult to say, whether the Pagan or the Christian element were most predominant.

We have already spoken of Philosophy, as seriously affecting the discipline of the Church. It did more than this. It began at length to tamper with her doctrines. So long as it was content to sit at the foot of the Cross, and in humility and docility draw the dividing line between the simplicity of the Faith and the corruptions which threatened it, it did a noble work. But it grew ambitious, and then presumptuous. It

first framed a system of speculative theology, in strange contrast with the Faith of early days; and then it invested its wire-drawn and dreamy speculations with authority, and made them tests of orthodoxy. All this arose, with the origin and progress in the Church of Scholastic Philosophy, which was little else than a curious medley of Heathen Philosophy and Christian Doctrine, strangely blended together. Christian scholars, driven into solitude by the circumstances and violence of the times, had abundant leisure for that quiet contemplation which the old philosophers were accustomed to commend, whose works, often in imperfect translations, occupied their attention. Among the different Orders in the Romish Church, as the Dominicans, Franciscans, and Jesuits, the scholastic mode of argumentation strongly prevailed; and with what terrible effect on the tone of moral sentiment, Pascal, in his Provincial Letters, gives us plainly to understand. Here we find ponderous volumes on the disputed points of the "Will of God and Free-Will;" "habits of Grace and actual Grace, Grace prevenient and Grace of congruity;" "Divine Prescience and Predestination," and other like questions of casuistry. Such men as Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus appear upon the stage, who contented themselves and confused their disciples, in taking for granted inadmissible axioms, in making distinctions without a difference, in using terms without meaning, and in prating about infinity, and formality, and quiddity, and individuality, and such like abstractions.

The man who at length appears in the field of philosophical science, as one, above all others, raised up in the Providence of God, to bring order out of confusion, and light out of darkness, was Sir Francis Bacon. He saw the weakness of the old Philosophy, and laid the foundation for a new method of reasoning, first and primarily in Physics, but affecting, ultimately, the whole field of Metaphysics and Ethics. And with the revival of learning, in which the *inductive* took the place of the *syllogistic* method of reasoning, the war began to subside somewhat, though not entirely, between Nominalists and Realists, and Verbalists and Formalists, and Thomists, and Scotists, and Occamists.*

* We see, occasionally, in modern publications, expressions which seem to imply a doubt as to the degree of ignorance in what are termed the dark ages, which reached from the sixth to the eleventh century. Such writers only betray in themselves what they deny in others. The position taken by Gregory I, is beyond dispute. The Council of Toledo, in the eighth century, found it necessary to require that every clergyman should be able to read and chaunt the Psaltery, and to perform the ceremony of Baptism. Hence the Pope gave instructions to the

It would be a curious examination, and one which we have never seen thoroughly made, to trace the effect of Pagan philosophy upon the corruptions of Christianity, both in discipline and doctrine, *at the present day.* That there is such a connection, and that it is exceedingly intimate, we have no doubt. The whole disciplinary features of the Romish Church, those very features which have captivated some men in our own Church, and drawn them over to the Romish schism, so far as they are a departure from Catholic usage, are, we believe, but an off-shoot from Paganism. They are the fruits, not of the Gospel, but of the Platonic and Oriental philosophies. They are but a modification of the old Manichæan heresy; the dualism of governing principles, interfused somewhat with the element of theurgy; and they still lead to those austerities and scandalous excesses, to which such a system must inevitably tend.

And then, on the other hand, the introduction into the Church of another system of Philosophy, the *Aristotelian*, which in the sixth and following centuries, began to revive, and at length predominated, led to corruptions of another sort; the evils of which still remain and are felt. This was a system of dialectics, a tendency to speculative philosophy, which characterized strongly the writings of the Schoolmen; which bred such fierce contentions between the Dominicans and the Jesuits; and which left its impress upon the Reformers, the Continental especially, but which tinged more or less deeply the doctrinal writings of the Reformers generally. The Creeds and Confessions of the Continental Reformers were shaped, to a great extent, by this same system of speculative philosophy. And the same tendency appears, only under different phases, at the present day; and its mischievous effect on doctrinal Christianity is becoming more and more apparent. In Germany, and in our own country, we have the dialectics of Aristotle only in a modified and very diluted state—the contortions of the Sibyl, without her inspiration. And so, Morell tells us, that "Christianity consists not in propositions—it is life in the soul." So, also, Professor Park of Andover, and Dr. Bushnell of Hartford, have come to talk about the "logical consciousness" and the "intuitional consciousness;" the "theology of the intellect" and the "theol-

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Bishops to inquire whether the officiating clergy could read the Gospels and Epistles correctly, and could repeat, *memoriter*, the Athanasian Creed; and Gislemar, Archbishop of Rheims, at his consecration, was found so ignorant as not to be able to understand the literal meaning of the Gospel which he was called to read.

ogy of the feelings;" according to which very convenient casuistry, entirely worthy the darkest period of the Middle Ages, Dr. Bushnell declares himself ready to subscribe to any or all sorts of conflicting Creeds at the same time, as it leaves him room to be at once both very orthodox and very heretical; to profess publicly, before GOD and man, his reception of the old orthodox Formularies, while, in his heart, he loathes and abhors them.

And here, we cannot help remarking, that the whole Gorham controversy, which has almost shaken the English Church to its centre, seems to have grown out of the revival of an old question of the Schoolmen; Mr. Gorham showing himself, on the subject of prevenient Grace, a disciple of Thomas Aquinas and the Dominicans, and affording another illustration of the effect of Scholastic philosophy upon doctrinal teaching; one of the very same *quaestiones vexatae*, which so seriously embarrassed the consultations of the Council of Trent. And they who, like Mr. Maskell, desert the Church of England, because she does not dogmatize upon these points, or, like Archbishop Hughes, venture upon wide-sweeping assertions on Romish *unity*, would do well to remember with what agility the Church of Rome has managed, again and again, to dodge a decision which she dare not make; and also, what a degree of asperity has been kindled up in the Romish communion by these arid dialectics, exceeding, by far, the *odium theologicum* with which the Church of England is now afflicted.*

For ourselves, we rejoice that Church writers in this country have shown little disposition to enter this field of speculative theology. The Church reaffirms, *as matters of Faith*, only the old Creeds of primitive times; while, at the same time, she guards her portals from the introduction of essential errors, against which, in her Articles, she strenuously protests. She is thus Catholic, as to every Truth of God. She is Protestant against every error of man. And this wise moderation we trust she will continue to observe.

One object in these remarks on the introduction of Philosophy into the Church, and its influence upon the Church, is, simply to show, that a system of Christian Ethics, such a system as Mr. Adams has given in his book, or any system, which, *as a system*, is worthy of consideration, did not exist in the early

* The reader may find a curious illustration of this point, in the History of Pope Clement VIII, and of the Jansenists and Jesuits in the times of Urban VIII, and Clement XI.

Church, and could not have then existed. There was no *materiel* for such a system. And by a system of Christian Ethics, we mean a system based upon a correct analysis of the mental and moral constitution of human nature, placed not now under a Dispensation of Law, but under a Dispensation of Grace. The question is one of Ethics as a Science; and not whether the Gospel itself, in its simplicity and purity, is the only Ethics with which Christian teachers ought to trouble themselves. The historical fact which we affirm, is, that from the early Church onward, down through the whole period of Scholastic Philosophy, embracing the most subtle Doctors, there is not a single work on Ethics which is worthy to be our authority and guide.

But it is time to come to the examination of Mr. Adams' book itself. He has entitled it "The Elements of Christian Science, a Treatise upon Moral Philosophy and Practice." And yet, at the close of his book, he remarks: "the Affections in the Church—this we have also omitted, for a reason very plain indeed; it leads us directly into the discussion of 'Spiritual Ethics,' or of 'Practical Christianity,' that is, of the Ethics that ensues from the peculiar position of Human Nature in Covenant with God." And again: "that germ in the case of the natural man, the Spiritual Nature that is in him existing, which renders him capable of Grace, I have in this book treated of. Spiritual Ethics, the Ethics of Man in Covenant with God, is a distinct and higher part of the same science, and is practical Christianity. At some future time, in the ripeness of maturer years, and by the light of fuller knowledge, I may enter upon the examination of this loftier science." (P. 376.)

Now, the very work, upon which he does not here profess to have entered, is the work which the title of his book led us to expect. And while such a position is, as he says, "loftier," it is at the same time far simpler; and is the only view on which a Christian teacher ever ought to approach the subject of Ethics. Here, in our judgment, is the grand mistake of the writer, which runs through his entire book. He has looked first upon human nature, its condition, character, susceptibilities, and capabilities, in a *humanitarian*, rather than a *Christian* aspect, and has based its moral training, upon its natural capabilities, rather than upon its supernatural relation and assistances. And then he has done more than this; he seems to have viewed Ethics as appertaining to Divine Law, however it may be made known, rather than as appertaining to the System of Grace and the duties of the

Gospel. And, in this separation of the Law and the Gospel, in giving *authority* to the first, and withholding authority from the last, we think we find one of the causes of the growth and strength of modern Sectarianism. This has been the uniform practice with writers on Moral Philosophy, not only, as a matter of course, with pagans and infidels, but also with Christians; not only with Plato, and Aristotle, and Epicurus, and Hobbes, and Rousseau, but with Locke, and Paley, and Wayland. Christian writers and preachers write and preach about Conscience, and Free-will, and the Affections, as if Human Nature was to be separated from the Covenant of Grace into which it has been introduced; and as if moral obligation found its sanctions amid the thunderings of Sinai, and not amid the earthquake and rending rocks of Mount Calvary. And hence it is, that the tendency of theological speculation has been to open infidelity. So it has been at Geneva, and so it has been at Boston; and so it will be everywhere, as surely as result follows cause in the moral world. What the Church wants at the present day, is a thoughtful and thorough work on Christian Morals; which shall distinguish and recognize, clearly, the intellectual and emotional powers of the one human soul; which shall admit, in all its length and breadth, the revealed and self-evident fact, of its lapsed state from its original uprightness; which shall then bring into continuous and practical view, God's great plan of recovery, with all its instrumentalities, duties, and sanctions. Whether the state of Moral science is such as to allow us to look for such a work yet, is doubtful. But if we must have a system of Ethics, nothing short of what we have described is adequate to the wants of Human Nature; and with nothing short of this will the necessities of the Church be met. When such a view shall prevail, and prevail not as a mere theory, or a cold speculation, but as a warm and living reality, then, and we believe never till then, may we look for a tone of sentiment, which will give depth of truthful meaning to the Sacrament of Baptism, and obligation to the duties of Sponsors, and a truer appreciation to the whole work of Christian Nurture. And then we shall forget our dry and barren polemics, in the contemplation of the living actuality and glory of the Church.

It may be said, that there is a difficulty in treating of Ethics, only upon a Christian basis; that it does not meet the phenomena and wants of Human Nature, as they are actually exhibited to us in the world. This difficulty the Rev. Mr. Craik of Kentucky has endeavored to encounter, in his recent able and ingenious pamphlet, on "*The Divine Life and*

the New Birth;" and the late Editor of the Churchman took essentially the same view, several years since, in a series of papers which attracted some attention, on the "Salvability of the Heathen." That difficulty, however, we humbly conceive, is one which does not concern us, any more than do certain other facts concerning the limitation in the actual diffusion of the Gospel over the heathen world. It is one of the mysteries of God's Providence, which we cannot solve.

The Christian teacher may rest contented to take Human Nature, not independent of, but in connection with, those restoring influences which God interposed at the very moment of the Apostacy; influences, conceived in the bosom of the Infinite Mind before time began; influences, which the Three Persons of the Adorable and Ever-Blessed Trinity are engaged in making efficacious; influences, without which, man alone, of all God's works, is anomalous and monstrous; influences, without which, all systems of Ethics are not only inoperative and powerless, but positively infidel in their character. Mr. Adams would, therefore, have been truer to his title, had he at once thrown aside every thing like a mere Human Philosophy, and contemplated Human Nature, not in its original, or fallen state, merely, but also as redeemed, and brought henceforth into new relations, and under new and supernatural influences. In doing this, he would, we think, have been guarded from positions, which seem to us erroneous, and exceedingly unfortunate, and to which we will in a moment allude.

There is no danger to a system of Ethics, in granting all that to be true, which the Scriptures and the Church affirm, as to the native depravity and corruption of Human Nature, so long as a perfect and adequate system of recovery is recognized, although it may be difficult to tell precisely where to draw the dividing line between natural and gracious operations. Nor is it necessary. All is goodness and love; even if we cannot mark the very point, where *mere* Goodness ends, and Grace begins. But in framing a Theory of Ethics, independent of the Plan of Grace, system-makers have been obliged, from Plato down to the present day, to assume premises, which, as a Christian, we are not at all prepared to grant. And this, as we have before said, is, in our judgment, the fundamental mistake in this treatise of the author. Nor, in avoiding this error, need he to have contravened the letter or spirit of his motto—"All things are double one against another, and God hath made nothing imperfect." "Man's perfection is not *by himself*, nor by anything *in* or *of* himself,

but by that which is *to him external.*" On the contrary, the truth of his motto, under a Christian interpretation, would have shone more resplendently, because in a more heavenly light.

The feature, then, in Mr. Adams' book, to which we feel most impelled to take exception, because it is fundamental, is *the character which he ascribes to Human Nature.* Human Nature, he defines, as including the threefold division of "Body," "Animal Mind," and "Spirit." What, then, is the character which he affixes to "Human Nature," as thus defined?

We quote almost at random. He says,—

"The nature of man is not indifferent. It is not partly good and partly evil; it must then be essentially evil or essentially good. Say that it is essentially evil,—*the nature of man*,—not merely his words, or his actions, or his thoughts evil, but *his nature.* Suppose that this is so, and what is the result and consequence?" "Of such philosophizing has there been an abundance; and unto it man's nature is essentially evil, and unto it, from this central fact, all nature and all creatures also become evil." "And I confess that I have been most heartily ashamed of men who from the pulpit preach this horrid notion, never having thought of its consequences or of its nature." "It follows, then, that the nature of man cannot be in itself essentially evil. And by the exclusion of the three of the only four possible answers, it must be that we affirm the one remaining; that human nature is of itself and in itself essentially good."—(Pp. 18, 19, 20, 21.)

And again:

"We would have them see its untruth distinctly and decidedly. For that man's nature is not *essentially evil*, but *a nature which although fallen, is in its nature good;* this is the first principle of all morality."—(P. 22.)

The italics are in all cases the author's. Again:

"We say, that man is a being whose nature is good, and not evil; he has the idea of moral good as naturally as he that sees has the idea of light."—(P. 26.)

Again:

"There are manifestly governing powers in man. The Will, the Conscience, the Affections, the Reason,—these are good *always*, at all times, *as governing powers*, guiding man on his course."—(P. 36.)

Again:

"Man's nature being good, the instinct of this, his constitution, must lead him naturally, although blindly, towards God. And, secondly, there must be, corresponding to that instinctive feeling, external influences that draw forth the instinct of nature into consciousness, as the sun upon the earth draws up the germ of the plant underneath, until it rises into the light. Now in reference to our nature, or internal being, we call all other objects *external.* All those influences that bear upon us from without are external. And things external are divided into two parts, Nature and Society."—(P. 40.)

Again, addressing the unbaptized:

"Your own natural constitution is framed according unto Law, external Nature corresponds, and Society guides and directs the influences of Law upon you.

And all these are but the appliances and means whereby God the Standard of Good is brought nigh to you. Central art thou, Child of Man! among all these moral influences; and if thou wouldst be profited of them all, this is the first and the only step—the only beginning of moral improvement to man upon the earth."—(P. 48.)

Again:

"This is the great secret of educational ability, the skill and knowledge of character to see that in the moral faculties are the beginnings of mental ability, and the power to discern in the pupil that part of the moral nature that is easiest to cultivate, and then the cultivation of it so as to apply the moral force mentally."—(P. 75.)

Again:

"*In any human being, however weak his moral faculty may be by nature, and however violent the force of passions, the moral power is able, by nature, to check and subdue any passion whatsoever.*"—(P. 113.)

The italics in this case are our own. And again, as to the *nature* of moral evil, he says:

"The ordinary tone of that which many call Moral Philosophy, looks upon faults of character and temper as *absolute* and *evil* in themselves. And, therefore, *instead of seeking down to the good that lies beneath, and trying to guide it and call it forth*, and being, therefore, considerate, it is censorious, and gives the individual who has the fault as much credit for natural and ineradicable evil, as it does the rattlesnake or the viper for venom, injuring thereby both society and the man."—(P. 69.)

And again, on the same point:

"If Evil is not a *positive existence* in itself, but truly and really 'the absence of Good,' and sin is not some mysterious quality having a substantial reality in nature, but is a transgression of the Law; if, moreover, the Law of God is revealed as a Law to man by Society, and by the face of outward Nature, then it is manifest that Religion is a possible thing; nay, that naturally man is suited and adapted to it, and that it has a foundation for itself in his Nature and Position."—(P. 120.)

We have quoted somewhat freely from the author, to show that we have not done him injustice, in ascribing to him a particular view of doctrine; and we do it, moreover, for our own sake, in order that our point of exception may be distinctly manifest. We have not room to state the arguments by which he attempts to fortify his positions; nor to show how he endeavors to reconcile with the above positions, his unqualified affirmation of the fact of Original Sin; which Sin, he holds, lies "primarily in the incapacity of the Moral or Governing Powers;" which "*Governing Powers*," he affirms, are, (and it is a strange category,) Conscience, Will, Reason, the Affections; which Powers, including the Affections, Reason, and Will, are, he says, good, "good always, at all times, as Governing Powers, guiding man on his course."

That these powers are not essentially good, but that they are vitiated; that there is a "*fault and corruption of the na-*

ture of every man that naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam;" and that "this infection of nature" "hath of itself the nature of sin," as our Ninth Article declares, we strenuously contend. Neither shall we stop to remark upon his distinction between "physical" and "moral" inability; a distinction which in Ethics is the merest logomachy. The only inability which can be predicated of the subject, is moral; and it either is an inability, or it is not. Without pausing upon these and some other incidental points in the volume, our object is to join issue with the author, as to this one of his main positions, *the character of Human Nature in its present fallen state.*

What then is the precise point in Mr. Adams' scheme, which is defective? and what is an exact statement of the teaching of the Church in respect to it? Mr. Adams maintains, that what he terms the Governing Powers, the Conscience, the Reason, the Will, and the Affections, although, in consequence of the Fall, they are now subordinate, yet, that *they are still in their nature essentially good*, and that all that is now necessary, is, to restore these powers to their true governing position.

The teaching of the Church, as we understand it, is, that the Will, the Affections, and the Reason, are not now essentially good; that they are vitiated and evil, by an infection which extends to their very nature; that what they need is, not *mere position*, where their own inherent and essential life may develop itself; but, over and beyond all this, the implantation or bestowal of a new and supernatural Element; the imparting of a Life which did not before exist; as well as to wash away the stain and guilt of original defilement.

That there is a broad distinction between these two views, and that they necessarily lead to different systems of moral culture, is, we think, in the outset, sufficiently apparent.

And here we may as well observe, that this question of the character of Human Nature is not a novel one in the region where we write. Mr. Adams has but re-echoed the sentiments of a certain Dr. Taylor, in his famous "Concio ad Clerum," which, a few years ago, set Congregationalism in New England into a blaze; prompted to the organization of the East Windsor Seminary; divided that sect into the Taylor and Tyler parties; and is being followed out just now by some rather curious developments. Mr. Adams, however, goes even beyond Dr. Taylor. The latter stopped with simply denying the Evil in Human Nature. Mr. Adams not only does this, but actually affirms the Good. The opponents of

Taylor have not scrupled to charge upon him, nothing more or less than rank Pelagianism. For ourselves, we have no hesitation in saying that we cannot reconcile Mr. Adams' sentiments, as quoted above, with the clearly recognized doctrines of the Catholic Church, and that they do not seem to us to harmonize with the system of agencies and influences which the Church recognizes.

Our objection to this feature of Mr. Adams' book is one both of form and essence. *He* looks upon Human Nature as, though fallen, yet still essentially good; and on that essential goodness he lays the foundation of moral culture; and predicates the skill of the teacher "in discerning that part of the moral nature that is easiest to cultivate," &c., and in "seeking down to the good that lies beneath, and trying to guide *it* and call *it* forth." *The Church*, everywhere, recognizes Human Nature as *essentially evil;* and by essentially, we mean really and positively; without affirming the degree of evil. It is not necessary, in this view, to suppose that "man is Satan, and there is no Satan but man," as the author ingeniously would lead us to infer. Nay, we might still suppose the existence of certain affections in Human Nature, which seem to us lovely, as they are beneficent; while yet the ruling motive or purpose which determines character, is essentially selfish or evil. What the Church teaches is, that Human Nature is perverse, ruined, depraved; and that the work of its recovery is, not by polishing, cultivating, and refining it; not by any possible process of Education and development of that Nature, but by implanting within it a new Element, a new Life; an Element and Life working in perfect coincidence with all the powers of the mind and heart, but yet constituting the basis on which the whole moral structure must be reared.

The *fact*, of the introduction of such a new and supernatural element into the moral constitution, is one which must, of course, be substantiated by the Inspired Word; and the testimony of that Word is as distinct as it is in the power of language to express. The following are specimens:—

"I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life." St. John xiv, 6.

"As the Father hath Life in Himself, so hath He given to the Son to have Life in Himself." St. John v, 26.

"Ye will not come unto Me that ye might have Life."—St. John v, 40.

"I am the Bread of Life." St. John vi, 35.

"I am the Resurrection and the Life." St. John xi, 25.

"In Him was Life, and the Life was the Light of men."—St. John i. 4.

"Your Life is hid with Christ in God." Col. iii, 3.

"He that hath the Son hath Life, and he that hath not the Son hath not Life." 1 John v, 12.

That this Life, which our blessed Lord and His Apostles, here and elsewhere, so clearly describe, did not include moral and spiritual life, will not be pretended.

The whole structure of our Church System, her Liturgy, Sacramental Formularies, Catechism, Articles and Homilies, are framed in harmony with this fundamental truth. Thus when "Human Nature," in the person of a new-born child, is brought to the sacred Font for Holy Baptism, does the Church regard that "Nature" as "*essentially good?*" She then declares to the people that "all men are conceived and born in sin," that "none can enter into the Kingdom of God except he be regenerate and born anew of water and of the Holy Ghost." She prays God to "mercifully look upon this child," to "wash him and sanctify him with the Holy Ghost;" that "the old Adam in this child may be so buried, that the new man may be raised up in him;" that "he, being dead unto sin, and living unto righteousness, and being buried with Christ in his death, may crucify the old man, and utterly abolish the whole body of sin." And that child itself, afterwards, is taught to say in its Catechism concerning the Grace of that Sacrament, that it is "a death unto sin and a new birth unto righteousness; *for being by nature born in sin, and the children of wrath, we are hereby made the children of Grace.*" So also the doctrine of *Regeneration*, if it be a reality, and not a figment of the imagination, implies of necessity the gift of "*a newness of life*," as St. Paul denominates it, in contradistinction from that life which is man's by his natural birth. The doctrines of "membership in Christ," and of Christ being "our spiritual food and sustenance in that holy Sacrament" of His Supper, are truths based upon a very different theory from that which supposes the Christian's progress in this world, is a mere development of the "essential goodness of human Nature," like the development of vegetable life under the genial influence of the natural sun. The whole superstructure of the truly Christian character, is far deeper in its foundation, more supernatural in its origin, more spiritual in its elements, and more glorious in its ultimate termination.

Did our limits permit, we would give, on this point, a catena of authorities—ancient and modern—and of all grades of

Churchmanship; nor are we sure that we could better subserve the end we have in view in these remarks, than by such a presentation. But that labor we must spare our readers and ourselves. We may say, however, that in respect to the Fathers, the more marked and emphatic language of the Latin, as Tertullian, and St. Ambrose, and St. Cyprian, in comparison with the Greek, on the doctrine of "the infection of human nature," is mainly to be attributed to the care of the latter, to guard against the Gnosticism, and the errors concerning the origin of souls, which they saw everywhere around them. Still, it is the clearly taught doctrine of the Church, ancient and modern, announced and perpetuated from the beginning in the old formula, "*one Baptism, for the remission of sins,*" (which formula in itself establishes our position,) that human nature, in becoming united to Christ, not only laves in a Fountain for the washing away of its original defilement, (which defilement must, of course, have existed,) but, at the same time, it gains a sure title to the possession, and is brought within the reach of a Life, a Power, a Goodness, which, by nature are not, and cannot be its own. On this principle, all Christian aims and efforts for man's moral perfection must be based. Around this, every true system of Christian Ethics must centre. Christ, and not the "essential goodness of human nature," is our Life. Christianity is something more than a mere make-weight; a sort of accident to restore the equipoise among powers, of which the balance only has been disturbed. Its conception in the divine counsels; the expenditure of Infinite Wisdom, and love, and sacrifice, thus far lavished upon its development; the high destiny which awaits it; and the estimation in which the Scheme of Mercy is held by higher orders of beings, all bespeak an end and purpose far nobler than this. Its healing virtue penetrates and cleanses the deepest fountain of our moral nature. It does its work, where it has its necessity, among the lapsed powers of the human soul. Finding man in ruins, it gathers up the scattered fragments, re-forms the shattered fabric, breathes into it the breath of life, clothes man again with the lost image of his Maker, and leads him back a redeemed and sanctified being, into the Paradise of his God.

On the points in Mr. Adams' book upon which we have commented, first, the character of man by nature; and then, in what sin itself consists, we simply quote a passage or two from Sewell's "Christian Morals:"

"Such, then, is the new position in which the Church places man by the rite of Baptism. It begins where all heathen education ended; it realizes what phi-

losophy only imagined and desired; and *commences a new creation of moral beings* (καινη κτισις in the words of St. Paul) just as the moving of the Spirit of God upon the waters of chaos called forth a new earth into light. And a system of professedly Christian education, which does not constantly bear in mind this distinction, and frame itself upon the privileges of baptism as on its fundamental fact, can only end in confusion and mischief." * * * "And it is because all modern systems of Ethics, whether treated as a science, or practically applied in education, have neglected this difference, that the science has fallen into its present degraded state, and education itself has become a farce." * * * "It is not indeed possible to imagine how such spontaneous power could be generated in the human heart, by any contrivances of the kind. We may defy human reason to conceive the formation of internal independent action in the mind of man by any merely external influences. You cannot make a plank grow, though you plant it, and water it, and dig round it, hour after hour. There is no germ of life within. It is not in nature." * * * "The Church comes to man, enslaved as he is to the outward influences of the natural man, and not only brings before him more facts, more knowledge, new relations, higher promises, more awful threats, and a more powerful body of advisers to counteract them. This would indeed be much; and some men seem to imagine that this is all. And yet, if what was said before is true, all this would be useless. It would be only an external power; and external power alone cannot change the heart. And therefore the Church gives more: it puts into the heart a new principle, or rather a new being, or rather, if we may so dare to speak, God himself, by imparting to it the Holy Spirit, and uniting it to the Body of Christ. *It is from this Holy Spirit, and this only, that all the real power and spontaneity of man proceeds.*"—(Ch. xx.)

And again:

"Heathens, as well as the Church, have felt and longed to be released from this burden of the old man; heathens, as well as Christians, have described their condition by nature as that of a living body tied down to a dead body, and struggling to cast it off." * * * "It is the old man, because it is human nature as it originally exists, and must be abandoned for a new character." * * * "Man is, by birth, not only a weak and deluded, but a polluted creature." * * "And so also even of the infant; for pollution depends on something more than our own willful act; it is communicated by contagion." * * * (Chap. xvi.)

There is also a paragraph in Hooker, which we quote here as it affirms a historic fact pertinent to our purpose. He says:

"So that the whole question being grown amongst the ancients unto this issue *whether man may without God seek God; and without grace, either desire or accept grace first offered; the conclusion of the Catholic part was, No:* and therefore in all their writings, the point still urged is grace, *both working inwardly and preventing the very first desires or motives of man to goodness.*"—(B. v. App. 1.)

But we will not pursue this examination further. We have written in no spirit of unkindness, and in that frankness which ought to characterize the discussion of so important a subject. And we owe it to the author to say, that, once fairly away from his starting point, he discourses faithfully and nobly; and that had he planted himself, in the outset, on truly Christian ground, and cut himself aloof from all past systems of mere human philosophy, he would, we doubt not, have freed himself from the entanglements with which he seems to us to be embarrassed.

We regret that our limits will not allow us, in conclusion, to bestow, as thoroughly as we wish, that meed of commendation upon the volume, which it richly merits. We object to some of its distinctions and definitions; we might speak of a carelessness and redundancy of expression; but these are comparatively small matters. Its author has an eye to see and a heart to feel the greatness of his subject. He possesses philosophical acumen in a high degree. His style is always strong and nervous; his illustrations are pertinent, and his whole bearing that of a man, who has not spent his life in a cloister; who has mingled with the living world around him; who has felt the pulsations of the public heart, and knows how to reach them. There are several chapters in the volume, which are worthy of the Christian Scholar and Philosopher. He sees and appreciates the miserable Sensualism of Locke, and the Selfishness of Paley; systems of teaching which have worked and are still working incalculable injury to moral sentiment in our country. His views of Society, its origin, organization, and nature, are just what our age and times demand; an age when there is so much prating about "Woman's Rights," the "Social Compact," and "the Rights of Labor;" and when our Greeleys, and Channings, and Garrisons; and our Lucretia Motts, and a shameless clique of Abbeys and Lucindas, are exhibiting their bitter hatred of Christianity, and their deep depravity of heart, by making war upon the Divine Institutions, the Family, the Church, and the State; poisoning the minds of honest, but unthinking multitudes, arraying different classes of Society, the rich and the poor, the provident and the improvident, against each other, and doing what they can to bring in upon us the reign of Red Republicanism. His Fourth Book, on "the Heart or Affections," and the Fifth, on "the Home and its Affections," show the author to be a man of no ordinary mental and moral power; and contain truths, not only eloquently expressed, but needful, when such scandalous and heathenish views of Marriage are afloat, as are widely disseminated in the popular Novels and periodical Literature of the day.*

We close our observations, by predicting for the author a deep and permanent influence upon thoughtful men, such as shall not gratify an ambition for notoriety; for he is, we trust, above the reach of such a paltry motive; but as should lead him to guide with discretion a pen capable, in no ordinary degree, of inditing "the words of the wise and their dark sayings."

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* See the July No. of Westminster Review.

HOFFMAN ON AMERICAN CANON-LAW.

ART. III.—*A Treatise on the Law of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States.* By MURRAY HOFFMAN, Esq.

THE appearance of an elaborate book on Canon-Law, from the pen of an accomplished jurist and devoted Churchman, is certainly an event which goes far to prove the increasing importance, in the general estimate, of sound knowledge, on this much neglected branch of our ecclesiastical system. One able volume on the same subject had indeed preceded it, in which the Rev. author, Dr. Hawks, exhibited his usual acumen and ability. But the publication of Mr. Hoffman, while it notices, in several places, the labors of its predecessor with high praise, not only goes much farther in legal detail and precedent, but pursues, as we are fully persuaded, a far more legitimate track, with regard to the fundamental questions of Episcopal and Conventional authority.

Hitherto, however, there has been a perfect apathy amongst our Clergy, with only an occasional exception, on the subject of Canon-Law. And it ought not to be a matter of surprise, that a study, which, in itself, is certainly dry and repulsive to most minds, should have attracted but little of their attention. The cases for its practical application were happily few and far between. When they did occur, the gentlemen of the bar were at hand to conduct the proceedings. And the impressions derived from the arguments of Counsel at the time, were usually sufficiently clear, to guide the members of an Ecclesiastical Court, in the ultimate decision. It was quite natural that the clergy at large should give themselves but little trouble to prepare for a duty which they might never be called on to perform, and which, when the necessity arose, was sure to be approached with sorrow and reluctance. "Sufficient unto the day was the evil thereof," and on this topic, at least, they found it perfectly easy to "take no thought for the morrow." Nor can we wonder at their distaste for a kind of science, which seemed to have so little connection with their great office of preaching the Gospel, and watching for the souls committed to their care. Neither do we think it strange if they preferred to give their whole minds, instead, to those kinds of knowledge which belonged to the instructions of the pulpit, to

the intercourse of social life, or, at farthest, to the higher walks of literature.

But it would not be just, perhaps, to ascribe the prevailing apathy to these causes alone. For even the small minority, who might have been otherwise disposed, had a plausible excuse in the fact, that there was no mode provided for supplying the knowledge of Canon-Law which their position required. The books which approached most nearly to the wants of the Church, were Gibson's Codex, Burns' Ecclesiastical Law, and the Modern Reports of our Mother-Church of England. And yet it is certain that no clergyman in this country could find in these a clear and satisfactory treatise, applicable to our condition. For we were placed in circumstances widely different from those of our European fathers. We knew but little of the complicated modes of proceeding, derived from the papal system, which still deform the English Canon-Law. We were free from any ecclesiastical connection with the State. Our rules were comparatively simple. Our Courts were composed only of the Clergy. Our circle of subjects was far more primitive and confined. We had nothing to do with controversies about tithes, and wills, and causes matrimonial, and advowsons, and rights of patronage, and a hundred other topics which are far more of a secular than of a religious character. Our forms were untrammeled by the technical fetters of Doctors Commons, and the Court of Arches; and the very terms in ordinary use amongst the English Canon Lawyers, would have been unintelligible to us, without a glossary. It was nearly impossible, therefore, that our clergy could feel much interest in a study, for which the proper materials were not yet prepared. And it is only of late that experience and necessity have led us to the point in our canonical legislation, where the effort could be made, successfully, to furnish us with a legal guide, to which the American Canonist may have recourse with confidence or pleasure.

Between the principles of secular laws and those of the Church, there must always be a strong analogy. Cicero quotes the ancient maxim of the Decemvirs, *Salus populi suprema lex esto:* LET THE SAFETY OF THE PEOPLE BE THE SUPREME LAW. And the great German Canonist Boehmer applies this very happily to the subject of ecclesiastical law: *Salutem ecclesiæ esse supremam legem ecclesiasticam:* that THE SAFETY OF THE CHURCH IS THE SUPREME LAW OF THE CHURCH. No civilized society can subsist without law, for law is the only regulator of right and guardian of liberty.

And as the Church is a society, it results, of necessity, that her order and administration, under God, must be dependent on the same.

For the Church is the visible kingdom of Christ upon earth. Its inner life is indeed derived from its invisible, yet ever present Head, operating on the hearts of men by His Holy Spirit. But as the soul is connected with the body, so this inner life of the Church is united with its outward organization. There are visible rules and visible rulers appointed, by the express commands of the Lord, in the Sacred Scriptures, which are themselves a visible record of the Saviour's will, and, as such, contain the great Charter of Christian law and liberty. The Clergy, in their several ranks, are the authorized administrators of the divine system. The Sacraments are not only means of grace, but also the open instruments and testimonials of our heavenly citizenship. The Creeds are the defences against the intrusion of aliens to the faith. The public worship is bound to follow an established order of conformity. The places in which it is offered involve the principle of consecration. The discipline is essential to the exclusion of the unworthy. Rights of persons, rights of office, rights of place and time, rights of societies, rights of property, are all necessary to the existence of the visible Church, and all these demand the Canon-Law for their regulation.

But it is evident that a government of law requires a permanent legislative power, and it seems equally evident that the Redeemer would apportion this power according to the relative authority of His officers, because the higher the officer, the better qualified he must generally be, for the discharge of such a function. And on this point we have a remarkable example in the Acts of the Apostles, where we find that St. Paul had recourse to the whole Council of his brethren at Jerusalem, in order to settle the controversy between the Jewish and the Gentile converts, concerning the ceremonial law. For here, it might well be asked, why such a Council should have been holden by men who were inspired? Since, in the very nature of the case, inspiration must be infallible, and therefore none of the Apostles could be supposed to differ from another, why was not the decision of any one considered as equal to the decision of the whole? And the answer brings us to the point which is of so much importance to the great argument of Episcopacy, viz: that in this, the Apostles acted as a model to their successors, not in their *extraordinary* capacity, as men inspired, but in their *ordinary* office, as the chief pastors of the Church, and therefore the leaders in

the work of legislation. And for the same reason it was, that the Council consisted of the Clergy and the Laity, as well as the Apostles, and there was *much disputing* allowed before St. Peter delivered his opinion, and *all the multitude kept silence* in order to hear the statements of St. Paul and Barnabas; and the sentence of St. James, who presided, was adopted by "*the Apostles and Elders, with the whole Church,*" and the decree went forth in the name of "*the Apostles, and Elders, and brethren.*"*

Such was the high example followed by the Bishops in the primitive Church, when they, as successors to the *ordinary* office of the Apostles, met together in Council, and enacted their canons or rules, (Gr. κανων,) for ecclesiastical government. For it is certain that we read of no Councils in after ages, except those which were held by Bishops; and although we have no record of their acts, earlier than the year 250, when the Council of Carthage was held under the famous Cyprian, yet from that time forward, all along the history of the Church, Councils of Bishops appear at intervals, as the only instrumentality for ecclesiastical legislation.

Notwithstanding this fact, however, it cannot be denied that the assent of the Clergy and the Laity, in some shape, was always necessary, because the Church was a spiritual and a voluntary society, and her laws could only be properly executed by the conscience of her members. When the power of the secular arm was superadded in the following ages, the consent of the people was held to be included in the consent of the prince, and the progress of corruption became rapid and overwhelming. Even as early as the time of Jerome, we see him complaining that after the Church came to Christian princes, she was made greater, indeed, in power and wealth, but less in virtue. *Postquam enim ecclesia ad Christianos principes venit, potentia quidem et divitiis major, sed virtutibus minor facta est.* And the learned Ziegler was not far astray, when he placed the intrusion of the world into the Church in the time of the Emperor Constantine: *Videbatur ætate Constantini M. imperatoris mundus velut intrudi in ecclesiam, dum per eum professio Christiana non tuta tantum, sed etiam honorata facta erat.* This was a disastrous change in the practical system, natural enough, truly, in that period when the habits and feelings of men were so thoroughly accustomed to the maxims of despotism; but none the less inconsistent with the Apostolic pattern, and therefore most justly

* Acts xv.

rejected in our own primitive constitution. The Church of Rome led the way in the dangerous innovation, and still maintains it, allowing her laity, below the dignity of monarchs, to have no direct influence upon her legislation. The various communions of our Christian brethren who reject Episcopacy, on the other hand, violate the Apostolic order by committing all their ecclesiastical laws to their ministers and people, without Bishops. Our Mother-Church of England gives an undue preponderance to the Laity, by placing themselves entirely in the hands of the King and Parliament, although it may well be admitted that Parliament would not be likely to make any changes which were unanimously opposed by the Bishops, who are a component part of the House of Lords. Our sister-Church in Scotland has chosen to organize her legislation in close accordance with the early Councils which excluded the Laity and inferior Clergy. So that it is only our own branch of the Church Catholic, which can be said to have realized the nearest approach to the Apostolic model, securing to the Bishops their proper rank in the task of legislation, without whose assent nothing can be done; while, at the same time, full provision is made for the "elders and brethren." With us, therefore, no law can be passed without the consent of Bishops, Priests, and Laity, and our decrees go forth, like that of the Apostles at Jerusalem, in the name of every order of men belonging to the Church of God. Here is certainly a high privilege, for which the student of our Canon-Law cannot be too thankful.

But we are far from desiring it to be understood that the vital religion of the Church can be secured by the wisest system of Canonical legislation. Important as this must be, yet it can only operate on external order. Nor will it secure even this, unless the laws of the Church be administered in the pure and watchful spirit of genuine piety. We all know that the secular government of the State may possess the most perfect code of law, while there is nothing but degeneracy and corruption in the morals of its citizens. And much more may the Church have reason to glory in the excellence of her Canons, while she has abundant cause for mourning over the sins of irreverence, worldliness, and unchristian temper.

To the scholar who is accustomed to look into the rich remains of Christian antiquity, it is a familiar, though melancholy fact, that this tendency to corruption in the Church was manifested very early. Even at the close of the third century, before the last great persecution under the Emperor Dioclesian, Eusebius bitterly complains that the *rule of piety*

among Christians had been repudiated, that strife and contention raged, that contests for ecclesiastical power were used as the pretext to drive the people into sedition, so that there was hardly anything to be found besides discord, emulation, menaces, and odium. Chrysostom, about the year 398, saith, that *as matters then were, all things were becoming worse and more corrupted; that the Church differed nothing from a stable of oxen, or a sleeping place of camels or asses; and that when he went round to look for sheep, he could find one nowhere.* And Salvian, A. D. 440, roundly charges the Christians of his day with avarice, rapine, envy, hatred, cruelty, lust, and lasciviousness. The people were increased, but the faith was diminished, the sons were multiplied, but the mother was sick. *O, thou Church!* continues he, *thou art feebler by thy fecundity, and falling back by thine advancement, and weaker by thy strength. Thou hast spread abroad through the world, thy members having a religious name, but without the power of religion. And thus thou hast begun to be rich in crowds, but poor in faith; as much as thou hast gained in numbers, thou hast lost in devotion, thou art enlarged in body, but diminished in mind, thou art, at the same time, if I may say so, both greater and less; by a new and unheard-of process, thou hast at once come forward and retreated; and thine increase and decrease have gone on together.*

It is a favorite custom of the Lutheran and other opposers of Episcopacy, to make the Bishops of the primitive Church accountable for all this corruption, as if there were a natural connection between their order and the progress of iniquity. But we would ask why they do not go back to a purer age, and give credit to Episcopacy for the sublime examples then exhibited of holiness and virtue? They would find Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, with others, of the same rank, willingly embracing martyrdom, in the service and defense of the Gospel. And even in the subsequent period of the Church's history, after she had begun to degenerate, they might behold Athanasius, the Bishop of Alexandria, Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, Augustin, Bishop of Hippo, Gregory, Bishop of Nazianzen, and Chrysostom, Bishop of Constantinople, eminent models of piety and devotion, of whom the larger number were called to stand forth, in the face of suffering and peril, as the boldest champions for the truth of God, against the subtle assaults of heresy and the menaces of despotic power, under circumstances to which the trials of our day bear no comparison. But the truth is, that the whole

theory of these objectors rests upon a total fallacy. That the Church became corrupt, and that her Bishops too generally shared in the corruption, we admit with sorrow. And yet it would be impossible to prove either that this corruption was brought in by the Bishops, or that they were its main supporters. Certain it is that the great heresiarchs and schismatics were, for the most part, of another order. The Nicolaitans sprang from Nicolas, the deacon. The leaders of the Gnostics, Cerdon, Carpocrates, Valentinian, and Marcion, together with Manes, the founder of the Manicheans, do not appear to have had anything to do with Episcopal authority. Montanus and his follower Tertullian were presbyters. So likewise was the famous Arius. The Monophysites had their origin from the notions of Severus, while yet a monk, and the father of the Eutychians was of the same order. It is certain, moreover, that when Leo, the Iconoclast, made his great assault upon the worship of images, he found the Bishops willing enough to return to the purer system of the primitive Church, until the determined superstition of the monks roused the popular fury. Nor is it to be doubted, that throughout the whole of Christendom, it was in the unnatural gloom of the monastic system that all the worst forms of error took their rise. There, was the first commencement of auricular confession. There, was the origin of the extravagant veneration of the virgin and the saints. There, was the perilous invention of the superior sanctity supposed to be derived from bodily penances and mortification. There, was the fountain of priestly celibacy and uncommanded vows of human obligation. There, was, in after ages, the strong hold of papal ambition, so that the monks were everywhere "the soldiers of the Pope." And there, was the horrible invention of the inquisition, of which the Dominican, Torquemada, was the first administrator. The real history, therefore, of the worst corruptions of the Church, should be sought for, not in the Apostolic order of Bishops, but in the unscriptural and antagonistic system of Monachism. Error, for the most part, began amongst the monks, and by their zeal and numbers became established amongst the priesthood and the people, until, having gained a certain foothold, the Bishops were induced to tolerate, and finally to confirm it, for the sake of peace. So far from the truth is the hypothesis of the objectors, that the Bishops were the first to introduce and patronize corruption, in its most gross and perilous forms.

From the very nature of the case, indeed, it must be obvious to any reflecting mind, that so long as the faith of the

Church remained pure, and her morals were governed by her faith, there could be no possible danger arising from Episcopacy. For what is a Diocesan Bishop, but an officer appointed to discharge the *ordinary* functions of the Apostles, in ordaining the Clergy, administering discipline, confirming the baptized, and overseeing the general interest of the Church within a particular district? What could such an officer gain by the introduction of false doctrine? In such a position, how much less must be his temptation to form a sect, or try to draw away disciples after him? With so many eyes directed to his elevated station, how much more strongly must he be guarded from the assaults of those passions, which, if indulged, would be sure to create ten-fold scandal and reproach? And if, under these circumstances, he should prove to be a worse man than his fellows, how surely might we assume that his depravity would have been yet more freely indulged, had he remained in a less conspicuous sphere; for the simple reason, that there he would have been so much less exposed to observation? True, indeed, we grant that in the case of many Bishops, there has been a strong temptation to pride, and pomp, and luxury, in the vast amount of their wealth and secular prerogatives. But these were by no means the necessary results of their office, and it is a very pitiable kind of logic which confounds such things together. There are few Bishops in our day exposed to danger on that score. And it is evident that the proper rights of the office in itself, can never be fairly impugned, merely by inveighing against the perils of riches and power, which are at least as likely to work mischief to the Priest and to the Layman.

Through the special goodness of God, the first appointments to the Episcopal office are recorded in the Holy Scriptures. The epistles of St. Paul to Timothy show distinctly that he had sent his favorite disciple to the great proconsular city of Ephesus, which contained many elders or presbyters at the time, over whom Timothy was charged to exercise Apostolic rule and discipline, with the sole power to ordain and govern. The epistle of the same inspired teacher, addressed to Titus, proves that he was in like manner commissioned to take the Episcopal charge of the Island of Crete, which was celebrated amongst the ancients for its population and wealth, and contained no less than a hundred cities in the days of the poet Homer. Here, then, is the Scriptural model of Episcopacy. All the writers of primitive Church history, name these men as the first Bishops of Ephesus and Crete. All state, what indeed must be obvious, that St. Paul and his fel-

low Apostles provided for every other part of the Church in the same way, before they closed their earthly ministry. And the Bishops, thus constituted, as the successors of the Apostles, in their *ordinary* office of ordainers and governors, would, of course, imitate the example of their great predecessors in the Council of Jerusalem. That is to say, whenever an occasion of difficulty arose, they would meet together for mutual consultation, and adopt such rules or Canons as the order and welfare of the Church might seem to require. And hence, from the action of such Councils during several ages, we derive the great body of what now composes the Canon-Law.

We may as well observe, at this point, the error of an opinion which is often expressed without sufficient reflection: namely, that a Diocese, with its Bishop at its head, is the perfect form of the Church in its earthly organization. But that can never be esteemed a perfect form of the Church, which does not contain within itself the means of its own perpetuity, and cannot apply the hand of discipline to its ruler when necessity requires. Now a single Diocese is manifestly in this very position. When the Bishop dies, the Clergy and the Laity may elect his successor; but they are obliged to depend on the neighboring Bishops, belonging to other Dioceses, in order that he may be approved, and qualified by Consecration. And if the Bishop becomes an immoral man or a heretic, his own Diocese can only complain to the surrounding Bishops, and it is by their voice that he must be judged and sentenced. Here, then, it is manifest that a single Diocese, cut off from a certain number of other Dioceses, could not possibly exist beyond the life of one Bishop, nor even during that life, if he should desert the faith. And consequently, it can only be truly held to be a perfect form of the Church *quoad hoc*, or with respect to its individual place in the general organization. For the Church requires the union of several Dioceses for the perpetuity of each one, and the subsistence of a Diocese, *per se*, is totally impossible.

And this clearly demonstrates the Apostolic form of our system. The blessed Saviour chose not one man, but twelve, to be His special messengers. When it became necessary to send forth a decree of the Church, the whole twelve came together, and united in the solemn act of authority. And when they were about to depart, they placed the Bishops in their several districts, to act as their successors, under the same fraternal obligation of unity. The maxim of the famous Cyprian expressed this truth with admirable perspicuity: *Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tene-*

tur: THE EPISCOPATE IS ONE, OF WHICH A PART IS HELD BY EACH BISHOP IN THE WHOLE. And again: *Cum sit a Christo una Ecclesia per totum mundum in multa membra divisa, item Episcopatus unus, Episcoporum multorum concordi numerositate diffusus: ille post Dei traditionem, post connexam et ubique conjunctam Catholicæ Ecclesiæ unitatem,* &c.: AS ONE CHURCH IS DIVIDED BY CHRIST INTO MANY MEMBERS THROUGH THE WHOLE WORLD, EVEN SO THE EPISCOPATE IS ONE, DIFFUSED BY THE HARMONIOUS NUMBER OF MANY BISHOPS; AND THIS, ACCORDING TO THE TRADITION OF GOD, AND THE CONNECTED UNITY OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH EVERYWHERE JOINED TOGETHER, &c.

We desire to see this fundamental truth well understood, because it is the true basis of our strength, and the best warrant, under the divine blessing, for our prosperity. Its practical operation lies in the General Convention of our Church, and the collective action of our Bishops, against the rightful authority of which, a single Bishop or Diocese can never be permitted to rebel, without the sin of schism. It is the same principle which gives weight to the Canons of the Church, which were all enacted by the concurrent vote of many Bishops. On this foundation too, rests the superior reverence accorded to those General Councils, which were embraced by all the Bishops throughout the Church, before the ambition and corruption of Rome destroyed her primitive concord. And hence, we hesitate not to say, that the Episcopalian who fails to respect this law of unity, in his overweening devotion to the dictates of a single Diocese, is ignorant, as yet, of the real principles of the Apostolic system. For this alone is true Catholicity—union with the primitive Church when she was still undivided, and union now with each other. While, on the contrary, the effort to disturb the Church, by setting one against many, or a part against the whole, (unless the act of resistance be demanded by the paramount rights of Apostolic truth and order,) is always of the character of schism, and tends directly to confusion, strife, and anarchy.

The writers on Canon-Law reckon several periods. First, that which belonged to the three centuries next after the Apostles. Secondly, that which the Lutherans call the period of Episcopal powers, but what should rather be called the period of imperial supremacy. And, thirdly, the period of the papacy, or of Roman pontifical domination. To these, some have added the Monastic, which was a sort of *imperium in imperio,* having its own peculiar rules and orders, and exert-

ing a most deleterious influence throughout the whole Church, in favor of despotic rule and abject superstition.

The first of these periods has left no trace of Canonical legislation; although the Canons called Apostolic, and likewise the Apostolic Constitutions, were attributed generally, for many ages, to their nominal authors. Since the Reformation, however, these and many other ancient writings have been acknowledged to be spurious, even by the better part of the Roman theologians themselves. But yet we have many sufficient proofs in the works of Eusebius, Jerome, and others, that the Bishops met in Council, when occasion required. A brief notice of these earlier Councils, perhaps, may interest some of our readers. They are stated as follows, viz:

A Council of Rome under Victor, the Bishop, A. D. 103.

One at Lyons, under the Bishop Irenæus, A. D. 170.

One at Pontus, under the Bishop Palma, time uncertain.

One at Corinth, under the Bishop Bachyllus, time uncertain.

One at Ephesus, under the Bishop Polycrates, time uncertain.

Two at Carthage, under the Bishop Agrippinus, on the subject of rebaptizing heretics, referred to in the next century by Cyprian, time uncertain.

One at Alexandria, under Demetrius the Bishop, on the lawfulness of admitting Origen to the Priesthood, about A. D. 184.

One at Iconium, time uncertain.

One at Rome, under the Bishop Fabian, at which certain notions of Origen were condemned.

One at Lambesia, in Africa, under the Bishop of Carthage, Donatus, against Privatus the heretic.

One at Bostria, in Arabia, against Beryllus.

One at Ephesus, against the heretic Noëtus, about A. D. 245.

Two at Rome, under the Bishop Cornelius, A. D. 251 and 252.

Four at Carthage, under the Bishop Cyprian, on the rebaptizing of heretics, A. D. 252 and 253.

One at Rome, on the subject of Dionysius of Alexandria, who was accused of Sabellianism, but acquitted by the Council.

One in Africa, held about A. D. 262, in which Jerome says that the same Bishops, who, nine years before, under Cyprian, had approved the rebaptizing of heretics, now established the contrary doctrine, according to the ancient tradition.

Two at Antioch, against Paul of Samosata, by whose authority the heretical Bishop was deposed, about A. D. 268.

These twenty-three Councils all belong to the first period,

during which, at intervals, the Church was harassed by persecutions. In the second period, commencing with the fourth century, we have a full record of Canons passed by the Council of Elvira, A. D. 313, which were principally intended to regulate the administration of public penance by fixed rules, instead of leaving it as formerly, to the discretion of the Bishops.

The Council of Arles, which assembled A. D. 314, is important on account of its settling the doctrine of baptism, by expressly forbidding the repetition of that sacrament, if the first baptism had been performed in the name of the Trinity. It is further interesting to us, because it was attended by three Bishops, one presbyter, and one deacon, from the Church of Britain. Their names are worthy of special commemoration. Eborius, Bishop of the city of York; Restitutus, Bishop of the city of London; Adelfius, Bishop of the city of the colony of Londoners, (*de civitate Coloniæ Londinensium,*) Sacerdos, presbyter, and Arminius, deacon.

The Council of Ancyra met in the same year, and passed several penitential canons. It was followed by the Council of Neocesarea, in which it was forbidden to ordain any one who had been baptized on a sick bed, on the ground that it was a stain upon his character to have delayed this duty until he was menaced by the fear of death.

The next important Council was the first General Council of Nice, which assembled from all parts of Christendom, on the summons of the Emperor Constantine, to compose the serious troubles produced by the heresy of Arius, who denied the proper divinity of Christ, as the Only-begotten of the Father, and taught that the Son of God and the Holy Spirit were creatures, although worthy to be worshiped and invoked, by reason of their superior majesty above all others. Against this impious but subtle heresy, the Council framed what is known to us by the name of the Nicene Creed, with the exception of the latter part, which was added afterwards, by the General Council of Constantinople. But the Council of Nice is memorable, besides, for rejecting the proposition to enforce celibacy upon the clergy.

The Council of Gangra met A. D. 330, and is chiefly worthy of note for its 4th canon, condemning the doctrine of the Eustathians, who despised married presbyters, and refused to receive the sacraments from their hands.

The Council of Antioch assembled A. D. 341, and passed a number of Canons, of which the 10th Canon regulated the office of the Chorepiscopus or Suffragan Bishop; the 13th

Canon nullified the acts of a Bishop out of his proper jurisdiction; the 14th and 15th Canons were directed against appeals to Rome; and the 25th Canon enforced the duty of every Bishop to spend the revenues of the Church in hospitality and the relief of the poor, but utterly forbade his using them to enrich himself or his family. This last is a Canon which deserves to be written in letters of gold.

The Council of Sardis was holden in A. D. 347, and was chiefly remarkable for its 4th Canon, in which, *for the first time*, it was recommended that appeals from the judgments of the Bishops should be made to the Bishop of Rome.

The Council of Laodicea, in A. D. 372, passed many Canons, amongst which the following are perhaps the most interesting. The 1st Canon allows second marriages. The 10th Canon forbids marriages with heretics. The 19th Canon describes an interesting order of public service. The 44th Canon forbids women to enter the chancel, or touch the altar. The 52d Canon forbids weddings and birth-days to be celebrated in Lent. The 59th Canon prohibits the reading any but the Canonical books of Scripture in Church. And the 60th Canon sets forth the list of the Canonical books, which is precisely the same with our own, save only that it includes the apocryphal, but short and valuable book of Baruch.

The second General Council, which assembled at Constantinople, A. D. 381, was chiefly directed against the heresy of Macedonius, who had espoused the false doctrine of Arius on the Holy Spirit. To protect the Church from this pestiferous error, a new clause was added to the Nicene Creed, making the whole consist in the form of sound words which we use at the present day.

The 2d Council of Carthage, A. D. 392, confirmed a large and admirable collection of Canons, which they called the African Code, and regarded as of great authority.

The 6th Council of Carthage, which met A. D. 419, is interesting on account of the fraud which the legates of the Roman Bishop attempted to pass upon the Council, by pretending that the 4th Canon of the small Council of Sardis, recommending appeals to Rome, was a Canon of the General Council of Nice. But the Bishops were not so easily imposed upon, and sent for a true copy to the city of Constantinople, on the arrival of which, the dishonest trick was exposed.

The third General Council assembled at Ephesus, A. D. 431, to vindicate the truth against the new error of Nestorius. The title of Θεοτοκος, which the Latins called Deipara, *i. e.* the God-bearer, had been currently applied, for some time, to the

Virgin Mary; and Nestorius, in his zeal against this novelty, which he saw tending towards a dangerous exaltation of the mother of our Lord, unfortunately adopted the hypothesis that there were *two Persons* in Christ, the one human, of which Mary was the parent, the other divine, of which she was not the mother, but the creature. Whereas the real doctrine of the Scriptures, as the Church had always held, was that in Christ there were *two natures*, the divine and the human, united in ONE PERSON. Of course, Nestorius was condemned, and, so far as the direct point of doctrine was concerned, he was condemned justly. But the history of the Council displays a degree of violence, mingled with superstition, which affords a humiliating spectacle.

The fourth General Council, held at Chalcedon, A. D. 451, against the heresy of the Eutychians, was memorable for the 28th Canon, which gave an equal primacy to the Bishop of Constantinople, because it was "New Rome." This is an unanswerable proof that the members of that great Council rejected, *in toto*, the absurd figment of papal supremacy, which the Romanists rest upon the promise of our Lord to St. Peter. Here, likewise, we find that the Roman delegates attempted to impose upon their brethren a spurious addition to the 6th Canon of the General Council of Nice. The 9th Canon of this Council of Chalcedon expressly prohibited appeals to Rome. And it was further forbidden to add any new doctrine to the Creed as settled at the Councils of Nice and Constantinople. The Pope (Leo, surnamed the Great) approved all the acts of the Council, except the 28th Canon, which gave an equality of rank to the Bishop of Constantinople. And according to the Romish theory, we are told to believe that this Canon is, for that simple reason, totally without authority; while all the rest, by virtue of his sanction, is to be received as the infallible dictates of the Holy Spirit! And yet, even on their own ground, what becomes of the Creed of Pope Pius IV, which presumes to add no less than twelve new articles to the old Creeds of Nice and Constantinople, in express contradiction to the Council of Chalcedon?

Our limits have obliged us to pass over a vast number of Councils and Canons. But here we may close, substantially, the second period, for now the union between the Eastern and the Western Church was so far weakened that it never was cordially restored again. True, the 5th General Council, called the second of Constantinople, which was held against the Origenists and the three Chapters, in A. D. 553, and the 6th General Council, called the third of Constantinople, against the Mono-

thelites, in A. D. 681, are approved by the whole Catholic Church, as maintaining the doctrine of the true faith, according to the Scriptures. And yet, from the time of the General Council of Chalcedon, the adverse claims of Rome and Constantinople were incapable of reconciliation. The Greek Emperors demanded that the Bishop of Rome should consent to the decision of the Council, and the Pope insisted as obstinately on his assumed prerogative, until at length the Usurper Phocas, A. D. 606, formally invested him with the new title of Universal Bishop. The increasing spread of error, fomented by the zeal of the Monks, established, in A. D. 787, the worship of images. The Church, both East and West, sunk lower and lower, in the scale of superstition. The Pope cast off his allegiance to the Greek Emperor, and the two communions settled down into a formal separation, which continues to this day.

We come, therefore, in the next place, to consider the third, or papal period, in which the West, still claiming the right of supremacy over the East, went on towards the culminating point of pontifical ambition. And here we find that the Popes, in the hope of rising above the restraints of the old Canon-Law, introduced a new code of their own devising. In the commencement of the ninth century, a collection of Decretals appeared under the name of Isidore, to which Pope Nicolas appealed, with all imaginable confidence, although, as the most intelligent writers of Rome since the Reformation fully admit, the whole was a gross fraud, and withal, most clumsily executed. The same Pope quoted the decision of the Council of Sinuessa, to prove that he could not be judged by any earthly tribunal, which Council never existed at all, the entire story being an acknowledged lie, gotten up, in an age of increasing darkness, for the support of papal despotism. And many other Councils were also quoted by the pontiffs of that and the following centuries, which are now abandoned by the Romanists themselves, as pure impositions upon human credulity.

And yet, in the immense work of the Councils, edited by the Jesuit Hardouin, and of which the first volume is now lying open before us, these frauds are all printed in their assumed order of chronology, only in a smaller type, and with a very brief note in the margin, marking them as spurious, but in such minute letters, and placed so much out of the way of observation, that nothing is more easy for the reader than to pass the warning by without notice, and to take these lies for the genuine voice of Christian antiquity.

It may be proper to observe here, however, that this term, Decretal, is used as a general name for the papal decrees, comprehending the Rescripts, or answers made to petitions and inquiries, the Mandates, or official instructions to inferior functionaries, the Edicts, or papal ordinances, the Decrees, or the judicial decisions of the *Rota Romana*, which was the principal ecclesiastical court of the papacy, and along with these, the Canonical resolutions and determinations of the Councils, approved by the Pope. All this, so far as it was genuine, was of course entitled to a place in the Canon-Law, and those portions which belonged to the first five centuries would be regarded with much respect by every instructed Christian. But the false Decretals and Councils were a shameful forgery, put forth under the assumed authority of those very ages; and the names and dates were placed so early, as well for the purpose of producing a stronger effect, as in the hope, doubtless, of better evading detection.

We take the list of the spurious writings thus fraudulently gotten up, from the pages of Hardouin. First, we have five long Epistles, purporting to be written by Clement, the Bishop of Rome, of which two are addressed to James, the brother of our Lord, one to his brother Bishops, Presbyters, and other Clergy, &c., one to his disciples, and the nations around; and the last, to the Christians dwelling in Jerusalem, under James, his colleague in the Episcopate.

Next come three Epistles in the name of Anacletus, the Bishop of Rome, from the last of which, two short extracts will show the main doctrine of the whole: *Hæc vero sacrosancta Romana et apostolica ecclesia, non ab apostolis, sed ab ipso Domino salvatore nostro primatum obtinuit, et eminentiam potestatis super universas ecclesias ac totum Christiani populi gregem assecuta est, sicut ipse beato Petro apostolo dixit: Tu es Petrus*, &c.: BUT THIS MOST HOLY AND APOSTOLIC CHURCH OF ROME OBTAINED THE PRIMACY, NOT FROM THE APOSTLES, BUT FROM OUR LORD AND SAVIOUR HIMSELF, AND RECEIVED THE EMINENCE OF POWER OVER ALL CHURCHES AND OVER THE WHOLE FLOCK OF CHRIST, AS HE SAID TO THE BLESSED APOSTLE PETER: THOU ART PETER, &c. This, of course, justified the practical rule which follows: *Si quæ vero causæ difficiliores inter vos ortæ fuerint, ad hujus sanctæ sedis apicem quasi ad caput referte, ut apostolico terminentur judicio: quia sic Dominum velle, ab eoque ita constitutum esse, antedictis testimoniis declaratur. Hæc vero apostolica sedes cardo et caput, ut prætactum est, omnium ecclesiarum, a Domino, et non ab alio, est constituta:* IF, THEREFORE, THERE SHALL

HAVE ARISEN AMONGST YOU ANY OF THE MORE DIFFICULT CONTROVERSIES, HAVE RECOURSE TO THE MITRE OF THIS HOLY SEE AS TO THE HEAD, THAT SO THEY MAY BE DECIDED BY THE APOSTOLIC JUDGMENT; FOR IT IS DECLARED BY THE FOREMENTIONED TESTIMONIALS THAT SUCH IS THE WILL AND CONSTITUTION OF THE LORD, SINCE THIS APOSTOLIC SEE IS ESTABLISHED BY THE LORD, AND BY NONE OTHER, TO BE THE POLE AND THE HEAD OF ALL THE CHURCHES."

Then follow the epistolary decrees of Evaristus, of Alexander, of Sixtus, of Telesphorus, of Hyginus, of Pius, of Anicetus, of Soter, of Eleutherus, of Victor, of Zephyrinus, of Calixtus, of Urban, of Pontianus, of Anterus, of Fabian, of Cornelius, of Lucius, of Stephen, of Dionysius, of Felix, of Eutychianus, of Gaius; all Bishops of Rome, and all maintaining, with more or less force, according to these false documents, the dogma of her supremacy, and the duty of implicit submission. Here was a systematic forgery, intended to prove that no other doctrine was held from the time of Clement, who was the cotemporary of the Apostles, down to the end of the third century.

After this, we have the pretended records of the Council of Sinuessa, under Bishop Marcellinus, relating how he was accused before a council of three hundred Bishops, A. D. 303, of having offered incense to idols, in the Dioclesian persecution. But although he was clearly proved to be guilty, yet all these Bishops refused to condemn him, saying that it belonged to his prerogative to be judged only by himself. And therefore, he did condemn himself, and the decree of the Council accordingly was drawn up in these words: *Juste ore suo condemnatus est, et ore suo anathema suscipit maranatha, quoniam ore suo condemnatus est. Nemo enim unquam judicavit Pontificem, nec præsul sacerdotem suum; quoniam prima sedes non judicabitur a quoquam:* HE HAS BEEN JUSTLY CONDEMNED BY HIS OWN MOUTH, AND FROM HIS OWN MOUTH HE HAS ACCEPTED HIS SENTENCE OF ANATHEMA MARANATHA. FOR NO ONE EVER YET JUDGED THE PONTIFF, NOR A PRESIDENT HIS PRIEST: SINCE THE FIRST SEE WILL NOT BE JUDGED BY ANY.

Following this notable romance, we find the decrees of Pope Marcellus, of Eusebius, of Melchiades, and of Silvester. This last Pope is made to preside over a Council of two hundred and eighty-four Bishops, after the baptism of the Emperor Constantine, of whom, one hundred and thirty-nine from Italy, and the rest from Greece, are all expressed by name; and two sessions of the Council are set forth, with twenty canons. Of these, the third canon pronounces the same dogma

as the Council of Sinuessa, with a slight improvement. *Non damnabitur præsul nisi in septuaginta duobus: neque præsul summus a quoquam judicabitur: quoniam scriptum est: Non est discipulus super magistrum. Presbyter autem, nisi in quadraginta quatuor testimoniis, non damnabitur, &c.*: A BISHOP SHALL NOT BE JUDGED UNLESS WITH SEVENTY-TWO WITNESSES; NEITHER SHALL THE CHIEF BISHOP BE JUDGED BY ANY ONE; BECAUSE IT IS WRITTEN, THE DISCIPLE IS NOT ABOVE HIS MASTER. AND A PRESBYTER SHALL NOT BE CONDEMNED, UNLESS BY FORTY-FOUR TESTIMONIES, &c. But the 20th Canon gives a more rhetorical finish to this papal immunity: *Nemo enim judicabit primam sedem, quoniam omnes sedes a prima sede justitiam desiderant temperari. Neque ab Augusto, neque ab omni clero, neque a regibus, neque a populo judex judicabitur. Et subscripserunt ducenti octoginta quatuor episcopi, et quadraginta quinque presbyteri, et quinque diacones, et duo sequentes, et Augustus Constantinus, et mater ejus Helena—Actum in Trajanas thermas III Kalendas Junii, Domino Constantino Augusto tertio, et Prisco consule:* FOR NO ONE SHALL JUDGE THE FIRST SEE, BECAUSE ALL THE SEES MUST DESIRE THAT JUSTICE BE REGULATED BY THE FIRST SEE. NEITHER BY THE EMPEROR, NOR BY ALL THE CLERGY, NOR BY KINGS, NOR BY THE PEOPLE, SHALL THE JUDGE BE JUDGED. AND THE TWO HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-FOUR BISHOPS SUBSCRIBED, AND FORTY-FIVE PRESBYTERS, AND FIVE DEACONS AND TWO MORE AFTERWARDS, AND THE EMPEROR CONSTANTINE, AND HIS MOTHER HELENA. DONE IN THE BATHS OF TRAJAN, THE 30TH DAY OF MAY, IN THE THIRD YEAR OF OUR LORD CONSTANTINE, AND IN THE CONSULSHIP OF PRISCUS.

A very perfect specimen, beyond all controversy! The place, the time, the names of all the parties, set forth with the most minute precision, and yet it was all a gross fabrication, acknowledged and repudiated for nearly two centuries by every theologian of character in the Church of Rome itself, save a few of the determined partisans of papal infallibility.

Another of these confessed forgeries purports to be a Synodical epistle, addressed by the General Council of Nice to the same Pope Silvester, praying him to *confirm their decrees;* followed by a gracious answer from him, granting their application!

And we have yet another production of the same unscrupulous counterfeiter, in which there is a bold attempt to foist into the Canons of that great Council of Nice, a large addition of Romish and priestly maxims, by this contrivance. The famous Athanasius is made to address a letter to Pope

Marcus, the successor of Silvester, telling him that the Arians had assaulted the orthodox, and had burned up their copy of the Council of Nice, but carefully adding that he remembered (as he had been a member of the Council) that there were seventy chapters or Canons in the whole, passed by its action. In consequence of this calamity, he begs the Pope to send him a copy from his record, and the Pope graciously accords with the wishes of Athanasius, and transmits a certified copy of what purports to be the Canons of that Council, in which the supremacy of Rome and an abundance of other matters, unknown to the primitive Church, are interwoven with the twenty Canons really enacted by the Nicene Fathers.

Thus the testimony of the great Athanasius was fraudulently brought in to sustain the false addition to the Council of Nice, which the Church of Rome still keeps in her code of the Canons and constitutions, where we read, in the 10th Canon, which they attribute to that great Council, that *the Church of Rome shall always hold the primacy.**

But enough of this miserable work of gross deception, practised in the name of the God of truth, by the ambitious spirit of ecclesiastical domination. All these, and more of the same sort, are in the collection of the Spurious Decretals, which were produced in the name of Isidore, and openly adopted by Pope Nicolas, in the 9th century. And they continued to be upheld by Pope after Pope, until the Monk Gratian, A. D. 1151, introduced the most important portions of them into his famous work entitled The Decretal, or *Concordantia discordantium Canonum*, his object being to reconcile the most extravagant theory of the papal power with those authoritative Canons which seemed to contradict it. This elaborate work took precedence of all others in the Church of Rome. It became, at once, the favorite text-book of her canonists, and it still possesses extensive authority, notwithstanding the most learned Romanists in our age, and for a considerable time before it, with one voice acknowledge the errors which we have briefly described, and the Jesuit Hardouin himself is compelled to mark them, (only in a corner, and with the smallest possible type,) by a note of condemnation.

It may be asked, however, why we have dwelt so long upon those frauds, if the more enlightened Romanists have abandoned them? We reply, For several reasons, which we think the reader will find satisfactory.

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* See the appendix to Quesnel's works of Leo the Great.

1st. Because the abandonment of these forgeries has been chiefly confined to the Romanists of France, Germany, England, and the United States.* The Popes themselves have never given up the claims of their system, as it was established in the dark ages, and so different are the doctrines of their Church upon the whole question of papal authority, that in Europe the Transalpine and the Cisalpine parties are well understood to hold views which are totally incompatible.

2d. Because the apparent candor of the Roman divines who have denounced those false documents, has grown out of a political necessity, to protect the sovereigns of Europe from the dangerous exercise of the papal power, which had been applied for centuries to the sanction and even the duty of rebellion. The stand so boldly made by Louis XIV and the French Romanists against this papal assumption, as set forth by the famous Declaration of the Clergy, in A. D. 1682, followed by the masterly defense of that Declaration from the pen of the celebrated Bossuet, threatened for awhile to produce a perfect schism in their Church, and was only accommodated, after a considerable time, by private concessions on the part of the French Bishops, and by the policy of indulgence to so powerful a nation on the part of the Pope. We should be glad to give them credit for an exposure of these frauds, if they had done it through the force of truth. But we have no praise to offer for acknowledgments which the Popes themselves have never sanctioned, and which have only been extorted by motives of earthly expediency.

3d. In the third place, we think that Churchmen ought to know the full measure of the false and dishonest course so long adopted towards the Fathers and the Councils, by those who talk so strongly about the infallibility and unchangeableness of their Papal system. And we know of nothing more conclusive against that absurd and yet attractive claim, than the unquestionable fact, that a volume of shameful forgeries was gotten up by an unknown impostor, who called himself Isidore, under the patronage of Pope Nicolas I, in the ninth century, to maintain the Roman despotism; that this miserable set of fabrications falsified the names and acts of the Bishops of Rome, from Clement, who was St. Paul's disciple, to Julius in the fourth century, not to reckon Athanasius, and many others of the ancient Fathers; that false Councils were added, with all the details of persons, time, and place; and that the

* De Lyra, Bellarmin, and Baronius are exceptions, with a few others, to the general rule.

whole monstrous farrago of deception was *adopted into the Canon-Law of Rome, and enforced by all the Canonists of Europe*, until political necessity obliged the Romish divines in France to expose the fraud in defense of the "Gallican Liberties," A. D. 1682. Since that time, indeed, it has been abandoned by all except the Italians; but these still cling to it, as it has been systematized in the Decretal of Gratian, and have a party everywhere, especially amongst the Jesuits, devoted to its claims.

The art with which the Jesuit Hardouin has managed this matter, is perfectly characteristic of the system. He does not, like an honest man, place these spurious writings in an appendix or a supplement, with a fair notice of their unworthiness, but puts them down as if they were genuine, in the regular order of their assumed chronology, thus actually beginning his collection of the Councils with a set of forgeries, which were concocted in the ninth century. Neither does he ever say that they *are* forgeries, but in a corner of the margin, and in the smallest possible type; he saves his credit with his French brethren by such statements as the following: *Hæc et sequentes quatuor epistolæ, Baronio, Bellarmino, Petavio, aliisque eruditis Catholicis νοθείας multis nominibus suspectæ sunt.* THESE, AND THE FOLLOWING FOUR EPISTLES, ARE SUSPECTED AS SPURIOUS IN MANY OF THE NAMES, BY BARONIUS, BELLARMINE, PETAVIUS, AND OTHER LEARNED CATHOLICS. The majority of his warnings are even more briefly expressed than this, as, for instance: *Hæc eruditi viri adulterina censent:* LEARNED MEN THINK THESE ADULTERATED. *Non majoris fidei apud eruditos*: OF NO GREATER CREDIT AMONG THE LEARNED, &c.

We find, accordingly, that the Parliament of Paris regarded his great work with so much suspicion, as to forbid its publication until it had been thoroughly examined by divines less partial. Several censors were appointed, and the last report from the royal commissioners decided, *Que le pére Hardoüin auroit obmis dans sa collection plusieurs pièces importantes, qui auroient dû y estre inserées comme elles estoient dans les précedentes; qu'il en auroit inseré d'autres qui en auroient dû estre retranchées, aussi bien que des notes superflües ou peu exactes; qu'il a fait valoir avec trop d'affectation l'authorité de certains authéurs reconnus pour estre les plus attachez aux opinions Ultramontaines, et qu'il ne s'est pas expliqué en plusieurs endroits avec assez de precaution sur ce qui peut intéresser les maximes du Royaume et les Libertéz de l'Eglise Gallicane*, &c.: THAT FATHER HARDOUIN HAD OMITTED, IN HIS COLLECTION, MANY IMPORTANT PIECES, WHICH OUGHT TO HAVE

BEEN INSERTED AS THEY HAD BEEN IN THE FORMER COLLECTIONS; THAT HE HAD INSERTED OTHERS WHICH OUGHT TO HAVE BEEN REJECTED, AS WELL AS NOTES, WHICH WERE SUPERFLUOUS OR INACCURATE; THAT HE HAD CITED, WITH TOO MUCH CREDIT, THE AUTHORITY OF CERTAIN AUTHORS KNOWN TO BE THE MOST ATTACHED TO THE ULTRAMONTANE OPINIONS, AND THAT HE HAD NOT, IN MANY PLACES, EXPRESSED HIMSELF WITH SUFFICIENT CAUTION ON THAT WHICH CONCERNED THE MAXIMS OF THE KINGDOM, AND THE LIBERTIES OF THE GALLICAN CHURCH, &c. But the safeguard recommended by this royal committee was plainly dictated by their own sympathies with Hardouin. For after they had admitted that the work demanded reformation, they proceed to say: *Que le moyen qui leur a paru le plus convenable à cet effet estoit de faire composer et imprimer incessamment un volume de Supplément à ladite Collection des Conciles—Que cependant ils estiment que sans avoir égard aux Arrests du Parlement de Paris, il doit estre permis au Directeur de l'Imprimerie Royale, de vendre et débiter ladite nouvelle Collection des Conciles, sans qu'il soit tenu d'y insérer à la teste de chacum des douze volumes, ni lesdits Arrests ni l'Advis des Censeurs authorisé par celuy du 7, Septembre*, 1722, *à la charge par luy de travailler sans relasche à l'Edition dudit volume de Supplément*, &c.: THAT THE PLAN WHICH SEEMED TO THEM THE MOST SUITABLE TO THAT EFFECT, WAS TO HAVE COMPOSED AND PRINTED IMMEDIATELY A SUPPLEMENTARY VOLUME TO THE SAID COLLECTION OF THE COUNCILS—THAT THEY THOUGHT, HOWEVER, THAT WITHOUT HAVING REGARD TO THE ARRESTS OF THE PARLIAMENT OF PARIS, THE DIRECTOR OF THE ROYAL PRESS SHOULD BE PERMITTED TO SELL AND DISPOSE OF THE SAID NEW COLLECTION OF THE COUNCILS, WITHOUT BEING OBLIGED TO INSERT AT THE HEAD OF EACH OF THE TWELVE VOLUMES, EITHER THE SAID ARRESTS, OR THE ADVICE OF THE CENSORS AUTHORIZED BY THE SESSION OF 7TH SEPTEMBER, 1722, BUT UNDER THE OBLIGATION OF HIS LABORING WITHOUT DELAY AT THE EDITION OF THE SAID SUPPLEMENTARY VOLUME, &c. This notable counsel was adopted by the Royal authority, the work was suffered to be published with all its faults, and we have heard no more of the *supplementary volume* which was to have corrected it.

We have made these extracts from the Arrest of the Council of State, which stands in the prefatory pages of the first volume, preserving the orthography of the original, because it is an interesting specimen of Jesuitical finesse, worthy of commemoration, and may perhaps guard some of our readers against the manifold and dishonest tricks to which they may be exposed, in the gross perversions of the Fathers and Coun-

cils systematically prepared by the great mass of Romish writers. The spirit of the false decretals is still the governing spirit of Romanism. The acknowledgment of that nefarious imposture was produced, as we have said, by the *political necessity* which forced the European governments to protect themselves against the arrogant pretensions of the Pope, who had claimed the right, for centuries, to depose princes, and give their kingdoms away at his good pleasure. But for this, we doubt whether they would ever have confessed the abominable fraud which had been admitted into their Canon-Law for six hundred years together. There, however, they have stopped the work of expurgation. And there it will remain, until they learn that the cause of truth must be placed on far higher grounds than the interests of policy.

The famous *Decretum* of Gratian now forms the first part of the Roman *Corpus Juris Canonici.* After it was published, new decrees and Councils took place from time to time; and Pope Gregory IX ordered the learned Raymond of Pennaforte, a Dominican Monk, to arrange them in five volumes, under the title of *Decretales Gregorii Noni.* Another addition was subsequently made by the authority of Pope Boniface VIII, with the title of the Sixth Book of Decretals, A. D. 1298. In the year 1313, Clement V published a collection of his decrees, and these also are a part of the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, the whole having the force of law, being revised under the pontificate, and sanctioned by a bull of Gregory XIII, A. D. 1580.

The authority of this code prevails to a great extent, even in those nations of Europe where the Church of Rome has no establishment. Thus, throughout Protestant Germany, the Courts apply it still, excepting only those parts which clash with Protestant principles. In England, too, it continues to govern the ecclesiastical tribunals in a modified form. By the Statute of 25, Henry VIII, c. 19, it was provided, that until the Canon-Law should be revised by the king and a Commission of Divines and Laymen, the existing system should continue to be in force, so far as it was not repugnant to the laws of the realm and the royal prerogative. This Statute was reënacted in the following reign of Edward VI. The revision took place, and the result was published under the title of *Reformatio Legum ecclesiasticarum.* The principal author of it was Archbishop Cranmer, who had the reputation of one of the most learned Canonists in Europe; and it is full of interesting and valuable matter, although, in its forms of proceeding, it is unsuited to our day. The lamented death

of the king, however, defeated the whole design at that time. On the accession of Queen Elizabeth, the Statute of Henry VIII was revived in her favor, and extended to her heirs and successors, by the Stat. of 1 El. c. 1, § 10. But nothing was done in the matter, and thus the old Canon-Law remained in force, so far as it had been received into usage, and was not in conflict with the other laws of the kingdom.

A very important portion, however, of that Canon-Law in England was derived from the *legative Constitutions*, which were established in the times of Otho, legate of Pope Gregory IX, A. D. 1230, and of Othobon, legate to Pope Clement IV, A. D. 1268, having been first adopted in the national Synods or Councils of the Church, and afterwards made the subject of a learned commentary by John de Athon. And to these must be added the *Provincial Constitutions* made in Convocation, during the times of the Archbishops of Canterbury, from Stephen Langton to Henry Chichely, which, although enacted only for the province of Canterbury, were also adopted by the Province of York, A. D. 1468. They were collected and published with the observations of William Linwood, who was afterwards the Bishop of St. David's in the reign of the fifth Henry, and, in the main, presented no discrepancy with the body of European Canon-Law. But it must be remembered, that over all the Courts in England which are strictly ecclesiastical, the Superior Courts of law hold a certain supervision, and will interfere by prohibition, if they are shown to have exceeded their proper authority. And an appeal may be taken from the decision of any ecclesiastical Judge, which is determined, in the last resort, by the king or queen in Council.

Of course it must be obvious, that the old Canon-Law of papal Europe cannot bind any country *proprio vigore*, or by its own inherent authority, except the territory which is under the government of the Pope. Everywhere else, it governs only so far as it has been adopted by usage, and thus become engrafted, as it were, upon the Common Law. But yet it is a system which contains so much of the civil law, and embraces so large a circle of experience accumulated by the wisdom of centuries, that it must be acknowledged, to a greater or a less extent, as pervading the principles of ecclesiastical administration throughout the civilized world. And, therefore, there are cases in which it may be consulted with advantage by ourselves. Nor should we feel a repugnance towards this process, whenever occasions of doubt or difficulty arise, as if we were resigning our judgment to the dictates of the papacy. For, in truth, the

Popes are particularly interested in but a small portion of the system. The greater part is the common property of Christendom, derived from pure sources, and applicable universally. And therefore it is used, as we have said, in Protestant Germany, and forms a main element of the Canon-Law of Protestant England, and thus, indirectly, has descended to ourselves.

To be just in this matter, it is only necessary to discriminate between the original gift and the channel of transmission—between the water, and the vessel in which it has been conveyed—between the golden ore, and the earth with which it may be mingled. The Bible is the gift of God, and we do not turn away from it because we have received it through the hands of Rome. The ancient Creeds and Liturgies are the stream from the clear fountain of primitive Christianity, and we do not reject them because they have been preserved in a misshapen vessel. The writings of the Fathers are the gold of the ancient Church, and we do not prize them the less because they have reached us so sadly mingled with spurious intermixtures. And, in like manner, precisely, we have the old rules and maxims of ecclesiastical law, handed down to us by the same agency, which has mixed them up with falsehood and delusion; and yet we may not, for that reason, refuse to appropriate them. Whether it be in questions of doctrine or worship or discipline—whether it be in the substance or the form of Canon-Law—whether it be in the fundamental maxims of order and justice, or in the outward details of their practical administration,—our duty and our privilege is the same, namely, in the words of the Apostle, "To prove all things, and hold fast that which is good." Far be it from us to think that all is Romanism which we find in the Church of Rome. The very danger of her errors consists in the fact that she has retained so much that is true; and it is for us to separate the discordant elements, which never should have been united, and preserve the truth while we reject the error.

The deep satisfaction with which we have read the work of Mr. Hoffman, has arisen, in great measure, from the fidelity displayed, throughout, to this great principle, which was, indeed, the very maxim of our admirable reformers. He refuses, most justly, to regard our American Church as an organization of inventive novelty, and seeks, in every point of importance, to *derive* our system, through our beloved Mother-Church, from the undefiled root of primitive truth and order. Hence, whatever be the question, he searches for *authority*, and argues his positions, at once, with the clear sagacity of an ac-

complished jurist, and the high devotion of a consistent Churchman. We hail the book as a most timely and welcome offering, affording to all our Bishops, Clergy, and Laity, the means of learning, what it is so important to understand, whenever we are called to act as members of our Conventions, or to discharge the necessary, though painful office of a Court, on an ecclesiastical trial. And we earnestly hope that he will be able to complete his design, so as to cover the whole field of our wants in this department, including forms of proceeding, and rules of evidence; so that, in the future history of our Church, we shall have no ground whatever either of palliation for neglect, or apology for ignorance.

It has been no part of our intention, to analyze the work of Mr. Hoffman, nor to present any extracts from its pages. A treatise on Canon-Law is not, like a volume of travels or poetry, to be estimated in specimens culled here and there by the reviewer. Neither do we desire, in reference to such a book, to say aught which might induce our readers to think themselves sufficiently acquainted with its scope and character, and thus qualified to talk about it, without a full and fair examination. On the contrary, we wish every intelligent Churchman to obtain the work and read it for himself; being perfectly persuaded that he will rise up from its perusal with a full conviction of its great importance, its thorough research, and its sound and conservative principles. We have said, in the commencement, that it is not, with us, a matter of surprise to find how indifferent the clergy have hitherto been, for the most part, on the subject of Canon-Law; and we have assigned our reasons for excusing them. But now, this branch of study presents itself under a very different aspect. The rapid growth of the Church, the constant recurrence of new and grave questions, and the publication of a work accessible to all, written in a clear and attractive style, and abounding in the appropriate information,—all these facts demand of us a far higher and more stringent rule for our future responsibility. From this time forth, we shall hope to see Mr. Hoffman's volume adopted as a Text-book for our candidates in the Theological Seminaries; and we trust that the leading members of all our Conventions will consider it a *Vade mecum*, whenever they are called on to take part in the very serious task of ecclesiastical legislation. Thus only can it be used as it deserves, and accomplish the wishes of its author in the service of that Church, which is not only the favored repository of all saving truth, but the faithful maintainer of law and order.

Art. IV.—THE PURITAN COMMONWEALTH AND THE ABORIGINES.

We now resume our research into the Puritan wars with the Indians, which other engagements obliged us to discontinue in a former number. It is a sad, but we hope it may not prove an unprofitable labor. We do not enter into inquiries of this nature from personal motives. Those terrible enemies of the red-men, who saw beaming in the beautiful skies of New England, not the radiant cross of Catholic Christianity, but signs and wonders polluting the deep blue vault of heaven with bloody and fiery mysteries, are too far removed from our generation to be affected by our praise or censure. Moreover, we owe to them many blessings, and the blood of their stout hearts, after the lapse of two centuries, courses through the veins of a mighty people. We acknowledge our indebtedness, and most gladly do we now endeavor, in some measure, to lighten the obligation, by doing our humble part in dispelling the poisonous mists which enveloped their better natures, and which still lurk in ragged patches over the empire they founded.

The death of Miantonimo plunged his people in despair. They had paid Uncas "a great ransom" for his life,* and had also given "in particular" to the Commissioners "about forty pounds."† Faithful to the last, in trusting to the honor of their allies, they attributed the death of their chief to Uncas alone, and not to the Commissioners of the United Colonies, who had secretly corrupted him. An outbreak between the Narragansetts and the Mohegans consequently became imminent; and Pesecus, the young brother and successor of the murdered sachem, sent a rich present of furs and wampum to the Governor of Massachusetts, requesting neutrality in the expiatory war he felt bound to wage against Uncas. The petition was both just and proper, and had it been presented to clean hands and pure hearts, would have met with applause. We have only to suppose the unhappy Miantonimo the head of a civilized State, to understand what was due to his offended and aggrieved nation. Alas, for the credulity of the poor Indians, ever trusting and ever betrayed!

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* Gorton's Simplicitie's Defence, &c., p. 83. 2 Haz. pp. 25, 39.
† 2 Haz. p. 47.

The present of Pesecus was coldly received, and his petition was answered by a request to preserve peace. He again sent presents to the Puritan Magistrate, urging with many arguments that his reasonable petition might be granted. He was sternly refused, and told that "*if the Narragansetts made war upon Uncas, the English would all fall upon them.*" Afflicted with violent anger, he and his chiefs declared that they would not hear of peace until they had the head of Uncas; and no longer trusting to their treaty with the Puritan Commonwealth, which they now saw in its true light, they took the advice of their Rhode Island friends, and put themselves under the protection of the King of England, (April, 1644.)* They now pleaded the common relation of subjects to their task-masters, and declared that if any differences occurred between them and the English, they should be submitted for adjustment to the throne. The policy was ingenious, but unwise. Charles himself had been wronged by these same stern Puritans, in his happier days, and was now powerless over them; and the Narragansett chiefs were told that those who counseled them to take this step were "evil men," unworthy of confidence. But they still avowed their determination to avenge the death of Miantonimo, and "marveled that the English should be against it." When it was discovered that their purpose was not to be shaken, active measures were taken to reduce them to submission; and, regarding their contempt of her wishes as "sufficient to justify a war," Massachusetts again raised her blood-red standard, and invited the coöperation of the other colonies. Men were impressed for this expedition, for none offered to volunteer;† and the commanders were directed "*not only to aid the Mohegans, but to offend the Narragansetts.*" At the same time, orders were specially given, that all captives taken in the campaign, should be "*improved for the advantage of the Colonies, whether men, women, or children.*"‡ History can panegyrize few instances of nobler faith than that of these untutored Indians, who, up to this time, do not appear to have suspected their allies of having any part in the death of their chief. Proverbial for fidelity themselves, they could not understand treachery in others. They were now undeceived, by the arrival of messengers from the Commissioners, and the formidable preparations of Massachusetts brought vividly to

* See their deed of submission, in Gorton's "Simplicitie's Defence."
† 1 Hutch., p. 131.
‡ 2 Haz., pp. 31, 34.

their remembrance the terrible fate of the Pequods. Sobered by reflection, intimidated by menace, and enervated by terror, they finally signified their willingness to give up the chastisement of Uncas, and to send a deputation to Boston. The messengers, softened by these marks of humiliation, "departed from their instructions," and, retaining the presents they had been sent to return, dispatched word to the commanders of the English forces to stay the sword, for there was "prospect of peace." Will it be believed, that this humane act "offended the Commissioners?" Can it be credited that the expectations and hopes of these pious Puritans reached beyond conquest to extermination?*

Arrived at Boston, the Narragansett chiefs were accused of *making war upon the ally of Massachusetts, and of putting her to the expense of raising forces for defence.* You have been the cause of all this outlay, it was said, and it is therefore just that you should bear the charges. But we do not wish to be harsh, and, "to show our moderation," we shall only require you *to pay two thousand fathoms of wampum, to restore all the goods you have taken from Uncas, to keep perpetual peace with the English and their allies, and as security for the faithful performance of these engagements, to leave with us some of your children as hostages.*† Such was the moderation of these stern taskmasters! The tribute in wampum alone amounted to £566, nearly as much as the whole tax levied that year in the Puritan Commonwealth, by the General Court;‡ but a harder requisition than this, was the one which required them to remunerate Uncas, who had so treacherously murdered their Sachem. Nevertheless, they had no choice. The Narragansett chiefs signed the treaty, delivered their children as hostages, and silently tracked their way back to homes which they felt could not long be theirs. No "volleys of shot," like those which celebrated the departure of Miantonimo, a few years before, dismissed them on their way, and ere they quitted the limits of the English settlements, the breeze might have borne down to their ears the sound of the Christian drums, beating thanksgiving to God, for the substantial tokens of their humiliation. The day of fasting which had been appointed to usher in another Puritan butchery, was changed into a thanksgiving to commemorate another Puritan robbery.§

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* 1 Hutch., p. 132. † 2 Haz., p. 40.

‡ A fathom of wampum was valued at five shillings eight pence sterling. 1 Hutch., p. 113, n. Two thousand fathoms were therefore worth £566 13*s.* 4*d.*

§ Hutchinson.

The future career of the Narragansetts was one of sorrow and disaster. Unable to bear with fortitude the loss of their children, they plotted for their rescue, but with little method and no courage.* The fingers of their squaws were not nimble enough to weave two miles of wampum in time to satisfy Puritan rapacity, and being "sharply rebuked" by the commissioners for their remissness, they sold all their kettles, and in "grief of spirit" humbly laid the price at the feet of their oppressors.† They were the unhappy objects of a perpetual and suspicious espionage. If they sent a present to a friendly tribe, it was construed into a bribe for a coalition. If their young warriors took the war-path to chastise an insult or an injury, the notes of hostile preparation sounded in their ears from the banks of the Merrimac to the shores of Long Island Sound. Driven to despair, they once more appealed to the English crown. The restoration of Charles the Second, beheld the agents of this broken-hearted tribe, mingled with the motley crowd at the foot of the throne, and begging, in common with Quakers, Baptists, Familists, and others for protection against the oppressions of Puritanism. The appeal was not in vain, and the Narragansetts were expressly mentioned in the instructions of the Royal commissioners who were shortly after sent over, as objects for special inquiry. This commission of inquiry, as will be shown in another place, proved entirely abortive, and ere the English monarch could again turn his attention to their affairs, the people of Miantonimo had ceased to exist. They filled up the measure of their enormities when they exhibited before their common sovereign, the long catalogue of oppressions which stained the Puritan Commonwealth.

In that patriotic struggle of the Aborigines, which commenced in 1675, Massachusetts felt that she had forfeited all claim to the regard of the Narragansetts, and accordingly altered her policy. She no longer sent ambassadors to them clothed in peaceful garb, and breathing intoxicating promises, but all her forces, in martial array, were poured, without notice or provocation, into their country (July.) By "this wise piece of conduct," a fresh treaty was extorted from them, wherein it was stipulated that they should assist in destroying King Philip, should make satisfaction for all injuries done by them at any time to the English, should confirm all their sales of land to the latter, should make use of their warriors as a guard about their country for the protection of the white set-

* 1 Hutchinson, p. 133, n. † 2 Sav., Winth. p. 263.

tlements, and should deliver hostages for the performance of these engagements. As a consideration for the compact, they were promised forty trucking coats for capturing King Philip alive, and twenty for taking his head; and for all captives that they should take alive, they were promised two coats, and for every scalp obtained, one coat. The bounty for living souls, who could be sold as slaves, and converted into money, was double that which was offered for the proofs that their misery had terminated.

But while the Puritan Commonwealth was endeavoring to gratify the cupidity of its citizens, at the same time that it provided for their safety, allowance was not made for that hatred of oppression, which is common to all classes of creatures. That great lukewarmness should have been exhibited by the Narragansetts in observing a treaty, extorted at the point of the bayonet, was no more than natural, and although they did not openly violate its terms, their hearts were with King Philip, and they gladly sheltered his women and children, while he was fighting for the disenthrallment of his race. This humane act displeased the Puritan Commonwealth, who endeavored in vain to prevent it. The Commissioners of the United Colonies soon became thoroughly alarmed at the signs of a general Aboriginal movement; and fearful that the chiefs of the Narragansetts would join Philip, with their two thousand warriors, they "*resolved to regard them as enemies,*" *and to blot out the tribe from existence,* although the ink, with which they had ratified a treaty of peace, was scarcely dry. In this resolution, they were sustained by public sentiment, which was wrought to the highest pitch of zeal by the prophecies of the Elders.* The plan, suddenly formed, was as suddenly put in execution. A thousand troops, gathered from all parts of the United Colonies, were mustered in the dead of winter, and departed by forced marches for the Narragansett country. Their enthusiasm was worthy of a better cause. Trained in the art of Indian war almost from infantine years, they encountered the severest obstacles without flinching. For an early colony law *required all boys, between ten and sixteen years of age, to be taught the art of war, and instructed in the use of the musket, pike, and bow and arrow, by some one of the veteran officers of the Pequod war.*† Thus these men, educated soldiers, as well as Puritans, from the cradle, with special reference to Indian fighting, murmured not at hardships which might have appalled the stoutest hearts, but keeping

* Mather's Indian Troubles, p. 60. † Colony Law, 1645.

steadily in view the objects for which they were sent, and guided by a renegade Indian, they invaded the lands of the unhappy Narragansetts, blasting them with fire and sword. The warriors of Canonchet retreated before them, making no opposition, until exasperated by repeated injuries. Their very entreaties for peace were met with derision. Finally, the whole tribe was driven into a strong hold, situated on a hill, in the midst of a swamp. This feeble post, fortified by rude palisades and bushes, was carried by assault, in the space of two or three hours. Nine hundred warriors perished in the struggle, and when the fortress was fired by its conquerors, *the number of old men, women, and children, that were burned alive, could never be ascertained.**

In this fortress, the Narragansetts had collected their stores and their treasures. It was their granary, as well as their fort, and its loss proved fatal to the tribe. The horrors of famine now pursued Canonchet, and those of his warriors who escaped. Their lives were indeed miserable enough, without homes, without food, without hope of anything but revenge. Even this was denied them. The Puritan troops were everywhere upon their tracks, hunting them down with equal sagacity and hardiness; and early in the spring of 1676, Canonchet, who, in a "romantic expedition," ventured his life to obtain food for his surviving followers, found himself a prisoner in the hands of his enemies. He was offered his life, on condition that he would sacrifice the independence of his shattered tribe, and place his people at the disposal of his captors; he refused the terms with indignation. He was then taunted with his boast that he would not deliver up to the English "even the paring of a Wampanoag's nail;" but he turned coldly away, and desired to hear no more. Heroic to the last, he received sentence of death with tranquil grandeur, only replying, "I LIKE IT WELL THAT I SHALL DIE BEFORE MY HEART GROWS SOFT, OR THAT I SHALL HAVE SAID ANYTHING UNWORTHY OF MYSELF." The "splendid dignity" of such a fall, wrung from Puritan writers involuntary admiration; and a historian of the times declared that by a "Pythagorian metempsychosis, some old Roman ghost had possessed his body, like an Attilius Regulus."† In another place, this pious annalist bestows upon the young Narragansett chief the epithet of "*damned wretch!*"‡

With Canonchet fell the integrity of his nation; but his

* Hubbard's Indian Wars. Mather. Hutchinson.
† Updike's History of Narragansett Church. Hubbard.
‡ Hubbard's Indian Wars.

grandeur of character will forever render the name of Narragansett illustrious. His attempt to rally his broken warriors after "the great swamp fight," was worthy of a mind which, in the most terrible reverses, maintained its fortitude. He fell none too soon. Life would have been torture, since he would have been a king without subjects, a proprietor without lands, a hero without glory, and a man without rights. The glory of his death may well rank this great-hearted pagan chief with the royal martyrs of Christendom. He was the last Sachem of the Narragansetts. Of the fate of the survivors of his shattered tribe, little is known. Some were captured and enslaved; some amalgamated with other tribes; and some perished in the noble ranks of King Philip. Their territory, already reduced in size to the present county of Washington, in Rhode Island, by the sale of Providence to Roger Williams in 1636, of Rhode Island to Coddington in 1638, and of Shawomet to Gorton in 1643, was soon occupied by the thrifty English, although by a righteous retribution, it long continued a bone of contention between the colonies; and the soil which Miantonimo had proudly occupied with the pomp of his barbarous court, a few years later was famous throughout New England, for the products of the dairy and loom. But what then was the condition of its former owners? In a sermon preached before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in 1731, Dean Berkeley remarked, that *all the Indians in Narragansett were, for the most part, the servants of the English, who have contributed more to destroy their bodies by the use of strong liquors, than by any means to improve their minds or save their souls.* The manes of Sassacus were indeed appeased; and let it ever be remembered that this, the gentlest of the New England races, once taunted by the Pequods as a nation of women, though they submissively bowed before the wondrous power of civilization, yet had a sufficiency of moral courage to resist the teachings of Puritanism. The Christianity of the Puritan Commonwealth they resolutely resisted to the last.

Allusion has already been made to Philip, Sachem of the Wampanoags, who, perhaps, stands out in bold relief from all the other native chiefs. It was not in power that he excelled Canonchet, for the warriors of his own tribe were not nearly so numerous as those of the Narragansett chief; it was not in their more warlike character, that he had the advantage of Sassacus, for the Pequods were the terror of all the Indians in their vicinity. His superiority is to be attributed alone to his stern resolution. His bold and active character soon made

him an object of dislike to his neighbors of Plymouth, and he was charged with ambition in aspiring to the sovereignty of a country which was his heritage; with perfidy, for breaking promises which were extorted from him in duress; with impiety, for contemptuously declining to receive the gospel at the hands of the despoilers of his people. But Philip was neither ambitious, perfidious, nor wicked. He had the good sense to distinguish between fair, *bona fide* contracts, and those made by means of fraud and deception, and he, without hesitation, repudiated the latter as an oppression of the weak by the strong.

The injuries inflicted by the Plymouth colony upon Massasoit and his people, are not attributable to Massachusetts, and it is beyond our purpose to detail the various treaties of submission and tribute, which, for a long series of years, were juggled by the disciples of Robinson from the Sachems of Pokanoket. Though "even like lions" to the rest of their neighbors, yet to the starving, feeble band of Independents, who intruded upon their shores, the Wampanoags had been "*like lambs, so kind, so submissive and trusty, as a man may truly say many Christians are not so kind or so sincere.*"* But how were they requited? Suffice it that Massasoit, though called an "enemy to Christianity," continued a firm friend of the Plymouth settlers until his death; that his eldest son and successor, Wamsutta, renewed the league of amity which existed between his father and Plymouth, and, as if to seal the friendly compact, accepted from the governor of that colony the name of Alexander, which he retained during his brief career; that a few years after, Alexander died of a broken heart, on account of his ignominious treatment by that colony, which, without cause, suspected his fidelity;† that his brother, Metacom, who also had accepted the name of Philip, pardoning this outrage, in 1662 ratified a compact, which was fast ruining the wild glory of his race; and that these leagues, or treaties, were entirely of an *ex parte* nature, enuring favorably to the English, and being of no manner of benefit to the Indians. For in what position did Philip find his people, when called upon to direct their affairs? Their lands, formerly extending from the easterly boundary of the Narragansetts to the westerly limits of what is now the county of Plymouth, in Massachusetts, and comprehending generally the present

* See 1 Hazard, p. 148.

† When seized and threatened with instant death, if he did not accompany his captors to Plymouth, he requested that he might "go like a Prince, with his attendants and followers." Neal. Hubbard.

county of Bristol, were, for the most part, in the hands of the English, and the native proprietors were confined to a few tongues of land, jutting out into the sea, the chief of which is now known as Bristol, in Rhode Island. These necks of land were alone of all their possessions, rendered by the Plymouth laws inalienable by the Indians, partly, it was said, *because they were "more suitable and convenient" for them; and partly because the English were of a "covetous disposition," and the natives, when in need, were "easily prevailed upon to part with their lands."** Here then Philip found his people huddled together, by the insidious policy of the Plymouth colony, surrounded on three sides by the ocean, and on the fourth, hemmed in by the ever advancing tide of civilization. And this was all that forty years of friendship with "the Pilgrims," had benefited the Wampanoags.

Nevertheless, during eight years, Philip continued in friendly correspondence with the Plymouth colony. He smothered all bitter retrospections, and pursuing the peaceful occupations of a hunter and fisherman, left wide open the door of his wigwam. Although, from his peculiar position, every movement was watched and every action suspected; although his people could neither grind their hatchets, nor repair the wretched guns sold them by the English, that the prying eye and pricking conscience of some neighboring marauder did not mark and self-apply the act; although, in one year, (1671,) two separate submissions were obtained from him, in which he was made to acknowledge and promise whatever his oppressors chose to insert therein; there was nothing that showed any deliberate plan on his part, to make war upon Plymouth. He signed, if not with indifference, at least without remonstrance, the papers presented him by the English, hardly caring to know their contents; and even on one occasion consented to surrender seventy muskets, his richest treasures, to satisfy their groundless suspicions. Once, only, the real light of his soul shone out with irresistible strength, when going voluntarily to Boston, he declared, in answer to the perpetual accusations of the Plymouth colony, that though stripped of nearly all his territory, he was still an independent prince. "*I am no subject of the Governor of Plymouth,*" said he; "*my predecessors and myself have made amicable agreements with the English, but not for subjection.*" Praying Indians, he contemptuously added, are your subjects; "you appoint for them officers and magistrates." From this

* Winslow, in Hubbard's Indian Wars. Plym. Col. Laws.

time, Philip began to arouse to a full sense of the lost condition of the red-men. He beheld that wherever the English took root, they spread like a vine over the country, destroying, as noxious weeds, the unhappy Aborigines. He beheld the Puritan colonies joined by a unity of interests against the Indians; a unity, whose terrible power for destruction had more than once been felt by the Natives. And he beheld, further, such a league among these colonies, that though Massachusetts acknowledged the absolute independence of Philip, and protested against the injustice of Plymouth, she yet united with that colony to force upon him a degrading servitude. Was Philip wrong, if, profiting by the hint, he endeavored to procure the same union among his countrymen?

It is impossible to ascertain whether these brooding fancies of Philip ever matured into any shape or consistency. Sausamon, a Praying Indian, who fled, for "some misdemeanor," to Philip, lived with him as a friend and confidant from 1662 to 1674, and when enticed back to Natick, revealed that the Indians were "plotting." The chief evidence of the fact rests upon the statement of this poor wretch. Doubtless he had often heard the subject discussed by the Wampanoags, and the probabilities of success nicely weighed. It is impossible that the scheme could have progressed much farther. At all events, the irreparable mischief produced by the betrayal of the trust reposed in him, was summarily punished by Philip, who ordered one or two of his men to put Sausamon to death. The warriors engaged in this transaction were soon after captured by the Plymouth colonists, and tried, condemned, and punished, under their laws, as felons. This gross outrage drove the iron into the soul of the Sachem. No pains were taken by him to explain the accusations of Sausamon, in expectation of which, Plymouth anxiously waited; but gathering his warriors about him, he lighted on Mount Hope the council fire of the first Indian coalition in New England, half a century after the landing of the Pilgrims.

But Philip hardly realized the terrible superiority of civilized warfare, or his own unreadiness for the approaching struggle. The Indians had no resources beyond their sinewy arms, no stores but the scanty crop of corn for a winter's consumption, no pleasant homes to cheer them after the hardships of a campaign. Many of the natives, too, whose assistance Philip implored, "were in a kind of maze, not knowing well what to do," while the Puritan colonies were united by a common league, and stimulated by a common hope. The

very position of the Wampanoag chief, on one of the necks of land to which his tribe was confined by the crafty policy of Plymouth, was, at the outset of hostilities, nearly fatal to his cause. The hanging of Sausamon's executioners was resented by killing cattle, and pillaging houses at Swansey, a small hamlet on the confines of the English settlements, and this was, in turn, retaliated by the explosion of fire-arms, and the shedding of Indian blood. In this way the war opened; and though Philip is reported to have shed tears on learning that blood had been spilt,* it is consistent with his character to suppose, that his grief was owing to that fatal precipitancy of action, which ruined his plans before they were complete. At the latter part of June, it became evident that the full tide of savage passion, pent up as it had been for years, was beginning to flow with irresistible force; and that the security of property and life in the English colonies, depended upon united and vigorous action; and in July, the forces of Plymouth and Massachusetts arrived suddenly at Pocasset, anxious by one blow to end the war. Philip, unprepared for such celerity, was taken by surprise, and hastily retreated into a swamp on the neck, the only species of stronghold known to Indian warfare; and such was the distress to which he was reduced, that, had the English been at this time ably commanded, their settlements would have escaped the horrors of the ensuing year.† But the timidity natural to raw militia, enured to the advantage of Philip, so unpleasantly "brought into a pound." It was "ill fighting with a wild beast in his own den," they thought; and instead of scouring the narrow tongue of land in which the chief with his bravest warriors and their families sought refuge, they determined to starve them out. This plan saved the Indians. While the English were guarding the head of the neck, and singing quaint versions of the psalms in anticipation of victory, Philip, one dark night in the latter part of July, accompanied by his men, waded or swam over an arm of the sea which separated him from the main land, and escaped into the woods. From this time commenced a new era in the lives of the red-men. The Wampanoag chief retired rapidly towards the West, kindling the flames of war wherever his voice was heard. Early in August he joined the Nipnets, a small interior tribe dependent upon his family, and publicly rewarded its sagamores for destroying the town of Brookfield a few days before. And now, through the fall, winter, and spring, affairs went pros-

* Callender's Century Sermon. † Hubbard's Indian Wars.

perously with the red-men. King Philip had thoroughly aroused the slumbering wrath of his tawny countrymen. The Nipnets, the River Indians, the Nashaways, and the Nianticks, the hunters of the valleys of the Connecticut and Merrimac rivers, all joined in the coalition against the Puritan colonies, and owned the patriotic designs of its leader. The Wampanoag ambassadors uttered the stirring words of independence at the council fires of the Mohawks, and pleaded the cause of aboriginal freedom with the old men of the Narragansetts. East and West, North and South, the joys of liberty were proclaimed in the dialect of the Wampanoags.

The effect was sudden and appalling. The smiling valley of the Connecticut, from Northfield to Springfield, teemed with warriors, and rung with the strange and terrible shouts of the warwhoop. At Concord, at Chelmsford, and Andover, the fertile banks of the Merrimac bore witness to the retaliating fury of the savage heart. Villages were laid in ashes, the hardy pioneers of civilization perished by fifties, and their wives and children were led into heathen captivity. The immolation of the Narragansetts, so far from intimidating the savage warriors in this patriotic struggle, served only to increase their fury. It was in vain that, for "the encouragement of volunteers," the Commissioners of the United Colonies ordered "all plunder and spoil, whether goods or persons," to be appropriated to the use of the captors; it was in vain that the Praying Indians were stimulated to exertion by promise of rewards, for "men, women, and girls," brought in alive.* The panic spread. None knew where the storm would break out next. All the western towns in Massachusetts suffered more or less, during the fall and early part of winter, (1675;) and in February following, Medfield, a village scarce twenty miles from Boston, was attacked and nearly destroyed. From thence the hurricane passed into the Plymouth colony, where Weymouth, and Plymouth, and Scituate, and Bridgewater, and Taunton, made each some atonement for the wrongs of the Aborigines. For the first time since the settlement of New England, the God of the Christians appeared to have deserted his mistaken worshipers.

Appalled by such terrible reverses, the Puritans celebrated days of fasting and humiliation, and the Elders preached an Indian crusade. Armed bands were sent out in every direction to check the progress of a foe more rapid in movement than the fleetest troop of horse. No mercy was shown on either side to such stragglers as were captured. It was a war

* See 2 Haz., p. 535.

of extermination and torture. Happily for the colonies, the Indians were contending against destiny. Perfect unity of action might have gained them their cause; but the Pequods were slaughtered; the Narragansetts had just shared their fate; the Mohegans continued their alliance with Connecticut; the Praying Indians, converts to zealous Puritan missionaries, were made use of as bloodhounds against their countrymen; and that "potent nation," the Mohawks, could never be persuaded to take part in an enterprise, the results of which affected them but remotely. But when famine and disease became "the allies of the colonies," the cause of the Aborigines grew utterly hopeless. Philip had been hurried into war without stores or magazines; and in his rapid movements from point to point, much of his scanty provisions was wasted and destroyed. His warriors lived the lives of desperadoes. If they were successful in pillage, they feasted upon whatever they could find, beef, milk, pork, eggs, and poultry, jumbled into a half cooked, indiscriminate mass. If they were unsuccessful, they subsisted on acorns, on ground nuts, on horse-flesh, on any and everything that would sustain the fierce fires that burned within them. Such a mode of life, so contrary to their simple habits, threw many of them into fluxes and fevers, which thinned their numbers faster than the sword and bayonet. To remedy the evil, they endeavored in the spring to plant corn for the coming season, and separated into parties for this purpose; but the English troops beat up their quarters so often, that the plan proved abortive. In the summer, therefore, they attempted to supply themselves with fish; but their encampments by river and sea-side, were ferreted out and dispersed—and this it was that finally disheartened the red men. Their cause declined as rapidly as it had grown in strength. So early as April, 1676, scarcely nine months from the commencement of the war, affairs began to indicate a change; and though the struggle was prolonged, with various success, until July, the Indians continued to lose morale. Small parties, prowling about in search of food, were continually met and destroyed by some of the bands of soldiers who were scouring the country in every direction; and many of them, disheartened and broken, voluntarily surrendered to the Puritan troops. The war ended as a hunt, and the roar of regular discharges of musketry, was succeeded by the solitary dropping shots of the chase.

The closing scenes in the life of the master-spirit of this patriotic struggle, were worthy of the man. After exciting the red-men to arms, from the shores of the Atlantic nearly to the

banks of the Hudson; after utterly destroying twelve towns in the Puritan colonies, and greatly injuring many more; after having slain six hundred of "the very flower of the country," so that not a family remained in Massachusetts or Plymouth, but mourned the death of a relative or friend; after having caused a loss of property to the amount of nearly a million of dollars, the greatest misfortune of all, to the thrifty inhabitants; Philip had finished the work of Divine retribution, and nought remained for him but to die. A short year before, he inspired his warriors, at Mount Hope, with that terrible courage which is made up of despair and vengeance; and fate now led him back to the grave of Massasoit, not again to rally his broken nation, not tamely to submit where hope had fled, but to end his career fittingly as an independent chief. And this great-hearted savage, who struck to the earth one of his chosen friends, for daring, in the depths of his misfortunes, to hint at peace; who, with a price upon his head, wandered from thicket to thicket, and swamp to swamp, hunted by Christian white and red-men, bore bravely up until his wife and child were captured by his enemies. "My heart breaks; now I am ready to die," then fell from his quivering lips. He was soon after shot by a renegade Indian of his own tribe; and the bullet that pierced his heart was kind in its mission, since it spared him the agony of seeing the tawny little prince, his son, the last of the race of Massasoit, that kindly and kingly entertainer of the Pilgrim fathers, sent, like a brute without a soul, to toil in slavery under the burning sun of the Bermudas. More merciful, far, would it have been, if the cold-blooded policy of the Puritan Elders had been adopted, and this heathen child had been put to an ignominious death.* The scheme was costly, and it was declined; but in lieu thereof, the head of Philip was, like the scalp of the Pequod Sassacus, paraded as a trophy; and his skull was long preserved as a monument of orthodox vengeance.†

The death of Philip finally ended a war, which, provoked by the aggressive acts of the Puritan colonies, and continued on their part with solemn mockery of fastings and humiliations, was closed with thanksgiving and extermination. The General Court of Massachusetts, by a special proclamation, directed the people to glorify God, "*that of the several tribes that have risen up against us, which were not a few, there now scarcely remains a name or family of them within their former habitations.*" Such was the manner in which the Pu-

* See Baylie's Plymouth, III, pp. 190, 191.
† Drake's B. of the Indians, p. 43.

ritan Commonwealth carried out the beneficent designs of the Massachusetts Bay Company; and God was glorified, as the author of all the wrongs that Puritan Christianity had heaped upon Pagan humanity. The cruelties which were practised in Indian warfare, were amply retaliated by those whose religion should have taught them a better morality. Victory brought with it no ameliorating usages. The leading captives were slaughtered to a man, and the remainder, with their wives and children, were sold into slavery. The quarrel between Plymouth and Massachusetts, for the conquered territory, was a fitting termination to this barbarous war.

Ere Massachusetts could lay aside her conquering army, one work more remained for her to do. There were no more nations left near her to exterminate; but the Tarranteens, who were seated by the waters of Casco Bay, had offended, and were to be punished. From the beginning, the Indians in this region *were treated "like slaves," and cheated by the lawless adventurers, who, from time to time, visited the country.** But though suffering every species of abuse from sailors, and traders, and settlers, during fifty years, they "always carried it fair, and held good correspondence with the English, until the news came of Philip's rebellion." An universal uprising was the effect of this intelligence; and such were their successes, that in the summer of 1676, nearly all the plantations in Maine were deserted by the inhabitants, and even the settlements on the Piscataqua were threatened. Terrified at these unexpected disasters, the English settlers applied to Massachusetts for assistance, although the usurpations of that colony over Maine had been annulled by the Commissioners of Charles II; and when Philip's coalition was finally crushed, an armed force was despatched from Boston, to chastise the outbreak of the Tarranteens. The Puritan troops, made up of Praying Indians and English, immortalized the campaign with a "brilliant" exploit. Four hundred warriors, with whom a Major Waldron had made peace, were surrounded while his guests, on the pretext of a sham fight, and made prisoners. One half of them were liberated; but the remainder were sent captives to Boston, on the plea that they had been participators in Philip's coalition, and while six were hanged as ring-leaders, the rest of them were sold as slaves "in foreign parts." This act was "highly applauded" by the English; but the Indians deemed it "a breach of hospitality and friendship, never to be forgotten or forgiven."† Waldron himself knew many of his

* Neal. Belknap's New Hampshire. † Belknap.

victims to be true friends to the English, but fearful of censure from the Puritan Commonwealth, he consummated an act of treachery which has scarcely a parallel. Many years afterwards, in King William's war, he was put to death by the Indians, with circumstances of horrible torture, having been first entrapped by an artifice more subtle than his own. He had nothing to complain of. He had sown the seeds of iniquity, and a just God allowed him to reap the harvest.

The successful perfidy of Waldron, was the only glory acquired in this expedition. But in the ensuing winter, a fresh body of English and Praying Indians, sailed from Boston for Casco Bay, having first observed a day of fasting and prayer for the success of the enterprise. The same unfairness characterized this expedition; and after some small successes, unworthy of honorable and Christian warfare, the Puritan troops returned to Boston, "without the loss of a man." Hostilities pursued with such utter disregard of humanity and justice, could never produce peace, unless, at the same time, they effected extermination. The spirit of the instructions given by the Puritan Commonwealth, was, "upon every opportunity, without delay, to pursue, and endeavor to take captive, kill, and destroy." The Indians became thoroughly exasperated, and their cause grew stronger, as it grew more patriotic. The General Court, perceiving that the successes of their arms had only the effect of removing the prospect of peace, discussed the propriety of inviting the coöperation of the Mohawks, supposed to be a cannibal tribe, who, though then at peace with the Eastern Indians, cherished an hereditary animosity against them. But is it lawful, said a member of the Court, to make use of the help of heathen? Certainly, it was urged in reply; for did not Abraham join in a confederacy with the Amorites, to rescue his kinsman Lot from the hands of their common enemy? The argument was conclusive; nor did it enter into the debate, whether it was righteous to foment deadly strife between two savage nations who were at peace. Messengers were accordingly despatched to the Mohawks, who received them with civility, and promised to prosecute the Puritan quarrel "to the utmost of their power."

Late in March, the warriors of this "potent nation" appeared in the field; but their alliance with the Puritans resulted in disaster and disgrace. Everywhere it was reported among the Eastern Indians, that the Mohawks threatened destruction to all without distinction, whether friendly or hostile to the Puritan cause. Nor was the report without "very plausible ground;" since the Mohawks made no discrimination in their warfare, and even spent their fury chiefly upon

the friendly Indians. The incursion of these formidable savages, therefore, seemed only to alienate all the natives from the cause of the colonies. Scattered parties of Indians, in every direction, spread death and destruction along the eastern sea-board, and menaced Portsmouth itself. To cripple the resources of the Indians became now the sole object of the Puritans. A third expedition, consisting of Praying Indians and soldiers, was fitted out for this purpose at Boston, with orders to capture the stores of the enemy, contained in several forts at Taconick Falls, on the Kennebec river. At Black Point, where this force disembarked, was fought the first pitched battle in New England between the natives and their oppressors, in which the latter were defeated with a loss of sixty killed and wounded, among whom was their commander, (July, 1677.) The victorious Tarranteens followed up this success by the capture of twenty fishing vessels on the coast; and before the close of the summer they were the undisputed masters of the Province of Maine.* The war was finished.

The use made by these savages of their victories, should have forced every Puritan to hang his head with shame. They were fighting, not for conquest, nor for slaves; and being now left unmolested, the tomahawk was buried, and the sound of the war-whoop was heard no more. They even set an example of magnanimity, which they could have learned neither from the precepts or practices of thir enemies. They restored to them their vessels, and a considerable number of captives, reserving the remainder only until peace had been formally made. Having prolonged the war for three years in vain, the Puritans successfully resorted to entreaty. It was a proud day for Squanto, the gallant chief of the Tarranteens, when the English begged permission to occupy their old habitations, and in a treaty formally drawn up for the occasion, (April, 1678,) agreed to pay him an annual tribute.

And these were, in brief, the Indian wars of Massachusetts, under her first charter. When it is remembered that the facts in the above relation are wrung from the reluctant and scanty admissions of Puritan writers, and that the Indians had no Hubbards or Mathers to publish for them their tale of woe, who can say whether the half has been told? We cannot enjoy the gleesome spirit in which Hubbard narrates the history of the Indian wars, nor can we sympathize with that system of Christianity which led Mather, and at a later date Grahame, to gloat over the ruin of the hapless red-men.

* Gookin, in Belknap.

Surely, when we shudder and sicken in reading the conquests of Cortes and Pizarro, we ought not to forget the sufferings of the people who once roamed among the smiling valleys of the North!

Let us not be unjust, however, nor attribute the faults of the New England Fathers to any other than the right cause. It was a kindly benevolence which led Las Casas to substitute negro for native slavery in the West Indies; it was the sordid love of riches which induced Hawkins to introduce the slave trade into English commerce; and it was the spirit of a false faith, which taught the Puritan Pilgrims that heathen blood and lands are lawful motives for, as well as spoils of, Christian warfare. There was no inborn love of cruelty among them; and frequently, when about to start upon one of their bloody excursions, they found it necessary to work themselves up to the necessary pitch, by communion, fasting, and prayer. To slaughter an Indian was a painful religious exercise, as much as to spend a day in bodily abstinence. For this reason, the Puritan soldiers were pitiless. The negation of works in their religion also coöperated to promote injustice in their policy, and where violence was not a Puritan rite, it was but too often a right of Puritanism. Thus, between the two, the Aborigines were wholly sacrificed, and a system of religion, which confessedly had an eye to the things of Cæsar, as well as to those of Heaven, in the short space of fifty years swept from New England one hundred thousand human beings. For these unhappy heathen souls, no Puritan Historian, Magistrate, or Elder, then, or since, has expressed a word of pity, or breathed a penitential prayer. Unregenerate, they were sent into the presence of their dread Judge, owing nothing to Christianity, but steel, gunpowder, and gin.*

And how did Puritanism find these red-men? Did they drink? Did they lie? Did they gamble? Did they thieve? Were they licentious in morals, or depraved in habits? On the contrary, the simplicity of their habits attracted the no-

* The following table, compiled by that worthy notable Major General Gookin, in 1674, will show what Puritanism did for the unhappy Aborigines, in less than half a century. See Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. I.

Tribe.	*Warriors formerly.*	*Men in 1674.*
Pequods,	4000,	300.
Narragansetts,	5000,	about 1000.
Wampanoags,	3000,	nearly extinct.
Massachusetts,	3000,	300.
Pawtuckets,	3000,	250.

And this table was compiled *six months before the exterminating war of King Philip!*

tice of all Europeans; and Gorges does not hesitate to say that he "*observed in them an inclination to follow the example of the better sort, and in all their carriages to manifest showes of great civility, far from the rudeness of our common people.*" Their drink was water, their pastime the chase, their property was enjoyed in common, and their fidelity was proverbial. Disease visited them only in the form of old age, and when death released the hoary warrior, his treasures were buried with him in a common grave. Darkened as he was by Paganism, the great vice charged against the Indian by Puritanism, was only his cruelty in war. This cruelty was amply retaliated by his Christian adversary, and what he meant as a test of the heroism of his captive, was too often used by the English from motives of revenge. Whatever were his relations to his oppressors, his condition was truly deplorable. If he was converted by the Puritan missionaries, he became not a Christian, but a Praying Indian, despised by his countrymen, and enslaved by his teachers. If he continued faithful to the religion of the forest, the mountain, and the waters, of whatever was the abode of the Great Spirit whom he ignorantly worshiped, he was accounted no better than a Canaanite, and a fit prey for the "poor servants of Christ."

The crimson record made up by the historian, closes with the fall of Philip. The welcomes of Massasoit and Masconomco had been given but a few years before,* and Massachusetts had stretched out the long arms of her beautiful bay, to enclose and cherish the panting fugitives, who, chased by phantoms, had fled three thousand miles. Had the red-man warmed a serpent in his bosom, which fed upon his naked heart? Was his blood like water, that it flowed so many years to enrich the land of his fathers, and to redden its crystal streams?†

* Massasoit on Cape Cod, and Masconomco on Cape Ann, both extended this friendly greeting to their future destroyers, the Englishmen.

† Some most honorable exceptions to all this are to be found in the annals of Puritanism. We may mention in particular the Pynchon family, which was always regarded by the Indians with affection and respect. So late as 1751, Jonathan Edwards, in a letter to Hon. Thomas Hubbard, mentions that the chiefs of the Mohawks had lately requested that Brigadier Dwight and Colonel Pynchon might be *improved* in future interviews with them. "And as to Colonel Pynchon, in particular, they urged their acquaintance with his ancestors, and *their experience of their integrity.*" Let it be a pleasing heir-loom in this family, that their name was cherished for more than a hundred years by the warriors of the fiercest Indian tribe, and may have been carried as a watch-word to the western prairies, when the Mohawks left forever the homes of their fathers.

Art. V.—IS HERESY POSSIBLE?

We have fallen upon that age of the world, when it becomes necessary to argue the point, *whether there can be any such thing as heresy;* that is, whether any such opinions can be professed, as will justly exclude the party holding those opinions from the position of Christians, provided the title of Christian be assumed.

This whole matter appears to depend upon two simple considerations: First, whether Christianity, as a system, involves any great, central truths, essential to the system; and, secondly, whether there is any tribunal competent to assert what those truths are.

It may appear strange that it should be thought necessary to argue the first of these questions; but there are those who hold that there is such a thing as the spirit of Christianity, entirely independent of any particular doctrinal opinions; and where this right temper is manifested, and a sincere belief is held, no matter in what, we are bound to recognize and acknowledge the essential elements of Christianity. It might be considered a sufficient reply to this position, just to observe that it allows the existence of only one possible sin, that of hypocrisy; and reduces all virtues within the single excellence of sincerity. A man may think, or say, or do, whatever he pleases, and whatever mischief results to himself or to others, he silences all complaint by the overpowering plea, that he is in *earnest!* He may ravage and lay waste the whole territory of truth, but those who dwell therein, and draw their sustenance from its fruitful pastures, must lift up no remonstrance, and oppose him in nothing, because, in this work of desolation, he is doing only that which he feels he has a right to do.

But, whatever view be taken of Christianity, it is difficult to conceive how it can be contemplated at all, or its influence in any way be felt, unless it be regarded as embodying some specific truths, capable of being expressed in intelligible language, enforced by some species of intelligible evidence, and thus presented to the mind for its assent or denial. To talk of the spirit of Christianity apart from its doctrines, is to talk vaguely. By this spirit of Christianity we suppose is meant its *moral sentiment*, that which seizes upon the emotional part of our nature, and so controls the character. And has this

moral sentiment no basis? Is it developed out of nothing? Is Christianity a sort of aesthetic vapor, which, like the clouds, rolls itself sometimes into one shape, and sometimes into another, and then dissolving itself into no shape at all; changing its color perpetually, just as it happens to reflect the beams of the sun of reason? Our missionaries among the New Zealanders must find themselves hard put to it, if they have nothing to teach those cannibals more than this.

Here, however, we are arrested by an Orphic voice, which professes thus to define the latest development of superdoctrinal religion. "I find in Christianity," it says, "a reflection of my own inner, moral life; it responds to my intuitional consciousness; it reaffirms what my own heart had previously whispered; it assents, upon the whole, to what my divine-humanity has told me must be true, and beautiful, and good; so far as it does this, in my own particular case, I receive it as divine; so far as it does this, in the case of any other person, he must receive it as divine; if, in any instance, or in respect of any other individual, it fail to utter this response, it must be rejected, or we do violence to our moral sense." This, of course, excludes the possibility of heresy, inasmuch as it excludes revelation altogether. It is difficult to know just where to begin in replying to this position, simply because, while claiming the title of Christian, it begins with sweeping away all that is either historical or supernatural from the domain of Christianity: it even denies that Christianity is a revelation, in any peculiar sense. To consider such points as these would lead to the discussion of an entirely different subject from that now before us; and which it would seem more proper to conduct with an avowed infidel for an opponent, rather than with one calling himself a Christian. All, therefore, that we are called upon in this connection to assert, is as follows: If Christianity be a revelation from God, it must declare certain fixed, infallible truths, which are in themselves true, whether we perceive them to be so or not; a certain amount of this revealed truth must be received, or the system of revelation, as such, is disowned; that may fairly be viewed as heresy, which, directly or indirectly, vitiates the system of revelation. To say that there is no such thing as heresy, is the same as to say that there is and can be no such thing as positive truth; and *what there is, where truth is not*, it can hardly be worth while to inquire.

But we now proceed to the second and more complicated question; is there any tribunal, competent to assert what the vital truths of Christianity are? We assume that all these

truths are to be found in the Scriptures; for the discussion of this point would again lead us away in a direction apart from our present subject. Neither is it necessary that we should consider at length whether or not individuals, in their private capacity, are generally qualified, by the unaided perusal of the Bible, to deduce from it a consistent and complete system of doctrine. We have no doubt that any person, of ordinary intelligence, studying the written Word with docility and prayer, may learn all that he needs to know in order to his becoming wise unto salvation. But such private interpretation obviously cannot be made the standard, by which the charge of heresy is to be substantiated; for then we might have as many shifting standards as there are various minds in the world, which would be just no standard at all. The same objection lies against the principle that individual societies in the Church may set forth as authoritative a given symbol of doctrine; for then we may have as many symbols as parishes, and what is heretical in one, may be considered orthodox in another. There must be something approximating to a general consent on this subject, if we would have a creed, in any proper sense, binding upon the general mind of Christendom. And now we are prepared for the assertion that the very existence of the Church Catholic is identical with the possession of a Catholic Creed. There must be at least one acknowledged truth, as the basis of the existence of the Church, even if that be only the affirmation of the Catholic Church itself. We must believe in a Church, in order to have a Church.

Another point is equally obvious. This Church, if it is to be of any practical service, must embody a class, a system of truths, which it shall be the business of the Church to enforce, unfold, and apply to the consciences of men. It must be able to speak with some sort of authority, in order to command attention; it must be able to prove, by most certain warrant of Scripture, all that it asserts, in order to secure intelligent assent. The Church can have only the shadow of a name, which has no Creed. If it declare simply this, that the Bible is the only standard of religious truth, and then receives members into its communion upon this declaration, that is a Creed. But now the question arises, why is not this sufficient, and what right has the Church to go beyond this? We will answer this question, first, by suggesting what may be expected to result, where a Church does nothing more than this. We suppose the Church to possess the power to put only this one question to her candidates for Holy Baptism: Do you receive

the Scriptures as your religious text-book? The reply is given in the affirmative. After the individual is enrolled amongst the faithful, the inquiry is made, not authoritatively, for this the supposed case forbids, but only to satisfy the inquirer more fully, Do you receive the Bible as an inspired revelation? And the answer will very probably be, "I consider it to have been inspired, just as all good thoughts and all high aspirations of heart, are the result of a Divine movement upon the soul." Then you do not believe that there is any special, supernatural element pertaining to this Word of God? "In no other sense," is replied, "than all moral truth may be regarded as supernaturally communicated." Upon what ground, then, do you consider the Scriptures to be infallibly free from all error, and certain to lead into all truth? "I have never asserted," answers the free-minded Christian, "that I believed the whole Bible to be infallibly true." How do you account for the prophetical character of certain of these books? "I suppose," is the reply, "that the mind, in a high state of moral enlightenment, may see more distinctly into the future, and anticipate its results more clearly than another." Do you believe that Christ wrought the miracles ascribed to him? "I have no doubt," answers this candid believer, "that he did many extraordinary things, which his biographers, in their well-meant zeal, have represented to be still more extraordinary than they were." Do you believe that Christ rose from the dead? "I think the evidence is inconclusive on this point." Who, then, do you conceive Jesus of Nazareth to have been, and what was the great purpose of his mission? "He was the most perfect man that ever lived, and his mission was to make other men like himself." Now, what peculiar fact, or principle, or doctrine, or purpose, pertaining to Christianity as a system of religion, does such a man as this acknowledge; and of what special service could a Church be to the world, made up of such believers as he?

In whatever aspect we regard the Church, it is evident that no one purpose of its existence can be fulfilled, unless we suppose this visible body of believers competent to designate and prescribe some fixed Articles of Belief, some compend of doctrine. If the design of its establishment be considered to be the segregation of one portion of mankind from the rest of the human family, making of them a peculiar household; or if the Church be regarded as a great agency for influencing the world, it is plain that this separation must be made upon some defined principles, and this agency receive its power in virtue of some authoritative code of truth. In the good

Providence of God, the same Divine hand which founded the Church in the beginning, has made it the depositary of certain inspired and infallible documents, which we call the Holy Scriptures, and wherein we find recorded the whole will of God. Now the simple question before us is this, has the Church authority to declare what the doctrine is, in substance, which those Scriptures contain; and upon this ground to convict those persons of heresy who dissent from this declaration? Unless this question can be determined in the affirmative,—although there would be of course the same inherent distinction between truth and error, whether there were any earthly tribunal to determine where this distinction lies or not,—still we do not see with what propriety the charge of heresy could be brought against any human being, by any other human being. The popular rejoinder, "I have as good a right to my opinion as you," would seem to be not altogether irrelevant in such a case. There would then be only this three-fold classification of the human family: heathens, who never heard of the Gospel; infidels, who have rejected it; and Christians, who profess to receive it. That nominal profession might cover more or less ground; but however the system of Christianity might be vitiated by the interpretations of any man or class of men, no other man or class of men could with propriety say anything more than that, in their opinion, erroneous views had been promulgated. This is the precise position assumed by all the various bodies of Christians known as Congregational; and therefore all that they can consistently do, and all which they claim to do, in the case of the most flagrant errorists, is to "withdraw fellowship." They can exclude no man from the communion of the Church Catholic, simply because they recognize no standard of Catholic or universal truth. And here we have the key to those multitudinous divisions into which the Congregational polity disintegrates itself; for those from whom fellowship is withdrawn, have only to set up for themselves as a distinct body, and they are at once beyond the reach of their old associates. The new sect organizes upon the same ecclesiastical principles, only there is a difference of opinion in respect of interpretation; and as the doctrine of development ripens, it must, in its turn, be liable to another schism and secession.

But it is time for us to meet the main point in debate more directly. We shall do this with as much brevity as possible. The Church, then, we first observe, *exists as an historical fact.* As an historical fact, in some form or other, it has always existed. The Christian Church existed, as an organic

body, before the New Testament was written. Its constitution was just as complete then, as it is now. If it could not have an existence now, without a Creed, neither could it then. There must then have been, in the very beginning, some standard of faith—whether written or unwritten, is not material in this connection—upon the acknowledgment of which, proselytes were received into membership and communion. The authority, therefore, existed in the Church, to prescribe a Creed, a fixed standard of doctrine, before the blessed gift of the inspired Scriptures was conferred upon the Church. How does it appear that this gift has impaired the authority of the Church in this respect? Have the Scriptures themselves annihilated it? Have they not rather confirmed it, by defining the prerogatives of the Church? Among these prerogatives, the Bible ascribes to the Church what is claimed for it in our XX Article, "authority in controversies of faith." And is this authority any the less real, because the Church may not "decree anything contrary to Scripture," or "enforce anything besides the same," that is, beyond, or over and above the teachings of Scripture, "as to be believed for necessity of salvation?"

We reach the same conclusion by a somewhat different line of argument. In order to sustain the charge of heresy in any instance, there must obviously be some fixed Rule of Faith. That Rule of Faith in the Christian Church, was originally the inspired, *spoken* word of Christ and His Apostles. It is now the same word *written*, and thus transmitted to us in the Bible. This Rule is complete, nothing can be added to it, and nothing can be taken from it, unless God should see fit to utter a new revelation. *This Book, however, recognizes the existence of a tribunal, competent to the exercise of discipline;* a discipline, relating to matters of faith, as well as of morals. And this of necessity involves a verdict, emanating from the same tribunal, and declaratory of the faith. It judges men by the Scriptures, just as men in our civil courts are tried by the statute; but in order to do this, it must have authority to declare what the Scriptures mean. It cannot convict any person of denying a revealed truth, without itself pronouncing upon that truth. All this seems to be too evident to need further illustration. But now the practical question arises, how is the mind of the Church, as to matters of faith, to be known and determined? Some will tell us, that it is to be gathered from the various official bulletins of the Bishop of Rome. It follows from this, that what is not an Article of Faith to-day, may become so to-morrow;

and unless an individual happens to have seen the last encyclical letter of the Pope, he may be a heretic, without knowing it. Others, who abjure the tyranny of Rome most heartily, say, that the question is to be determined by the votes of a majority of the members of this or that particular congregation, duly convened and organized for this purpose; which makes the Church-meeting a sort of assemblage of Popes. And some will say, that every man must judge for himself in this matter; so that each becomes his own Pope, and can be excommunicated only by his own act.

What is the position of our own Church in reference to this question? We go back to those days, when the Church was an *organic unity*, in fact, as well as in theory. We find that there was then a general assent to certain great fundamental verities. There were errorists in Christendom then, as there was a Judas in the Apostolic college; but the heresies that were broached only served to draw forth into more distinct utterance the general voice of the Church. We find it was providentially ordered, before human passion had rent the practical unity of the Church, that this general assent became embodied in certain Creeds, which, by proper authority, were pronounced to be the true Catholic Faith. Upon those Creeds the Church now plants herself; demanding of all her members, as the condition of membership, a hearty assent to these ancient symbols; and at the same time rejecting all those opinions, philosophical interpretations, and new doctrines, which have been developed either from an oral tradition or from the exegesis of Scripture. She does not say of all the views which have prevailed in Christendom since the primitive age, that they are false; only she does not require our assent to them as Articles of the Faith. No individual minister may write out a Creed, to be submitted to his congregation for their approval. Not even the highest Council of the Church may set forth any new symbol of doctrine, and claim that it shall take rank among the Catholic verities. Her voice is only the voice of the Church, as uttered in its day of doctrinal, as well as ecclesiastical unity. She claims for this voice authority, and she could not exist without it. She does not charge you with heresy, because you differ in your opinions from the verdict of a modern Council, or an Italian Bishop, as does the Church of Rome; nor because you dissent from what happens to be the opinion of a majority, as does the child of Geneva. She simply reaffirms the primitive Creeds, declares that these are the substance of Christian doctrine, and then proceeds to show that they "ought thoroughly

to be received and believed; for they may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture." If you deny this, she declares that you are not in her fold, because she could do no less, without forfeiting her integrity; nay, her very existence.

What, then, are we to understand by the Right of Private Judgment? The right of private judgment is very much like the right of a living man to breathe. It is one of the functions of the mind, without which the mind could not exist. I cannot even deny the right of private judgment, unless I exercise my private judgment in the very denial of it. But all rights are bounded by limitations; and, because I have the right to search the Scriptures for myself, and having done this, cannot help forming some opinion of their contents, it does not follow that it is a matter of moral indifference what conclusions I form.

Our limits will not allow us to enlarge upon this important topic, as there is still another point essential to the completion of our argument, at which we must glance for a moment. What is the precise relation which exists between the authority of the Church in respect of doctrine—an authority which she must possess, in order to *be* a Church—and the right of every individual to search the Scriptures for himself, and form his own conclusions as to its contents? In answering this, we must consider, first, what it is which the Church does in the exercise of her authority. We here suppose her to be dealing, not with the child who is to be trained up in her fold, but with the grown-up man, an intelligent inquirer after truth, one who can render a reason. The Church exhibits to him the primitive Creeds, and gives her voucher that they contain, in substance, the faith which has been held from the beginning of the Christian era. She then gives him satisfactory evidence of this fact. The presumption is obviously in favor of these symbols, for they exhibit what was the faith of Christendom in that period of history, when such facilities existed for knowing the mind of Christ and His Apostles, as never can be had again. The further circumstance, that they have received the general assent of the Church, in all subsequent ages, makes this presumption still stronger. The Church then delivers to him the Holy Scriptures, of which she is "the witness and keeper," and declares that these are the Divine originals, from which these abstracts of the faith are drawn, and by which they are substantiated. She bids him "search the Scriptures," and compare the Creeds with Holy Writ. Speaking all the while with that authority which belongs to

her office, she thus appeals to his private judgment, and charges him to exercise it with a docile and teachable spirit. She puts no undue restriction upon that function of his mind, because if he cannot be won over to the truth through the medium of his judgment, his conversion could be worth nothing. He receives the precious volume; but, either because he reads carelessly, or contemptuously, or under the influence of prejudice, he announces at last that he cannot find the doctrine of the Church in the pages of the Bible. What, then, shall the Church do? Receive him to her bosom, notwithstanding he denies the very fundamental principles upon which her existence is based? This could hardly be expected. She simply leaves him where he was before, without her sacred pale, and refuses him the benefit of her institutions. She rejects him, after due admonition, as a heretic, which she has been charged to do by the voice of inspiration. "To his own Master he stands or falls," so far as his eternal destiny is concerned; but the body would prove recreant to its Head, if he were allowed to make a part of that body. He may make what protestations of sincerity he pleases; the presumption is certainly against him, inasmuch as he rejects the teaching of the Church, and elevates his own private opinion in opposition to the collective voice of the faithful in all ages. It would seem but natural, after this, if his presumption have not taken full possession of him, that he should now be led, with less of self-reliance, and with more earnest prayer for light, to reëxamine the ground upon which he stands. And thus, being led by the Spirit into all truth, he may find, at length, that it was his sin which obstructed his belief. Made willing to believe, his faith comes into action, and he hears with reverence all that the Lord hath spoken. For, after all, the secret of heresy is to be found in the heart.

The Gospel utters many things which it pains the sinner to hear. It tells him that of himself, which he has often feared might be true, but which it is terrible to have confirmed. Continuing in his sin, it reveals to him a destiny, which he would plunge into annihilation to escape. And when it proclaims a way of deliverance from that destiny, it is through such a process as rouses all his natural propensities in obstinate and furious opposition. The light which it flashes upon the conscience, burns his soul. The medicine which it offers him, is so bitter that he loathes it. The regimen that it enforces, he feels that he would sooner die than undergo. And so he closes the door of his mind against the light; and then says, "it is not my fault, though I walk in the darkness." He stupefies

himself, and then claims that his responsibility is at an end. No cry ever comes up from the depths of his soul, "Lord, help mine unbelief!" for he prefers not to believe. He is sincere in this desire; and so he clings to his errors with all the sincerity, of which his nature is capable. And if it should prove, in the end, that he has believed a lie—as he cannot help sometimes fearing that it may—he trusts to this sincerity for his acquittal. This is the great delusion of the age, and it may be considered as Satan's master-piece, his last and subtlest work. UNBELIEF IS NO CRIME! That is the inscription which now arches the portal of death. What, then, did Christ mean, when He said, "he that believeth not, shall be damned?"—"he that believeth not is condemned already?" The Bible condemns him; the Church condemns him; and his own heart would condemn him, if pride and corruption did not stand sentinel over his heart, to silence its voice. If unbelief be no crime, the whole fabric of Christianity is in ruins.

ANGLICAN AND ROMISH VIEWS ON THE SACRAMENTS.

ART. VI.—MOEHLER'S SYMBOLISM, CHAPTER IV.

CONCILII TRIDENTINI DECRETA, SESSIO VII, XIII, XIV.

ARTICLES OF RELIGION; (XXV—XXXII).

NEXT to the difference between the Anglican and the Romish Churches on the subject of Justification, their differences about the Sacraments come properly under consideration. Indeed, their divergence on the subject of the Sacraments, is, as is admitted by Moehler, a logical result of their separation from each other on the subject of Justification. And this difference we belive moreover to be one, which essentially affects the preservation and advancement of true Christianity. We propose, therefore, to consider the leading differences of doctrine now prevalent in the Christian world, on the subject of the Christian Sacraments; to compare them with Scripture and Catholic antiquity, and to note the tendencies and genuine results of these varying views. We shall notice three great classes of doctrine about the Sacraments, which we shall designate as the Romish, the Anglican or Catholic, and the Zwinglian or Rationalistic. We shall first state these views in their order, as concisely as we may.

The definition which the Council of Trent gives of a Sacrament, (Sess. XIII, Caput III,) "that it is a symbol of a sacred thing, and a visible form of invisible grace," is not essentially different from that given by the English Church in her Catechism, but this definition is very far from including all the teaching of that Council upon the nature of a Sacrament. Indeed, the teaching of the Council far exceeds the bounds of its own definition. It is not content with asserting the reality of the fact that the Sacraments are means whereby we receive grace, but must curiously explain how they do this. The Council asserts under anathema, that (Canon VI, Sess. VII) "the Sacraments of the new law *contain* the grace which they signify." In the Canons on the Eucharist, that all ambiguity about the sense in which the Council holds that the Sacraments *contain* grace, may be removed, it expressly anathematizes those who say that the Body of Christ is only in the Sacrament, (Sess. XIII, Canon I,) "in sign, or figure, or potency." And Moehler places beyond doubt his understand-

ing of the doctrine of the Church of Rome, when he says, (page 281,) "the religious energies of the human soul are set in new motion by the Sacrament, *since its divine matter impregnates the soul of man.*" He even says that the idea, which is the fundamental one of the exposition of the Trent Catechism concerning the Sacraments, (page 280,) "is far more ingenious and profound than it may at first sight appear; the idea, namely, that the Sacraments contribute the more to cherish Christian piety, as they are well calculated to humble arrogance by the reflection, that as man had ignominiously delivered himself over to the dominion of the lower world, so he needs its mediation to enable him to rise above it."

The Church of Rome then does, according to the exposition of her own Catechism and advocates, teach not only that Sacraments are visible forms of invisible grace, not only that they are means and pledges of grace; but *also* that their very matter is imbued with the grace, of which they are signs, and that through *its* mediation is that grace conveyed (Sess. VII, Canon VIII, De Sacra.) ex opere operato to the souls of recipients. There is, according to her, no immediate action of the Spirit of God upon the spirit of man, of which the Sacraments are symbols and pledges to faithful recipients. She anathematizes those who say that (Sess. XIII, Canon VIII) "Christ exhibited in the Eucharist, is only spiritually eaten, and not also sacramentally and really." With her, there is no sacramental eating which is not *real*, as distinguished from *spiritual*, that is, which is not *material*.

Most fully therefore does the Council of Trent justify the representations of Moehler, that "the *divine matter*" of the Sacraments impregnates the soul of man, and that the Sacraments by *the mediation of the lower world*, enable man to rise above it.

We think that the above remarks will sufficiently explain the Romish teaching upon the nature of a Sacrament, as that teaching is distinguished from the Catholic doctrine on the subject, which is maintained by the English and American Churches. The formal definition of a Sacrament, which is given by these Churches, does not differ essentially, as we have already remarked, from the definition which is given in one place, by the Council of Trent. The English and American Churches, however, do not, like the Romish Church, add in their explanations, what is not logically contained in their own definition. They do not curiously and beyond what is revealed, set forth the mode in which the Sacraments are means of grace. They declare them to be outward and visi-

ble signs of inward and spiritual grace; but not signs, which have in their own material elements the grace which they signify. On the other hand, they are declared (Art. XXV) "to be certain sure witnesses and effectual signs of grace and God's good will towards us, by the which *He* doth work invisibly in us." They are the symbols of the Spirit's presence and power, they are pledges and occasions of the exertion of that power in those who rightly receive them.

By such a view as this, the reality and objective character of the grace of God in the Sacraments is maintained; that "false spiritualism," (page 280,) of which Moehler speaks, is effectually opposed, while the unjustifiable extreme is avoided of making any material and outward forms the media of the Holy Spirit's action upon the soul of man. In the different positions attributed to the outward signs, as certain sure witnesses and pledges of grace, or else as material vehicles directly conveying to the soul spiritual grace, is to be found the great difference between Anglican and Romish teaching on the subject of the Sacraments.

In addition to these two views of the Sacraments, there is a third one requiring notice, which we have designated as the Zwinglian or Rationalistic. This view regards the Sacraments as mere outward signs and mementos of spiritual grace and truth, which affect the mind and heart of the believer by the power of lively association, but which, in no other way, are the means of grace to his soul. They are, according to this view, means by which men awaken and deepen within themselves a lively sense of the religious truths, which are represented to them in the Sacraments, just as a picture or a gift of a friend brings him to our remembrance; a sort of self-action therefore of the soul upon itself, or a quickening of contemplation by the aid of sensible objects; but, by no means signs ordained of God as the pledges and occasions of conveying special gifts of His Grace annexed or tied to the outward signs.

Such are the three most prominent views of the Sacraments, which claim the attention of the Christian world. The test of their truth or falsity must be the Holy Scriptures, and as an assistance to their right interpretation, the teaching upon this subject of the first ages of the Christian Church.

In vain shall we search the Scriptures for such explanations of the nature of a Sacrament, as those which are contained in the Decrees of the Council of Trent. Certainly the definitions of Trent are not warranted by the words of institution of the Holy Eucharist, though the advocates of Rome are

wont to appeal to these words as conclusive of the doctrine, which the Church of Rome has set forth. The words, "this is my Body," "this is my Blood of the New Testament," receive a good and full meaning in the assertion that the elements of the Eucharist represent and symbolize the Body and Blood of Christ, and are the pledges and occasions, upon which the Spirit of God makes faithful recipients partakers, spiritually, of the Body and Blood, of which the outward elements are the signs. To those who thus receive these elements ordained of God for this sacred use, they are most truly the Body and Blood of Christ, and the assertion that they themselves are changed into this divine substance, is utterly needless to justify or make true our Saviour's words. The doctrine of the English Church, therefore, comes up to the fullness of the truth, which our Saviour declared; while that of the Romish Church puts into His words a meaning, which is not, in the slightest degree, necessary to make out the truth, which they announce. Without words of Holy Writ admitting of no other explanation, we cannot accept a doctrine, which shocks our fundamental ideas of the nature of material and spiritual substances, and of the mode in which they influence each other.

The interpretation above given of the words of institution, is one that is justified by the usage of language in both the Old and New Testaments, as has often been shown by those who have written critical treatises upon this passage of Holy Scripture. Our Saviour himself, in the sixth chapter of St. John's Gospel, expressly tells us, that His words spoken of eating His Flesh and drinking His Blood, were spirit and life, and that when His Body was removed from the sight and touch of men by His Ascension, they would understand that it was a spiritual participation of His Flesh and Blood of which He spoke.

St. Paul's declaration, "The Bread which we break, is it not the Communion of the Body of Christ, the cup which we bless, is it not the Communion of the Blood of Christ," like the words of our Lord, asserts that the consecrated elements are the means of our participation of the Body and Blood of Christ, but not that they themselves *contain* that Body and Blood, or that they are "divine matter impregnating the soul of man." They are the Body and Blood of Christ, because they are the Communion of His Body and Blood; Sacraments, as St. Augustine says, being called by the names of the things which they signify, because they have a certain

likeness or representation of those things, of which they are Sacraments, or else they would not be Sacraments at all.

In these passages of Scripture, which have reference to one great Sacrament of religion, that about which the most earnest discussions have been held, we cannot discover, we confess, any ground for the curious expositions which the Church of Rome has given of the nature of a Sacrament. These passages declare, according to well known usages of speech, that the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is a symbol of the Body and Blood of Christ, that it is a Communion of His Body and Blood, that it is a spiritual eating the Flesh and drinking the Blood of the Son of Man. This is *all* that these passages declare; and this is all that the Anglican Church declares, while the Church of Rome makes additional statements, for the recurrence and justification of which we search in vain in these passages of Holy writ. If all that these passages contain, covers all the points of Anglican teaching upon the nature of the Sacraments, they do not, of course, include the points which the Romish Church has added to this teaching.

And it is most clear that the Holy Scriptures go far beyond the statements of what we have termed the Rationalistic scheme, in their teaching concerning the Sacraments. If the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is the Communion or participation of the Body and Blood of Christ; if the elements are, in a most true and real sense, His Body and Blood; if eating His Flesh and drinking His Blood are necessary to the attainment of everlasting life; if those who are baptized into Christ have put on Christ; if their sins in Holy Baptism have been washed away; if they have been Baptized for the Remission of sins; if a Birth of Water and of the Spirit has secured and was necessary to secure an entrance into the Kingdom of God; if the new Birth of the Gospel is a Birth of Water and the Spirit; if all this be true, (and we have been but reciting the words of Holy Writ,) then, beyond a peradventure, Sacraments are more than mere signs or representations of spiritual truth and grace; they are the appointed means and instruments of receiving the grace which they represent.

Thus do the Scriptures teach us to avoid the philosophy alike of Romanism and Rationalism, that philosophy which professes to explain, and that which explains away revealed mysteries, and to receive the facts as they are revealed, without presuming to inquire into the mode of the Spirit's action in the Sacraments, which is unrevealed.

And in this course, which the Anglican Church pursues

between these extremes, she is sustained by the Primitive Church of Christ, and her teaching may therefore well be termed, as distinguished from Romish and Rationalistic teachings on the Sacraments, Catholic teaching.

Highly as the Fathers of the Ancient Church esteemed the Sacraments and spoke of them, they never fell into the mistake of confounding the sign with the thing signified. Justin Martyr, for example, (Apol. I, Sec. 66,) says, "We do not receive these elements as common bread or common drink;" and then adds, by way of explanation, "as Jesus Christ our Saviour being made Flesh by the Word of God, had both Flesh and Blood for our salvation, so we have been taught that the food blessed by the prayer of the word which is from Him, *by which our blood and flesh are nourished in the way of change*, are the flesh and blood of that Jesus who was made flesh." Here Justin Martyr expressly asserts that the elements convey bodily nourishment to us, while, by virtue of their consecration, they are to us, spiritually, the Body and Blood of Christ.

Equally plain is Irenæus, (Advers. Hæres., Lib. 4, c. 34,) "For as earthly Bread receiving the invocation of God, is no longer common bread, but the Eucharist, *consisting of two things, the earthly and the heavenly;* so also our bodies partaking of the Eucharist, are no longer corruptible, having the hope of the Eternal Resurrection." He asserts expressly, (Advers. Hæres., Lib. 5, c. 2,) "that the mixed cup and the Bread, which is made, receive upon them the word of God, and become the Eucharist, the Body of Christ, *but from these elements the substance of our flesh subsists and increases.*" Here the spiritual potency of the Sacrament, and the unchanged nature of the elements, are alike asserted.

Clemens Alexandrinus says in direct words, (Pædagog. 1, c. 6,) that "the Flesh is an allegory to us of the Holy Spirit, and that the Blood symbolizes to us the Word." He says moreover, (Pædagog. Lib. 2, c. 2,) that "the Blood of the Lord is two-fold, it is fleshly, (that is, the material wine,) by which we are saved from destruction, and it is spiritual, that is it, by which we are annointed, and to drink the Blood of Jesus is to partake of the Lord's incorruption." His teaching is the same with that of Irenæus, that the material elements remain in their natural power and effect, while they are means or occasions of spiritual participation of Christ." Wonderfully in agreement with Clemens Alexandrinus, are the words of Ignatius, (Ep. ad Rom. 7,) "I am not pleased with the food of corruption or the pleasures of this life. I wish the Bread of God,

the Heavenly Bread, the Bread of Life, which is the Flesh of Jesus Christ the Son of God, who was made in the last time of the seed of David and Abraham; and I wish the Drink of God, His Blood, *which is incorruptible Love and Eternal Life.*"

Tertullian says, (Advers. Marc. 4, 40,) that our Lord, when he told the disciples, "this is my Body," the same as told them, "this is a figure of my Body," and that he sufficiently declared what he wished the Bread to signify, when he called the Bread His Body. And Tertullian argues against Marcion that Christ must have had a real body, from the fact that he appointed the consecrated Bread to be a figure or sign of His Body, a sign or figure necessarily implying a reality of which it is a sign. Tertullian, however, did not believe, or even know of such a belief, that the sign or figure was the reality.

Origen,* in like manner, describes the sacred elements as the means of sanctification, to those who receive them with a right disposition; he declares that the eating His Flesh and drinking His Blood, of which our Saviour speaks, is to be understood, not literally, but spiritually; and he moreover unequivocally declares that the consecrated food becomes to us bodily nourishment, like any bodily food; that its spiritual profit to those who do not unworthily eat the Bread, arises from the word spoken over it; and in fine, that the elements are the *typical and symbolical* Body.

Eusebius, in exact accordance with this statement of Origen, (Dem. Evan. 8,) calls the elements "symbols of the Divine Economy," and the Bread, the image and the symbol of His Proper Body.

Athanasius† says that our Lord, in the sixth chapter of St. John's Gospel, spoke of spiritual participation of Himself, and reminded those to whom he spoke, of his ascent into the Heavens, that he might draw them away from understanding his words of a bodily eating.

And so Cyril of Jerusalem, (Catech. IV,) "that with all assurance we partake of the Body and Blood of Christ, for the Body is given to thee in the symbol of Bread, and the Blood is given to thee in the symbol of Wine, that you may become partaker of the Body and Blood of Christ; of one Body and one Blood with Him." Here the typical character of the elements, and the spiritual design of the Sacrament, are clearly set forth. Cyril, like Athanasius, explains our Lord's discourse in John vi, of spiritual participation. He (Catech. III) ex-

* Contra Celsum 8, Sec. 33. Homil. 7, Sec. 5. Comment. in Matt. XV, II.
† Athan. in illud Evangelii, Quicumque dixerit, &c. Ep. ad Serap. IV.

plains also the nature of the change, which is made in the elements, by comparing to this change, that of the oil, which was set apart for sacred uses. The change, in both cases, was a change from a common to a holy use, and the elements, in both cases, by the change, became typical of holy things.

Epiphanius most plainly says, that the signs of both Baptism and the Eucharist are endowed with efficacy in Christ; but adds, that this power is not the Bread itself, but a power which is in it; that the Bread itself is food, but the power in it is life-giving. He is evidently speaking of that spiritual efficacy attending the Sacrament, to which Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Clement, Origen, Athanasius, and Cyril advert.

Ambrose is most explicit in his statements. He says, (De Sacramentis, IV, c. 4,) "that the elements remain what they were, and yet are changed into another thing," and that this arises from their being similitudes or representations of the Body and Blood of Christ, precisely the explanation which we have found in the Fathers already quoted. He says in his book, De Mysteriis, "that was the true Flesh of Christ, which was crucified, which was buried;" truly therefore is this the *Sacrament* of that Flesh. The Lord Jesus himself proclaims, "This is my Body." In accordance with this, he says, in his fourth book on the Sacraments, "the Sacrament is the figure of the Body and Blood of the Lord; thou dost drink the *similitude* of the precious blood," and he adds in his book De Mysteriis, "Christ is in that Sacrament, because it is the Body of Christ; it is not therefore bodily, but spiritual food." In this book, moreover, Ambrose directly says that the Sacraments of Christ are efficacious, because He is present to bless and sanctify those who receive them, an explanation coincident with the teachings of the English Church, but not with the philosophical theories and refinements of the Romish.

In harmony with the teachings of antiquity already adduced, are those of Augustine. "For," says he, "the Lord did not hesitate to say, This is my Body, when he gave the sign of His Body," and he explains himself clearly in his Epistle to Boniface, in the words, "If the Sacraments had not a certain likeness of those things, of which they are Sacraments, they would not, in any sense, be Sacraments." "But from this likeness, they very often receive also the names of the things themselves. As, therefore, in certain manner, the Sacrament of the Body of Christ, is the Body of Christ, and the Sacrament of the Blood of Christ, is the Blood of Christ, so the Sacrament of faith, is faith." He also directly explains our Lord's discourse in John vi, of spiritual manducation, (in Ps.

98,) "understand what I have spoken spiritually: this Body which you see is not the one, which you are to eat, neither are you to drink that blood, which those who will crucify me will shed. I have commended to you a Sacrament, which spiritually understood, will quicken you." He says, in accordance with the passage above, quoted from Epiphanius, (Tract in Johan. XXVI, Sec. 11,) "the Sacrament is one thing, the virtue of the Sacrament, another."

In opposing the Eutychian heresy, the Fathers of the Church, as, for example, Theodoret and Gelasius, argued the distinctness of the two natures in our Lord, from the distinctness of the earthly elements and the spiritual efficacy of the Sacrament, which was symbolical of our Lord. Theodoret says expressly that the elements do not depart from their own nature or substance, but that grace is added to nature, and Gelasius says, that the substance or nature of the Bread and Wine does not cease to be; and the same assertion is made by Chrysostom in his Epistle to Caesarius, the genuineness of which there is no good reason to doubt.

Such is a rapid survey of the teaching of Christian Antiquity concerning the Sacraments, as that teaching is brought out by the references of ancient writers mainly to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. They, however, so refer to Baptism, as to show that they thought of no difference in the mode of action of the two Sacraments, that they applied their idea of the nature of a Sacrament equally to the one and the other of the two.

And it must be perceived, that, in every great feature of their doctrine, the definitions of the English Church are at agreement with them. They hold the Sacraments to be signs and types of heavenly things; they deny to *the matter* of the Sacraments the Heavenly potency of the Sacraments; they declare their efficacy to be one, which is spiritual, and they set them forth as means of holiness, because the Spirit uses them as His occasions of acting upon the souls of faithful recipients.

This doctrine of the Sacraments, together with its proofs from Scripture and its illustrations from antiquity, are admirably brought out in the treatise of Ratramn, on the Body and Blood of the Lord; a treatise masterly in itself, and having an important historical value. It has this value, in the first place, as showing that, in the ninth century, the notions, which Rome has since put forth under anathema, were, by no means, the received doctrine of the Church, but opposed by learned men in the Church, as unchristian error; and, in the next place, this treatise of Ratramn is historically interesting, as being the instrument of recalling the Reformers of

the Anglican Church to the Scriptural and Primitive doctrine;—and upon this treatise also is based the homily of Ælfric, which represents the true teaching of the English Church in the tenth century.

We come now to speak of the three classes of doctrine, which we have noticed, as they are tested by their tendencies and results. And we remark upon this head, that the Romish doctrine has the tendency and effect of calling away those who receive it, from spiritual to sensuous views of religion, from heaven to earth, from the Invisible Head of the Church, to the Church, which is visible. The teaching that the Sacraments *contain* the grace, which they symbolize, that their *divine matter* is efficacious, is certainly calculated to fix the attention of men upon the outward signs, as in and by themselves potent in heavenly virtue. It is not Christ in Heaven, who is worshiped by those who are thus taught, so much as Christ upon the earthly altar, and carried (Sess. XIII, Canon VI) about in solemn processions by the hands of men. It is not the sacrifice upon the cross, which is contemplated and relied upon so much, as the propitiatory (Sess. XXII, Canon III) sacrifice of the mass, which is really made more prominent than that which was offered, once for all, upon Mount Calvary.

It is amazing to see the language which such an advocate as Moehler dares to use upon this subject. "Christ on the cross," (page 314,) he says, "is still an object strange to us: Christ, in the Christian worship, is our property, our victim." And again, (page 313,) "the Church, from the beginning, hath, at His command, (Luke xxii, 20,) *substituted* the Christ mysteriously present, and visible only to the spiritual eye of faith, for the historical Christ, now inaccessible to the corporeal senses. The former is taken for the latter, because the latter is likewise the former—both are considered as one and the same; and the Eucharistic Saviour, therefore, as the victim also for the sins of the world." And again, (313,) "The will of Christ, to manifest His gracious condescension to us in the Eucharist, forms no less an integral part of His great work than all besides, and in a way so necessary, indeed, that, whilst we here find the whole scheme of redemption reflected, *without it the other parts would not have sufficed for our complete atonement.*"

How, without completely setting aside the sacrifice upon the cross, could it be more effectually put in a secondary position than it is, according to these statements, by the sacrifice which, in Moehler's own language, is substituted for it? And he has, in this expression, well and truly exhibited the

Sacramental system of Rome. It is a system which makes the sign synonymous with the thing signified, and which causes the whole of its religious service to revolve about these terrestrial signs, instead of making them the index-fingers to point upwards, whither *He*, the true Life and Centre of our faith and hope, hath ascended.

The system of Rome strives to captivate the senses of men; it fills the life of man with Sacraments that Christ never ordained as Sacraments of His Gospel; it places the efficacy of these Sacraments in the power of the human minister, by making their validity dependent upon his intention. Thus, by this malign invention, calling the minds of men still further from Him who is the Living, Effective Minister of His own Sacraments, and in this way subjecting men to the dominion of outward things, and teaching them to seek *in these* their eternal hopes—is it strange if she stifles within them that true spirituality, which is the result of free communion between the Spirit of God and the spirit of man? She makes them, under the forms of religion, the slaves of the world. She subjects them to the old bondage of rites from which Christ came to free us. She places herself between Christ and His Baptized disciples, shutting out the clear shining of the Sun of Righteousness, and teaching men to look to her, rather than to Him, for salvation.

And this system she adopts, as we are told by Moehler, that she may teach men to avoid a false spiritualism, and that they may be brought to revere and to seek the objective realities of religion. It were devoutly to be wished, if this were her object, that she had presented to them not the opaque surfaces of mere earthly materials, but sacred mirrors, which give back faithfully and to the life, the image of our Incarnate Lord. It surely is not necessary, in order that we may hold converse with Him as truly and objectively present, that He should be imprisoned, before our eyes, in the very matter of His own creation. Such views are derogatory to His glory, and bind to earth the thoughts and affections of those who cherish them.

The effect of such teaching must be to impair the spirituality of man, to make him the slave of superstition; to lead him, if he be earnest and sincere, to seek peace and satisfaction in sources which do not contain them; to make his whole life, therefore, a series of mortifying, oppressive bondage, or else to drive him, in very madness and disgust, into the dark abysses of Infidelity. And the actual prevalence of the most degrading superstition among the masses of Rome, and of contemptuous unbelief among the higher orders of people nominally subject to her, is a conclusive proof of the justness

of the sketch which we have given of the natural and logical tendencies of her doctrine.

Moehler justly says that the Romish system of Sacraments is a direct result of the Romish doctrine of Justification. Without Sacraments like hers, embodying, materializing, and presenting to the senses of men that marvelous quality of Justification, not moral, or spiritual, but magical, as we have described it in a former article, she could not blind them to the imposing belief of the reality of her representations. The senses must be bribed to lull the mind to sleep, or to amuse it by gorgeous sheens, before it will yield to the power of the enchanter. A Justification which is quasi-material must be commended and conveyed to men, and preserved in them, by material appliances, which they are taught to believe are impregnated with divine virtue.

By such a system, if the free agency and responsibility of man to God are tampered with, he is nevertheless delivered over more completely into the power of the Church, who has taken to her the place of God, and taught him that he need practically look no higher than herself for the fullness of Divine Grace. We shudder to think that a Church bearing the Lord's Commission should have so forgotten and perverted that commission in her lust of power, and should have subscribed her hand to a scheme of such presumption and blasphemy; but we leave it to candid consideration, whether the system contained in the Decrees of Trent and urged by the advocacy of Moehler, does not warrant our statements and deductions. God knows that we would not set down aught in slander or in malice; but that we depict, in sorrow of heart, the genuine tendencies, aye, and the actual results, of a Sacramental system, towards which, strange to tell, wistful and admiring looks have been cast from a scriptural and Catholic Branch of the Church.

We proceed to notice, briefly, the tendency and effect of the Zwinglian or Rationalistic view of the Sacraments. This view, by treating the Sacraments as mere signs of things absent, as simple outward mementos, divests them of their spiritual life. The very spirit which, in framing such a theory, can fail to discern and feel the depth of meaning which there is in the expressions of Holy Scripture about the Sacraments, is a spirit of cold speculation, and one which will not stop the freedom of its speculations at the Sacraments, but will venture as fearlessly into the regions of doctrine, to open its mysteries.

We should always fear that tortuous mode of interpreta-

tion which can reduce the declarations of Scripture concerning Baptism and the Eucharist into statements of them as simple outward signs, however beautiful and affecting, as signs, they may be. Such a spirit, in its intellectual pride, will soon learn to disregard the signs as needless for itself at least, and to deal with all religious truth by the test of its own thoughts and feelings. It will receive Christianity as itself views and wishes it to be. And its last result is a *skeptical* unbelief; as the result of the Romish system with intelligent minds, is an unbelief which has been goaded into madness or disgust by the degrading bondage of superstition. The history of the Zwinglian Churches, their condition to day, is a proof that our sketches of the tendency of doctrine like this are not the creations of fancy.

Turn we lastly to the influence of the Anglican or Catholic doctrine of the Sacraments. This does not interfere with the free intercourse between the Holy Spirit of God and the spirit of man, but by teaching that in the Sacraments one thing is seen and handled, and another signified to faith, it directs the attention of the recipients to Him above, who gives the Sacraments all their spiritual efficacy. It does not degrade and sensualize our ideas of spiritual existence and communion, by teaching that the spirit acts upon the soul through the interposition of material species and substances; but it calls our minds to rise from these terrene elements, to fellowship with the Father, and with His Son Jesus Christ, by the bond of the Spirit. At the same time, it teaches us that the consecrated earthly symbols are the pledges and the occasions, the appointed times and seasons of that spiritual communion and those heavenly gifts, which are symbolized to our Faith. Every thing is here elevating in its influence, calling our minds and affections from the things of earth to those of Heaven, from things material to things spiritual, from the symbols to Him who, by them, is exhibited.

The Sacraments, moreover, represent to us the great mysterious truths of our religion, while they are means of our participation of its grace. They are instructive to the mind, and sanctifying to the soul. They impress upon us knowledge, while they attach us in love to Him whom we seek and adore. They are full of Him, and, therefore, full of grace and truth. Their influence in *teaching* impressively the most ignorant, as well as in ministering to them the consolations of the Spirit, we have often had occasion to notice, so that we have thought that one Sacrament received by such a devout soul with humble faith in the Lord of the Sacrament, conveyed

more knowledge of the great scheme of Salvation, and more impressed it, in the power of the Spirit, on the soul, than a thousand discourses of men could have done.

The Sacraments, therefore, regarded as symbols and representations of holy things and holy truths, and also as links of our spiritual union with the Incarnate Son of God, are conservative monuments of true Christianity in the world, and appointed means of its growth and continuance in the formation of human character for heaven. It is not surprising, therefore, that those who have begun by regarding the Sacraments as empty signs, should have ended by denying the Divinity of Him whom they symbolized; and when they return to the true view of the connection between the sign and the thing signified, then will they see Him shining in the sacred mirrors which He has devised, in the radiance of His Divinity.

So long, too, as the Church of Rome holds on to the Sacraments of religion, as the trickeries and sorceries of priestcraft to bind men to herself by the chains of superstition, so long will she be given over to believe that system of delusive doctrine, in intimate connection with her Sacramental system, which she puts forth as the Christianity that came from heaven.

And equally true is it that that Church, which holds forth the Sacraments, as the Ancient Church exhibited them, has also a system of doctrine, of which the Sacraments are the monuments and the witnesses, which can abide, as no other can, the test of Scripture and Catholic Antiquity.

As we would maintain true Christianity, therefore, in its public profession, and its genuine practical influence; as we honor the spiritual nature of man; as we would not deliver men over to the power of superstition, and skepticism, and infidelity; as we value communion with the Incarnate Saviour of men, it behooves us to exhibit the pledges and appointed means of that communion, as we have received from Him and from his Ancient Church, His Holy Sacraments. It behooves us to offer these to men, as, by the providence of God, we have them, in their scriptural and Catholic truth and purity—disenthralled from the unholy grasp of priestcraft on the one hand, and uncontaminated and not deprived of their inward life by skeptical speculation, on the other. Those who, by faith, behold in these heaven-bright mirrors, the image of Him, the great object of faith and hope, and, beholding, experience His life-giving, sanctifying power, shall thus be changed into the same image, from glory to glory, as by the Spirit of the Lord, till, at last, without a Sacrament, without an image, they shall be like Him, for they shall see Him *as He is.*

AMERICAN ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.*

By Rev. F. L. Hawks, D. D. LL. D.

Art. VII.—VIRGINIA COLONIAL CHURCH PAPERS.

MR. INGLIS TO THE GOVERNOR.

August 8th, 1705.

May it Please your Excellency:—

I think it my duty to acquaint your Excellency, that I intend to quit the Grammar School, (which is commonly, but very improperly, called the College,) both as master and housekeeper, on the 25th day of September next. I have many reasons which move me to this; and shall only mention some of them.

1st. Because Mr. Blair, president of the intended College of William and Mary, when last in England, ordered his brother's son, John Blair, to be taken from School, which accordingly was done; and by so doing he broke the ice for five or six more of his kindred and party, who likewise (and only they) took their sons and relations from School after his laudable example, by which means I lost seven scholars, almost one third of the whole, which had almost broke the School, and was a considerable loss to me, six of them being my boarders.

2d. Because, by such proceedings, I have very good reason to think that Mr. Blair and his party have turned the noble design of the College into a stalking-horse, to serve a turn, and by taking their sons and relations from School designed to break it, because your Excellency is so much for promoting it, and that they might have it to say that your Excellency had not interest enough in the country to keep it up, and that it could not be a School nor a College in Mr. Blair's absence, though it was the least of his cares when present.

3d. Because he has addressed the Queen to remove your Excellency, the great patron and promoter of it, and the best friend (without flattery) that ever it had, next to King William and Queen Mary, and her present Majesty, whom God long preserve, and that too upon bare surmise, without any legal trial, or articles proved any otherwise than by some positive and exparte affidavits, which one of that party pretends cannot be invalidated by any future negative.

4th. Because I have all along found Mr. Blair uneasy and dissatisfied with the present Governors, and I, being none of his party, cannot expect to live comfortably and easy in his society.

5th. Because he has highly injured and disgraced not only your

* Copy right secured according to law.

Excellency, but my School, my scholars, and myself, in one of his affidavits, by making your Excellency the contriver and my scholars the executioners of a bad design, of which, though he first acquits your Excellency, yet he immediately charges it upon you, and lays the whole train of his accusation, so as to have it believed. By which means he has done what he could to make my scholars to be thought a company of cut-throats, or a crew of banditti, that makes no more of the life of a man than the life of a hen, though they are the best gentlemen's sons in the country, and of such virtuous dispositions and honest principles as are not easily to be matched in most Grammar Schools; and this being no less an aspersion on myself than on my scholars, as if I either did not, or knew not how to form their minds with better principles. I cannot but deeply resent such usage.

6th. I have learnt by twelve years' experience, that the intended College of William and Mary will never arrive at any greater perfection than a Grammar School, while Mr. Blair demands and takes his salary yearly as president, while it is only a Grammar School, and while there remains no more money behind than will barely pay the Usher, and Writing Master, and myself, which two years ago came very far short even of that, and it was with some difficulty that we got any more than half salary, so that there is not the least probability that ever the College will answer the design in the Charter, while things continue as they are. And if Mr. Blair were not your Excellency's enemy, I would tell you that there is not anything has done the College more disservice than his demanding and taking his salary as president of the College, while it is only a Grammar School, which has rendered the College so odious among the inhabitants that it is looked upon, not as it is indeed, a noble and excellent design, but a trick of Mr. Blair's to enrich himself; and for that reason there are but very few that send their sons to School. For these reasons I am resolved to quit the School at the term above mentioned, and to have no more to do with it, while Mr. Blair is concerned in it.

Your Excellency's most humble servant,
MUNGO INGLIS.

WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE, Aug. 8th, 1705.

Account of the Proceedings of the Clergy of Virginia, at the Church at Williamsburgh.

MR. COMMISSARY BLAIR TO MR. RUDD.

WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE IN VIRGINIA, AUGUST 16th, 1705.

REV. AND DEAR BROTHER:—

I am commanded by his Excellency, Edward Nott, Esq., to signify to you that he has some matters of moment to communicate to the Clergy of this Colony, from our Rt. Rev. Diocesan, My Lord Bishop of London, in order to which I desire your presence and

assistance at Williamsburgh, at a meeting of the Clergy, on Wednesday morning, the 29th of this inst.

Sir—Your affectionate brother and humble servant

JAMES BLAIR, *Commissary.*

VIRGINIA, AUGUST 30th, 1705.

We, the subscribers, the major part of the Clergy of this, her Majesty's ancient Colony and dominion of Virginia, her Majesty's most dutiful and peaceable subjects, true and genuine sons of the Church of England, and early initiated into her principles, and the constant loyal addressers to her Majesty's late representative amongst us, the Hon. Francis Nicholson, Esq., being by a letter from our most honored Diocesan, the Rt. Hon. and Rt. Rev. Father in God, Henry, Lord Bishop of London, withheld from offering anything by way of address or testimonial to the said Hon. Francis Nicholson, Esq., now upon his departure for England, unwillingly forbear.

But having carefully considered the several depositions relating to us of the Clergy against the said Governor Nicholson, do declare them to be frivolous, scandalous, false, and malicious.

Witness our Hands.

SOLOMON WHATELY, G. SMITH, EDWARD PORTLOCK, RALPH BOWKER, JOHN CARNEGIE, WM. WILLIAMS, EMANUEL JONES, JACOB WARE, ARTHUR TILLYARD, BAR. YATES, LEWIS LATANE, DAN. TAYLOR, JAMES SCLATER, WM. RUDD, PETER WAGENER, JAMES BURTELL, JAMES BOISSEAU, O. JONES, AND. MONRO, THOS. SHARP, JAMES CLACK, PETER KIPPAR, RICHARD SQUIRE.

Memorandum.

Mr. Commissary Blair's trusty non-addressers are these following, and no more.

Mr. John Monro, his countryman and brother-in-law.

Mr. Jas. Wallace, his countryman and brother deponent.

Mr. Geo. Robertson,
Mr. Chas. Anderson,
Mr. James Breechin,
} his countrymen.

Mr. St. Jno. Shropshire, English born;

To whom belonged, while among us, Mr. Stephen S. Fouace, a Walloon, Mr. Commissary's Agent, and Residentiary now in England.

To his Reverence, the Rev. Jas. Blair, Commissary to the Rt. Hon. and Rt. Rev. Father in God, Henry, Lord Bishop of London, within this, her Majesty's ancient Colony and dominion of Virginia, the humble representation of us, the subscribers, the far major part of the Clergy of the said Colony here present—Showeth;

That we do not take upon ourselves to dispute your Reverence's authority and jurisdiction over us as Commissary to the Rt. Hon. and Rt. Rev. Father in God, Henry, Lord Bishop of London, within this, her Majesty's Colony and dominion of Virginia.

But that having seen an authentically attested copy of an order of Queen in Council, signifying it to be her Majesty's royal pleasure that

you should not depart the kingdom of England, nor come into Virginia till, by having abiden her Majesty's just determination and royal award in a certain case nearly relating to the affairs of this Colony, you should have put yourself into a capacity of appearing here under less suspicious circumstances, and have effectually wiped off those scandalous imputations under which at present you labor.

Hereupon we humbly submit it to your Reverence's own consideration, whether it be safe or convenient, either for you to require, or for us to pay the respect and obedience otherwise due to your character, until such time as her Majesty's pleasure be further known, your being in, or executing upon us within this, her Majesty's Colony of Virginia, any power or commission whatsoever of a date antecedent to the date of that order of Queen in Council, or of an authority not equal to it; or unless we shall have some such dispensation given us as may be sufficient to secure us from the danger of incurring the like censure of contempt should we show ourselves over forward in paying our respects and obedience to a person himself standing (as to us seems) in contempt and disobedience of her most sacred Majesty.

Until which shall be done, if we think it more safe and more becoming our character for us of the Clergy to withdraw and suspend for a season our usual respects and obedience, we hope this our humble representation, and the scrupulous fear we have of doing anything which may expose us to censure or contempt, either here, (where your Reverence cannot but be sensible under what a general odium you lie,) or at home, (where your case seems very doubtful,) will receive a favorable interpretation.

Thus, Sir, humbly desiring you to take into your serious consideration, both our circumstances and your own, we subscribe ourselves under the conditions before named,

Reverend Sir, your Reverence's

Most humble and most obedient Servants,

Solomon Whately, Wm. Williams, Jas. Sclater, Edward Portlock, Jas. Boisseau, Jacob Ware, G. Smith, Ralph Bowker, Emanuel Jones, O. Jones, John Carnigie, Arthur Tillyard, Bar. Yates, Lewis Latane, Edward Butler, Daniel Taylor, Jas. Burtell, Wm. Rudd, Peter Wagener, And. Monro, Thos. Sharp, Jas. Clack, Peter Kippar, Richard Squire.

(P. S.) If under this our humble remonstrance, you shall please to subscribe it as your judgment and opinion that, notwithstanding that order of Queen in Council, we may and ought to pay you the same respects and obedience as before, and that in so doing we need not fear any censure from above;

If, Sir, you shall be pleased, in terms direct and express, to deliver this to us as your judgment in the case, we shall not dispute your determination, but submit, otherwise we must for a time suspend.

Vera Copia test.

William Stanard, John Wyatt, Richard Wyatt.

August 29th, 1705.

This is a true copy of the paper delivered to Mr. Commissary Blair, at the Church in Williamsburgh, by Emanuel Jones.

WILLIAMSBURGH, August 30th, 1705.

REV. SIR,—

You having been pleased this day to read to us some papers by way of answer and remarks upon our humble representation presented to you yesterday, and withal having promised to deliver to us the same in writing, the greatest part of us living at a considerable distance, and desiring to haste homewards, humbly desire you, if those papers are not as yet in readiness to be delivered, to put them into the hands of our Rev. brother, Mr. Whately, your near neighbor, to be by him communicated to us.

We are, Rev. Sir,

Your most humble servants,

JACOB WARE, PETER WAGENER, LEWIS LATANE, DANIEL TAYLOR, ARTHUR TILLYARD, EDWARD PORTLOCK, WM. WILLIAMS, EDWARD BUTLER, AND. MONRO, PETER KIPPAR, EMANUEL JONES, G. SMITH, THOS. SHARP, RICHARD SQUIRE, WM. RUDD, BAR. YATES, JAMES CLACK.

At a meeting of the Clergy of Virginia at the Church at Williamsburgh, Aug. 29, 1705—

Present,—The Rev. Mr. Commissary Blair, &c.

Mr. Commissary preached on *Matt.* 11, 29. After Sermon, the Governor presented to the Clergy a letter from the Lord Bishop of London, directed to them, which is as follows:

APRIL 29th.

BRETHREN,—

It is not without great concern for you that I write this general admonition; for when I reflect upon the hard censures that have passed upon you here in England, for your being drawn into addresses and testimonials, and by what indecent and irregular methods procured; how you exposed yourselves in complying and coming into every thing contrary to the knowledge and sentiments of many of you, I cannot but be ashamed for you that the Gospel should have infused no better principles into your hearts. But God be thanked that temptation is over; and, contrary to your demerits, you have a Governor that will need none of your testimonials, nor expect any other thing from you but a peaceable and sober behavior, that your flocks may learn, by your examples as well as precepts, how to demean themselves. If you imagine your late Governor, Col. Nicholson, has been injurious to you, forgive, as you would be forgiven, and express no resentment; but part with him friendly, without signing papers, or playing the fool, as you have done formerly. Happy are you now if it be not your own faults; for I dare say your

Governor comes with an unbiased mind, to serve the Queen and the common interest of the Plantation, without respect of persons. He expects all grudges and private animosities, all factions and parties should be forgotten, and that all should forget and forgive. Look forwards, and remember the guilt of Lot's wife: be ye therefore the first, my dear brethren, in setting a good example to this happy revolution. Let your Governor be witness of your good behavior, your Commissary of the faithful discharge of your duty, and God Almighty of your sincerity. Let this moment shut the door upon all that is passed; let no complaints come to me but what are dated after the hour you read this, and let the remembrance of all things be gone, be as if they never had been. Let us now begin upon a new account and cancel all the old ones. For my part, I will not hear nor remember what has befallen before this time. I shall be perfectly deaf to all that is passed, and expect to hear from you for the future, as if you had never seen nor known one another before. I pray God bless and direct you and give you a right understanding in all things—it is the hearty prayer of your most assured friend, Diocesan, and brother,

H. London.

For the Rev. my Brethren, the Clergy of Virginia.

After reading of the said letter, the Governor recommended to the Clergy the following of the Bishop's advice, as being that which would tend most to her Majesty's service, the peace of the country, their own happiness, and would be most obliging to him, and so withdrew. Then Mr. Commissary made a short speech to the Clergy, signifying his resolution for his part to comply with my Lord Bishop's admonition, recommending the same to the Clergy. His speech was in the words following:

Dear Brethren,—The occasion of convocating you at this time, was to impart you the letter which you have heard from our Rt. Rev. Diocesan. He has so fully spoke his own sense that I have nothing to add, but only to assure you that I am fully resolved for my part to comply with his most prudent, Christian, and peaceable admonition. The world knows I have been strangely assaulted and accused of countenancing the precariousness of the Clergy, and some other ill things which I am so far from being guilty of, that I have expressed in all times, and under all Governors, a distinguishing zeal against them, both here and in England. But though I am the person wrongfully taxed and accused, I shall lay my hand upon my mouth, and draw a veil upon all that is past. I hope this will not be so misconstrued, as if I were any way conscious to myself, that I cannot answer what has been laid to my charge; so far from that, that if any real scruple remains with any of you, I shall take it as the greatest kindness if you will give me an opportunity of satisfying it in private, without exposing ourselves by our public differences; and if

that wont do, then make it as public, and complain of me in God's name to my superiors, as much as you please. I desire no favor upon that account. If any man is weary of the late unhappy divisions and animosities which have been among us, he shall find me ready to forgive and forget, and to be perfectly reconciled to that degree, that I will never so much as put him in mind of what is past. But if any man has a mind to accuse me of any crime or misdemeanor whatsoever, if instead of doing it by the way of backbiting in holes and corners, he will do it in any way, either of public justice or private arbitration, he shall find me ready to give him satisfaction. . Ye have heard to day a great deal for peace and quietness ; pray remember that our divisions will be nuts to the adversaries of the Church and of the profession of the Ministry, the Atheists, the Papists, the Quakers, the loose and ungodly livers, and several others who have no great respect for our function. It requires our joint labors to withstand all these ; but how glad will they be, to see that zeal which used to be spent against them, now employed in wronging and devouring one another. I, for my part, am ready to pass by all provocation, being well satisfied ye have not been the principals, but only accessaries in them. If ye for your parts are as amicably and peaceably disposed, I hope we shall mutually reap the blessed fruits of union and concord, and the service of the Church will be so much the better promoted ; but if any are still desirous to blow up the coals of contention, I am afraid I must tell you, they themselves may have occasion to repent it when it is too late ; the case is now much altered from what it was some time ago. God be thanked, we have now a Governor who is as studious of union and quiet, as some others have been of party and faction, and notwithstanding the idle stories which are industriously spread all over the country to the contrary, we who have been near the fountain-head of business, know that he is a gentleman of that established good character, and that firm interest, that we are like to be long happy under his government, and they will find that they do but kick against the pricks, who go about directly or indirectly to undermine him or make him uneasy. To conclude, let us thankfully acquiesce in her Majesty's choice of a good Governor, a gentleman fitted to heal our breaches, and compose our difference, and make us all easy and happy ; and let us comply with the wise and Christian admonitions of our excellent Bishop, and endeavor to live friendly and brotherly with one another, keeping the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. I do again assure you, it shall not belong of me, if our differences be long lived, and as to you, I shall take my characters of you, not from what you were, when under the strong influences of a mighty over-swaying power, of which I have been many times an eye and ear witness, but from what you will show yourselves hereafter, when fairly left to the freedom of your own choice.

I am sensible that I am very unequal for the charge wherein through the providence of God I am continued, but I hope through God's

blessing upon my honest endeavors and your good council and assistance, which I intend duly to ask and take along with me in every thing of moment, that this poor infant Church may yet prosper and flourish, especially if every one of us is careful not only to maintain brotherly love, but likewise to adorn the truth of His doctrine, with an exemplary life and conversation, in pastoral diligence, and all other Christian virtues.

Then, Mr. Emanuel Jones coming to Mr. Commissary with a paper in his hand, with the hands of several of the Clergy to it, said he was empowered by the Clergy to present that paper. Mr. Commissary enquiring when and where that paper was signed, and understanding that it was at a separate meeting held at the house of Mr. Jno. Young, where Governor Nicholson lives, made answer to Mr. Jones, that he could not own that as a regular meeting of the Clergy, it having been called by no authority, civil or ecclesiastical, of this colony, and without privity, presence, or assistance of himself, as being my Lord Bishop of London's Commissary, without whom no ecclesiastical meeting for treating and concluding upon any ecclesiastical matters ought to be held, when he is in the country; and that he thought such proceedings very unfair, and contrived to preëngage several persons by subscriptions, by that means to prevent the freedom of their deliberations at our public general meeting, which was immediately after to be held; for which reasons he told them that he could not receive that paper as an act of the Clergy of this country. But at the same time made offer, that if they would fairly propose those same things now in the regular way of fair motion, debate, question, vote, and resolution, they should be welcome to do it, and fairly have the opinions of the Clergy in these things, or whatever else they pleased. Upon which the subscribers of the said paper going out of the Church, and all proceedings being thereupon for some time stopt, they returned again after an hour, to Mr. Commissary, and some others of the Clergy that had remained with him, telling him that they would not insist upon the paper as an act of the Clergy, or that it should be read in the public meeting thereof, only desired that he would take it as a private paper, directed to himself in private, for the resolution of a case of conscience, in which they desired satisfaction from him alone. Upon these terms Mr. Commissary receiving the paper, but not in the meeting of the Clergy, as to all the material part of the case or scruple proposed therein, returned them a speedy answer in writing, in the following words, viz:

Rev. Brethren,—Whereas you have been pleased to propose it to me as a doubt, whether, notwithstanding a certain order of the Queen in Council, dated May 3, 1705, you can own me as Commissary of Virginia, and are pleased to say you will submit to my own opinion in the case given under my hand, I do here not only give you my opinion of your being safe in so doing, but shall further satisfy you in the reasons of the said opinion.

1st. There is not one word in that order of Council (were it never so regular) tending in the least to lay me aside from my office of Commissary, and with submission, I judge it not proper for you to draw any such consequences, till the Queen herself or my Lord Bishop of London, or the Governor, or Governor and Council of Virginia, have signified it to you. On the contrary, I doubt not it would be construed as a meddling with things not within your province, if you should go to interpose your judgment, before her Majesty, the Bishop, or Governor have interposed theirs.

I do likewise acquaint you that I had good advice in law, and that my Lord Bishop of London was thoroughly acquainted with my case after the said order was made, and did not offer in the least to withdraw or suspend my power as Commissary, though he knew of my coming with the fleet, and that I had likewise made a full answer to the said order, which I doubt not is satisfactory, which I shall be very willing to show any of you in private, though for the reasons above mentioned, you must not take upon you to prejudge concerning the merits of the cause, but to abide her Majesty's determination. In the mean time that I am Commissary of Virginia, (as you have it already from my Lord Bishop of London, and his Excellency our Governor,) so seeing you desire it under my own hand, and that you are safe and act according to your duty in owning me as such, I put my name to these presents. JAMES BLAIR.

Then the Clergy being again met in the Convention with Mr. Commissary, and the subscribers of the above mentioned paper being likewise present, Mr. Commissary's answer to the case was publicly read, and the question being put whether the said answer of Mr. Commissary's was a satisfactory answer to the material part of the case proposed in the above mentioned paper, resolved unanimously, that it was a satisfactory answer. Then Mr. Commissary urged that having answered the material part of the case and scruple to their own satisfaction, he hoped for peace's sake, they would not think fit to keep in some gross reflections upon himself, which were interspersed in their paper. In answer to which, some proposing the canceling of the said aspersions, others, the sinking of the whole paper, and that instead thereof, the case should be drawn anew without reflection, but others insisting upon the preserving of that paper entire as it was, night drawing on before they had adjusted this matter, the meeting was adjourned by consent till to-morrow morning, at 9 o'clock.

August the 30th, at 9 in the morning, Mr. Commissary having this day again proposed that for peace's sake, the material part of their scruple being answered to their satisfaction, they would find some way to alter those unjust reflections they had made in the paper wherein their case was proposed, Mr. Edward Portlock, in the name of those who had signed that paper before the meeting of the Clergy, made answer, that they had considered of the matter, and

were resolved to adhere to what they had subscribed. Upon which, several of the brethren giving instances of the falsehood of that expression in the paper, that Mr. Blair lay under the general odium of the country, whereas to their knowledge in their several parishes, he was much beloved and respected, and especially in his own parish and among his nearest neighbors who knew him best, and desiring the others to instance in anything that was odious in Mr. Blair's life and conversation; notwithstanding which, the others answered with an obstinate adherence to their subscriptions. Mr. Commissary seeing that they were resolved to keep up this paper as the ball of contention, desired in order to their conviction, that they would hear some material objections he had to offer against the said paper, which after he had begun to read, the greater part of the subscribers being impatient, went out of the Church, saying they would not stay to hear such things; others of them stayed and heard the objections to an end, and then immediately withdrew to Mr. Young's house, where the late Governor Nicholson lodges, desiring before they went, that Mr. Commissary would let them have a copy of those objections, which he promised as soon as it could be fairly drawn out.

After they had been gone above half an hour, they sent Mr. Portlock to Mr. Commissary, who remained still in the Church, with such of the ministers who had not subscribed the said paper, who delivered to him a letter subscribed by twelve of their number, signifying their being desirous to hasten homewards, and that they requested that those papers (if they are not yet in a readiness to be delivered) might be put into the hands of his neighbor Mr. Whately, to be communicated by him to them. Mr. Commissary, by the advice of the brethren remaining in the meeting, had the minutes of the proceedings fairly drawn up and attested, and being sensible of their frequent recourse to Gov. Nicholson's lodging, and their former subscriptions and obligations to him, that there was little appearance of their being persuaded into a good temper while he was in the country, and they so much under his influence, resolved to trouble no further at this time, especially being assured from some of themselves, that a little time and patience after his absence would set all things right.

The remarks and objections which Mr. Commissary offered to the paper they so much insisted on, were as follows:

First: That as to the manner of procuring it, it was very irregular, upon the following accounts:

1st. That the said meeting was held without the knowledge, privity, or consent, of the Bishop's Commissary.

2d. That the meeting where it was signed was a clandestine meeting, called by no authority, civil nor ecclesiastical.

3d. That this way of drawing paper and gathering of hands in private, is inconsistent with the usual way of proceeding in all regu-

lar Conventions, which is by motion, deb
resolution.

4th. That the only persons called to this
newly arrived,) were such of the Clergy as
and subscriptions, preëngaged themselves
not the whole Clergy.

5th. That all such preëngaging of person
they come to the regular meetings of the C
ive to all freedom of deliberation and deb
necessary to all lawful Conventions.

Secondly: As to the matter and form o
what is already satisfied in the answer to th
it contains several false and scandalous re
if I had left England under suspicious
stances; as if I now stood in contempt
Majes'y; and as if I lay under the genera
all which are so many gross abuses and calu
thrown upon me.

Lastly: Because the design of that pap
suspicious, and to look with a bad aspect, n
astical, but also the civil government of th
to his Excellency Edward Nott, Esq., o
whose sweet temper and peaceable dispo
ceeding happy.

The reasons of this suspiciousness are,

1st. That I am informed some of those
this paper, were invited to come to town
eral meeting of the Clergy, by the late G
sages and letters, after he was out of his g

2d. That their meeting was at Mr. Youn
late Governor lives.

3d. That the said Gov. Nicholson was
seen, a monitory letter, written by my Lo
the Clergy of this country, wherein his
against such subscriptions and addresses;
first communicated to the Clergy, before t
to be presumed they would not have drawn
express acting contrary to the Bishop's adm
and all this by his knowledge and privity, i
tion.

4th. Because, before this meeting of the
or had sent all over the country copies of
the Rt. Hon. Sir Charles Hedges his lett
the petition of Mr. George Wilcox, his Soli
Order of Council thereupon, by all which,
ments upon the said papers, published by
he was much in favor with her Majesty, an
home to clear himself, and would return G

time; that I had fled from public justice in England, and was to be sent home in irons; it is probable those of the Clergy who adhered to his party, were prepared to draw up this strange paper.

5th. Because it is insinuated in this paper, that I lie under the general odium of the country, and though the reason is not expressed, yet it is talked here, and doubtless will be confidently reported in England, that it is because I have been so instrumental in proving the complaints against the said late Governor; and it looks as if this address were to be made use of in England to countenance a story of the dissatisfaction of the country with the change of the Governor; upon all which accounts, as I can by no means approve of this paper myself, so I hope several of my brethren, who have been unwarily led into the clandestine subscription of it, may now still withdraw their hands, as being innocent of the sinister uses that may be made of their subscriptions.

Most of the ministers hastening out of town, Mr. Commissary, with some few that remained, finished the minutes of this meeting, whereof they attest this to be a true copy.

John Monro,	James Wallace,
St. John Shropshire,	James Blair, Com.
Geo. Robertson,	Chas. Anderson.
James Breechin,	

This is a true copy of the copy delivered to me by Mr. Commissary Blair's own hands, (involuntary scapes of transcription excepted.) Solomon Whately.

Some Remarks upon the minutes or accounts of the proceedings at a meeting of the Clergy of Virginia, at the Church at Williamsburgh, Aug. 29, 1705, drawn up, signed and attested by Mr. James Blair, Commissary, his brother-in-law Mr. John Monro, his brother-deponent Mr. James Wallace, Mr. George Robertson, Mr. Charles Anderson, Mr. James Breechin his countryman, and the Rev. Mr. St. John Shropshire.

That account begins with the mention of Mr. Commissary's Sermon on the subject of meekness and humility, from Matt. xi, 29.

Mr. Commissary cannot forbear stuffing every half-page of this account with his crambo stories of Gov. Nicholson's *overawing* methods, &c. Mr. Commissary hath all along showed himself not one jot inferior to Gov. Nicholson, in making use of his *overawing* methods; witness a passage or two toward the close of that his sermon of meekness, together with a multitude more of instances, old and new, producible if required.

It is a plain case, and apparent from the whole matter of his management, that Mr. Commissary Blair, with all his meekness and humility, is as desirous as any man of sovereignty, and can as little bear contradiction. Mr. Commissary's sermon of meekness and *power* stands backed in that account with my Lord Bishop of London's letter to us, transcribed at length.

Mr. Commissary's having procured against us such a letter from my Lord Bishop of London, is another instance of his *overawing* methods, and of the ill use he makes of his Lordship's good opinion of him.

The Bishop of London's letter is wholly founded upon the bottom of Mr. Commissary Blair's depositions. What our sentiments are of those depositions of Mr. Commissary Blair against Gov. Nicholson, (as far as they relate to us of the Clergy,) is by this time (I presume) known to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, which we shall not retract, though now delivered from that mighty overswaying power, under which it seems we lately lay, and by which it is suggested all such kind of things were extorted from us. And if Mr. Commissary, now, while he is on the spot, desires to have them over again, it shall be no fault of ours if he be not gratified; and though I am now single and alone, and therefore if I exceed my bounds I alone am answerable for it, yet herein I confidently presume I speak the sense of all of us. And I heartily wish we may not only have the liberty, but be brought under a necessity, (a thing not impossible,) of putting in our answers to those depositions, with the same solemnity with which they were given.

The grand and sole offence, for which Mr. Commissary hath procured so extremely severe a censure upon us, and upon account of which his Lordship is pleased thus to express himself to us, "I cannot but be ashamed for you, that the Gospel should have influenced no better principles into your hearts," viz., than to address Gov. Nicholson, to which accusation we are commanded to submit with silence, and not to offer a syllable by way of reply.

It grieves me to see under what a prepossession his Lordship lies, and into what an unfatherly partiality he is betrayed. But Mr. Commissary is a man of meek appearance, and a master of the art of insinuation, and by such persons the best natures are the most easily imposed upon.

The case of us, the addressing clergy, is in short this: there hath been for some years past an unhappy contest between Gov. Nicholson and some few leading gentlemen of the country, criminations and recriminations on both sides, (God knows) too many, the mischief and scandal of which all of us sadly lament, and wish it were in our power to put a stop to the further progress of them; that any of us, the addressing Clergy, had any hand in creating those unhappy differences, or did in the least concern ourselves in them, till they were gone to such a height that it was impossible to stifle them, I think Mr. Commissary Blair cannot pretend. As for myself, (I then living in a remote corner of the country,) they were some years on foot, (at least one year on foot,) before I so much as knew anything of them, but by uncertain rumor. But when they were grown to their full height, and to our grief we found some of our own coat, also, too deeply engaging themselves in practices so unsuitable to the meekness of their profession; and above all, Mr. Commissary Blair, (as is notoriously

known at home as well as here,) and that one branch of the accusations against our then Governor, related to us of the Clergy, by which we were (whether we would or no) to be twisted into the controversy, we then found ourselves brought under a necessity, either of suffering ourselves to be esteemed partisans with the complainers, or of declaring our disapprobation of them, which we knew no more proper way of doing, than by these our addresses and testimonials, which have drawn upon us so severe a censure, but which, as circumstances then stood, had we forborne to have made, the lasting prejudice the whole name of the priesthood would have suffered in these parts of the world, would been of more fatal consequence to us than can be any temporary misprisions we may for a short time (till the reason of the thing be duly considered) lie under at home; and if we, the addressing Clergy, must lie under such a censure, the best gentlemen of the country, nay, almost the whole Province, (one or two spreading families excepted,) will be involved in the same condemnation; the addressers and favorers of the addressers and those ready (were it proper) to add their names to them, being throughout the whole Province, taking in all sorts and conditions of men, from the highest to the lowest, (one or two families, as before, excepted,) I verily believe, some hundreds to one, as plainly appears to any stranger, that doth but set his foot on this shore, from the common talk of the people, as well as from more public and authentic testimonies.

It is plain, therefore, that the addressing clergy have the general favor of the people, and the anti-addressing quite the contrary. A matter of fact so plain, that Mr. Commissary himself, though he will not own it, cannot but know it, that therefore there cannot be a greater disservice to the Church of England and the ministers of it, not only within this Colony of Virginia, but throughout all the northern continent of America, (throughout all which our unhappy differences, and who have been the chiefest actors in them, is but too well known,) than to have the personal interest and pocket gain of one single person so vigorously supported to so general a dissatisfaction. It is a common notion here, and throughout all the plantations, that they will not be priest-ridden; which common aversion against priest-riding, could scarce have been, by any other means whatsoever, more confirmed and lightened than by Mr. Commissary Blair's having been so intermeddling in affairs not belonging to his coat, and so instrumental (as he seems not unwilling to own) in public changes, to which the protection afforded him from home doth not a little increase the odium. The fatal consequences of which *overawing* methods, (should Mr. Commissary adventure to pursue them much farther,) will in the end fall heavy on us, the poor objects of the priesthoods in these parts of the world, and cut us off from all hopes of obtaining, with consent of the people, (without which it will do us little good,) a better settlement than what we now enjoy, it being of late become too common a reflection in the mouths of the better

sort of the people among us, how danger
to be trusted with too much power.

And thus much for our addresses and
and the reasons of them, and how we c
Upon the whole, let all the world judge
affair most agreeably to the principles
most becoming loyal subjects, and most
of the Church of England, the addresse
if Mr. Blair and his friends shall still n
addresses and testimonials, let them talk

Next after my Lord Bishop of Londo
count a recapitulation of his Excellency
fairly represented. After that, Mr. Com
made to us out of writing.

[The comments of these "addressers" upon h
rious document, and is important as throwing lig
of the early Church of Virginia. It will appear

Art. VIII.—BOOK NOTICES.

The English Language in its Elements and Forms; *with a History of its origin and development. Designed for the use of Colleges and Schools.* By William C. Fowler, late Professor of Rhetoric in Amherst College. 8vo. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1850.

Professor Fowler has become convinced, that among our scholars generally, even those from our highest seminaries, there is a want of a thorough and extensive acquaintance with their mother tongue. One important cause of this deficiency, he finds in the absence of a text-book, in which the foundation principles of the language are fully and clearly exhibited. In view of this state of things, he has prepared the work on the English language announced above. This treatise he has divided into eight parts. In the *first*, his subject is the "origin and history of the English language." Here he treats of the general relations of language, among which, the most important are, the beginning of language; the diversities and classification of languages; the local origin of the English language, and the Teutonic and Scandinavian branches. He next considers the elements of the English language, as the Celtic, the Saxon, the Danish or Norse, and the Anglo-Norman. Specimens of the language are furnished from the writings of popular authors from the fourteenth century to the present time. In this connection we have a chapter on the Dialects of the English language, and on provincialisms. In the *second* part, the author brings into view the "phonology of the English language." He treats here of elementary sounds, of certain combinations of sounds, of the genesis of English vowels and consonants, of euphony, of the permutation and transition of letters, of the natural significancy of articulate sounds, of quantity and accent, and other nearly related topics. Errors in pronunciation are considered, and the standards to which on questions of orthoepy it is the custom to appeal. In the *third* part, "the orthographical forms in the English language" are presented. Here the author, after stating some general principles of orthography, speaks among other topics, of the theory of a perfect alphabet, the defects and the History of the English alphabet, and the causes of the diversity of our spelling. In the *fourth* part there is an exhibition of the "etymological forms" of English words. The several parts of speech are considered in their order, and subjected to a careful and clear analysis. In the *fifth* part a view is taken of "logical forms." "As logic is wholly concerned in the use of language," it is nearly related to Grammar and Rhetoric. "Logic deals with the meaning of language, Grammar with its construction, Rhetoric with its persuasiveness." A general outline is given of Logic, and in the *seventh* part, of Rhetoric. In the *sixth* part, occurs a detailed and able view of the "syntactical forms," and in the *eighth* of the "poetical forms" of the English language.

This is an imperfect synopsis of the volume; but the reader, from what is here said, will be able to see its general design, and the kind of information to be derived from it. The author has been very assiduous in collecting materials for his work, and appears to have used them with sound judgment. There is nothing in this volume which every scholar would not find it useful to know; and a general study of the history and principles of our language, would undoubtedly tend to guard it against the numerous corruptions and barbarisms, to which from various causes it is peculiarly exposed. Fifty articles in this work, comprising somewhat more than one fifth of the volume, were furnished by Professor Gibbs of Yale College, who is well known to his friends to have successfully employed a portion of his leisure time for several years past, in investigating the history and structure of language generally, and particularly of the English.

NEW ELEMENTS OF GEOMETRY, BY SEBA SMITH. NEW YORK: G. P. Putnam, 1850.

The book bearing the above title, is a thin octavo of two hundred pages. The author appears to have discovered by some means or other, that the science of Geometry which has been handed down since the time of Euclid, is entirely erroneous in its conceptions, and announces that by a happy circumstance he has hit on the true method of considering the subject.

We learn from the preface, that the new ideas which he puts forth, are not entirely due to himself; but that a Mr. Parker had called his attention to the subject, by putting into his hands some "original papers" particularly relating to the "quadrature of the circle," a problem which Mr. P. had proposed to himself; and which had so far yielded to his powerful investigations as to enable him to pronounce with the greatest assurance, the approximation of the ratio of the circumference to the diameter of a circle, as now received by mathematicians wrong after the fifth decimal place. It will be known to most readers, that Rutherford, and others, have pushed the approximation to 208 decimal places. The author being thus entirely "convinced of the truth of his (P's) solution of that remarkable problem," and "impressed with the boldness, strength, and originality of his reasoning," sets out himself on Geometrical research, based on these new methods, and this work is the result of his labors. Now we take for granted, that the book was written, either for those who already understand the subject, or for those who do not. If for the former, the author has shown how small an opinion he has of their judgment and discrimination, in attempting to palm off on them such a specimen of Geometrical (although we ought not to use the word) nonsense. If for the latter, he has shown how little regard he has for the enquiring mind, whether it be imbued with correct or false principles on so important a subject.

We are for the liberty of thought and opinion, (on both sides,) but when truth is really invaded by error, we think its votaries are quite justified in going to its rescue. It is for this reason that the present notice is given, to suggest to those who do not understand the subject, to let the work alone, and seek instruction from those books in which the reasonings and principles are based, at least, on common sense. If others, who have a just comprehension of the subject, are disposed to see a specimen of Geometrical jargon, we advise them to examine the book. To such, we will give one specimen of its definitions, which will enable them to form a very correct idea of its merits. Here we have the definition of a line: "A straight line is composed of a succession of single and equal units. A line therefore always has a breadth of *one*." The last clause of which, will make Geometers of the old school stare.

The author appears to have no clear conceptions of pure theoretical geometry, whose relations and truths are entirely independent of matter. He admits having gone "to work upon original [material] diagrams, with Greek (!) rule and compasses in hand," and having "spent a long and laborious year digging out *facts*." Now, we venture to say, that he has blinded and deluded himself by this very method, that is, by studying and considering the properties (as regards figure and size) of these material diagrams and forms themselves; which should be used simply for the purpose [illegible], as the easiest and readiest way of assisting the mind in its conceptions of ideal, geometrical form. But the moment we lose sight of the relation between the diagram and the ideal form which it represents, at that moment *pure Geometry* vanishes also, and we entail on our reasoning the defects to which all material and mechanical diagrams and forms are liable.

Perhaps it may not be out of place here, to quote the words on this subject by Dr. Whewell. "To seek for proof of Geometrical propositions by an appeal to observation, proves nothing in reality, except that the person who has recourse to such grounds has no due apprehension of the nature of Geometrical demonstration. We have heard of persons who convinced themselves by measurement, that the Geometrical rule, respecting the squares on the sides of a right-angled triangle was true; but these were persons whose minds had been engrossed by practical habits, and in whom the speculative development of the idea of space, had been stifled by other employments." We will only add that the Geometry has YET to be written,

which will in the least invalidate the reasoning in that elegant and inimitable performance of Euclid.

THE GREEK AND ENGLISH LEXICON OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. BY EDWARD ROBINSON, D. D. LL. D., Professor of Biblical Literature in the Union Theological Seminary, New York. A new edition, revised and in great part rewritten. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1850. Royal octavo. pp. 804. New Haven: S. Babcock.

This work of Dr. Robinson is already known to American Scholars in its first edition, and has a reputation in England as decided as in this country. The views and plan of the author are expressed in part as follows. "The science of comparative philology, which has sprung up within our own days, has already taught us that both the Greek and Latin are in like manner, only members of one great family of languages, which descending apparently from the mountains of India, have spread themselves over Western and Southern Asia and the whole of Europe; retaining under every diversity of climate and circumstances, such obvious affinities as give undeniable evidence of a common origin. These Indo-European tongues, as they are called, include the Sanscrit, Persian, Greek, Latin, Gothic, German, English, and the other dialects of the Teutonic; and strictly also those of the Slavic and Celtic races." After tracing, briefly, the history of the Greek language through what he terms its "three great epochs," and of the *Hellenistic* Greek in which the New Testament is written, he says, "the New Testament, then, was written by Hebrews, aiming to express Hebrew thoughts, conceptions, feelings, in the Hebrew tongue. Their idiom, consequently, in soul and spirit is Hebrew; in its external form, Greek; and that more or less pure according to the facilities, &c. of the writer for acquiring fluency and accuracy in that tongue. It follows from all these considerations, that in constructing a Lexicon of the New Testament, it should be a matter of prominent importance, to exhibit each word in its true character and relations, as a component part of the Greek tongue; as compared, on the one hand, with the Hellenistic idiom, and, on the other, with the usage of classic Greek writers."

With these principles of the author, the following are prominent objects of attention in his work.

1. He gives the etymology of each word so far as it appertains to the Greek and Hebrew, and occasionally, the Latin.

2. He gives the *primary* meaning of each word; and the significations which occur in the New Testament.

3. The construction of verbs and adjectives, with their cases and other adjuncts, is in general fully given.

4. The different forms and inflections of words are exhibited, with full explanations of any variety or irregularity of form.

5. Attention has been given to the interpretation of difficult passages, so as in some sense to supply the place of a more extended commentary.

6. Each article, as far as practicable, contains [illegible] to every passage in the New Testament where it occurs. This [illegible] more than nine tenths of the words, making the Lexicon almost a complete Concordance.

After some care in comparing this new edition with the former, we are sure that the learned author has bestowed upon it very close attention, and a great amount of labor; and that it will retain its place as a work of established authority in the study of the Greek Testament.

There is a class of words, however, where the doctrinal and denominational views of the author, would be very likely to bias him. And yet a man who professes to make a dictionary for the public, is bound as a lexicographer, to give the ordinary and general usage of words in his definitions, and not the peculiar usage of a small Christian sect. We presume the author intended to free himself from such prejudices, but our examination has not quite satisfied us as to the results of his labors. For example, we turn to the word Ἐκλογη. His first definition is, "the free spontaneous purpose of God, uninfluenced by motives

from without." His second meaning is, "the benevolent purpose of God, by which any are chosen unto salvation; so that they are led to embrace and persevere in the religion of Christ, and the enjoyment of its privileges and blessings here and hereafter." Election, then, according to the author, is unconditional, individual, effectual and unto salvation. And this is the only meaning which he gives to that word as it occurs in the New Testament. And yet, the Greek Fathers who certainly must have understood the language of the Greek Testament, held to no such view of election as this.

We turn to another word, διάκονος. His final meaning is, "An officer in the primitive Church; one who has charge of the alms and money of the Church; an overseer of the sick and the poor, an almoner. Hence the English word *deacon*, but in a different sense." This is of course the *Presbyterian* definition of the word *deacon*, but it is not the full meaning of the word, as held by the great mass of Christians from the Ancient Church to the present day, and the author as a lexicographer should have said so.

While we are grateful to the author for his invaluable Lexicon, and are proud of it as a specimen of American Scholarship, he must pardon us if we say that it should be studied as a *Lexicon*, and not as a *Commentary*.

It should be said also, that the publishers have furnished the work in a clear type, with clean and fair impressions on good paper, and in substantial binding.

THE PATH-WAYS AND ABIDING PLACES OF OUR LORD; *illustrated in the Journal of a Tour through the Land of Promise.* By J. M. WAINWRIGHT, D. D. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1851. Royal octavo. pp. 196. New Haven: A. C. Heitmann.

The Rev. Dr. Wainwright, who has recently returned from a tour to Egypt and the Holy Land, has given the result of his observations and reflections in this beautiful volume. Adorned with 18 steel-plate engravings, exhibiting views of the most remarkable places connected with Our Saviour's History, the reader almost imagines himself gazing with the writer upon those sacred spots so dear to the Christian heart. A severe taste, a mature judgment, a keen appreciation of the works of Nature and Art, a reverence for every association connected with our Blessed Lord's earthly life, and, not least, a facility in clear and intelligible description of localities,—these are among the qualifications which the author exhibits in the narrative before us. The volume is handsomely bound, and will form a beautiful gift-book for the season.

MEMOIR OF ELLEN MAY WOODWARD. By the Rev. GEO. D MILES, A. M., Rector of St. Stephen's Church, Wilkesbarrè, Pa. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston, 1850. 18mo. pp. 176.

Ellen May Woodward, daughter of the Hon. George W. Woodward of Wilkesbarrè, Pa., was drowned in the waters of the Susquehanna, with two of her companions, on the 19th of January, 1850. Her age was 13 years and five months. Her religious character was distinctly and strongly marked. Her biography, written by her Pastor, has suggested some reflections on the subject of Christian Nurture which we commend to the attention of parents and sponsors.

Among nominal Christians, we may say among nominal Churchmen, there are existing two widely different theories of Education. One of these may be called the Covenant Theory. It takes for granted, and as the basis of all educational effort, that the child, at its Baptism, was made "a member of Christ, a child of God, and an inheritor of the Kingdom of Heaven." It supposes, as a first principle, that the child's admission to the Christian Covenant, was attended by such gifts of Grace as are precisely adapted to its fallen nature, and as are entirely adequate to all the necessities of its moral being. It has faith in God, as a covenant-keeping God; and believes that if the child is trained up in the way it should go, it will not depart from it. It looks for the early development of gracious affections; the early subjection of sinful appetites and passions; the early performance of Christian duties, such as prayer, and praise; and for the early as-

sumption of the Baptismal vow in Confirmation. It looks for the entire consecration of the heart to God, in early childhood, and for its evidences in the fruits of that Spirit which is the giver of every good and perfect gift. Such is the Covenant theory; and the piety which it promotes is affectionate, quiet, filial, reverential, unostentatious, obedient; piety which does its duty in that state of life into which it hath pleased God to call it.

There is another theory; and that too, existing in the Church. It may be called the *un-Covenant* theory. This theory looks upon the admission of the infant into the Covenant of Grace in Baptism, as a ceremony which ought to be observed, but yet as attended by so many hypotheses as to leave no room for faith. It regards the baptised infant, as still only a child of wrath, and in no sense a child of Grace. It sees no promise, and feels no confidence. It expects the child to grow up in sin. It recognizes no gracious influences on God's part, and anticipates no gracious fruits on the part of the child. Its hopes are all prospective. It uses not the means of Grace, or uses them unbelievingly. It looks forward to conversion as something future, sudden, sensuous, and perceptible. Such, we hesitate not to say, is a theory which prevails extensively in the Church. We have come in contact with it, and have witnessed its results in the practical irreligion and hopeless prospects to which it naturally leads. It, more than all other causes combined, is breathing over the Church blasting and mildew.

This little work before us, the Memoir of Ellen May Woodward, might have been made of vast service as giving a practical example of the true theory of Christian education. The subject of this memoir, born of Christian parents, early made a "Member of Christ," carefully nurtured by her divinely appointed guardians, her parents, receiving Confirmation and the Holy Communion even while yet a child, seems to us to have been one of the most lovely and beautiful illustrations of what it is "to grow in Grace and in the knowledge of God." And we cannot but regret that the writer of this interesting little volume has not dwelt more at length, and more pointedly upon that system of influences which moulded her character into such symmetry and heavenly beauty. There are other associations connected with the valley of her birth, and which Campbell has immortalized in his Gertrude of Wyoming, to which we cannot allude. We thank the writer for what he has done—and wish his volume might find a place in all our Sunday School libraries.

In such a sad event, when so many human joys are extinguished, and hopes are blighted, there is occasion not only to bow in submission to the divine will, but to rejoice, that a flower of such rare beauty has been transplanted from one of the fairest spots of earth to bloom perennially in the Paradise of its God.

ALTON LOCKE; TAILOR AND POET. An Autobiography. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1850. 12mo. pp. 372. New Haven: S. Babcock.

We see that this English work, which here appears in an American reprint, is attributed to a Mr. Kingsley, a Clergyman of the English Church. It is a fictitious narrative, professing to give the personal experience of a man born in humble life, rising to distinction by his literary genius, hence introduced into the society of the nobility, and thus made familiarly acquainted, not only with the bitter hatred which festers in the bosoms of the lower classes, both in town and country, their ignorance, degradation, sufferings, and spirit of revenge; but with the tone of feeling, the practical views, the sympathies and prejudices, which prevail in the higher grades. He seems equally at home in the nobleman's palace and the artisan's shop. Alton Locke is well adapted to make an impression. Still it describes the England of 1830 rather than of 1850. There is in it a deep undercurrent of philosophical observation and a vein of poetic fancy. It exhibits the rottenness of Chartism and Communism, and presents the Church of CHRIST, when true to itself, as the sovereign panacea for all the ills which afflict the social state. This seems to be the moral of the concluding chapters; though there is in it, to the end, a tone of radicalism which leaves us in uncertainty as to the object of the writer. We are not sure that it was not, after all, *to write a book!*

MUSIC: AS IT WAS, AND AS IT IS. By N. E. CORNWA
Church, Fairfield, Conn. New York: D. Applet
S. Appleton. 1851. 12mo. pp. 136.

We hail with pleasure the appearance of this n
just issued from the press of Messrs. Appleton & C
taching to the subject which is here so learnedly tre
a numerous body of readers; and that body of re
will rise from the perusal a body of admirers of th
the logical and critical acumen which it manifests.

It was our hope to be enabled, in this number, to
article upon the present state and future prospects
try; for which the appearance of Mr. Cornwall's b
portunity and incentive. We do not yet despair of
long, when we may gratify the lovers of the sacre
tended notice of this valuable addition to the *music*
ture of the United States. Meanwhile, however, w
its deserved popularity without our passing tribute
is not often that an author is found, in *any* country
of an enthusiastic musical amateur with that of a r
still more rare to find those two qualifications u
Christian divine. Yet, in the present instance, we
we have the product of the intellectual labor of ju

To *get up* a little book upon "Music as it *was*," w
to abridge the contents of some former histories of
chanical performance: and such a work might b
memory upon the salient points of the subject. B
no means a work of such a character. It is one of
he has, in some degree, availed himself (as who w
writers, it has not been with the view of condensing
gations, so much as with that of testing their accu
ing their misapprehensions of the scope and mean
more ancient authorities; and accordingly he has
to summon both Burney and Hawkins, (the two g
of Music,) as well as other less known writers, bef

Again:—To write a treatise upon "Music as it is
the easiest of all possible tasks. The ordinary ne
anon teem with articles, frequently "long drawn ou
else;" sometimes full of high sounding words, con
whatever. Not so with our author. The whole
condensed ideas, clothed in forcible, yet frequently
quires *study*, and not merely a cursory perusal, to
It is not a book to be taken up and read at random
another. It must be perused connectedly,—at least
of thought extends, in order to its being read un
cannot promise our light-minded readers (if we ha
its perusal; but we *can* hold out to them the pros
In the words of the reverend author's Preface, it i
teurs, and learners;" and each of those classes, we
by its examination.

Without going into any analysis of Mr. Cornwal
at present with giving a short specimen of his style
the earlier portion of the book, a powerful and, t
ment, showing that the *world* is indebted to the *C*
the said "world" has prostituted it;] and he subseq
tion of the oratorio, and kindred topics, thus:—

"It does not come within the plan of this work
acter and claims of the *oratorio*. This departmen
might, doubtless, justly claim, above every other, t

ate and legitimate connection with those improvements which have been clearly traced, under a former head, to the zeal and taste of ancient Christians; improvements which constitute the basis of all cultivated music in modern times. To establish this claim of the oratorio, it is not necessary to prove that this species of music was really of earlier origin than the secular music of the modern opera. Be the truth what it may, with regard to the question of priority, yet it is certain that those portions of operatic music which form, in general, the most effectual attraction and support of the modern stage, namely, its overtures, symphonies, and choral performances, are under inalienable obligations to the progress of sacred music, and its influence upon the science of harmony; of which the oratorio or epic anthem, is the legitimate and natural fruit. This is a very important and interesting fact. It is a fact which truly intelligent and considerate musicians can hardly recall to mind, without realizing in the heedless ingratitude and frequent impieties of the patrons of the drama, the fable of the viper stinging, with venomous fang, the bosom that warmed it into life.

But the wrong thus done to sacred music is often sadly aggravated by the misconduct of some of its most prominent directors, who indirectly inflict a similar injury upon its holy cause. Hardly could greater injustice be done to its high claims as an independent and most richly endowed department of music, than is done by many organists; while overlooking the sublime strains of truly ecclesiastical music, provided in profusion by the masters of the world, they introduce in their miscalled *voluntaries*, scraps and shreds of the operatic composures of musical gold-beaters; whose highest art is to draw out the precious substance of genuine sacred harmony to the utmost degree of availability, for the use of those who can only shine with a borrowed, temporary lustre. Well may intelligent Christians, under such circumstances, be excused the erroneous impression, that the Church is rather indebted to the world for good music, than the world to the Church. But a more palpable deficiency of good taste could hardly be manifested by organists; who, endowed with opportunities to produce the highest effects of the sublime and the truly beautiful in the noble art of music, yet expend their powers, and prostitute their high faculties, to startle and amuse vain and thoughtless *visitors* of the house of God."—Pp. 91–92.

Bishop Hopkins' Address, at St. Albans, Vermont, on the Death of General Taylor, Aug. 2, 1850.

In this Address the Bishop utters the following language:—"Meanwhile I cannot condemn our Southern brethren as sinners, because they use an institution which the law of God expressly allowed to ancient Israel, and which the precepts of the Gospel were never supposed to forbid before the commencement of the present century. I cannot see the justice of denouncing them, because they claim the protection of the Constitution for their legal rights, as that Constitution has been expounded by the Supreme Court of the United States, the highest tribunal of our country. I cannot blame them because they refuse to reduce themselves to beggary by emancipating their slaves without a fair equivalent, nor because they are unwilling to expose themselves to the danger and confusion which would be the probable, if not the inevitable consequence of retaining such a population amongst them. Nor can I wonder at the strong excitement which they feel at the doctrine of our ultra-abolitionists, when they hear and see themselves reviled as the enemies of God and man, unfit to hold Communion with a Christian Church, or to have a place amongst a Christian people, merely because they maintain what was the doctrine of the whole Christian world only fifty years ago."

Such is the present state of public feeling on the above subject, that we feel bound to say that there is no reason to call in question the *Christian Morality*, or the *propriety*, of the compromises upon which the Constitution of the United States was originally formed, and which were indispensable to its formation; that it is the duty of every citizen to see that the provisions of that Constitution are

faithfully carried out, in their letter and spirit; t
higher power," which forgets its own solemn oath, and
legitimate action of the Government, deserves to be
"the Powers that be," which "are ordained of God
It should be remembered, also, that the popular ca
common humanity," proceeds, in a great degree, fro
infidel in their character, whose official language is
His Word, and whose avowed, and we believe o
social order and government in the Family, the Chu

Thus far, we have never introduced into the pag
of party politics. But when Treason stalks abroad
anity, enters the Pulpit and seizes the Press, we
defence of the Union—the Union as it is—the Unio
the Union for the sake of Free Government the w
of God and of His Word.

Meanwhile, it is becoming certain, that the Prot
be a main conservative principle in the practical
ment. She alone, of all the great denominations
united. The teaching of her Catechism, her Litur
the spirit of loyalty. It is also a striking fact, (
Compromise Measures of the last Session of Congre
try from the horrors of civil war,) were only carri
and noble appeals of such men as CLAY, and WE
and BADGER, all of whom are, and for years have b
which teaches that patriotism is a part of piety.

FAMILY PRAYERS for every Morning and Evening
lar Occasions. By Jonathan M. Wainwright, D
Swords, 1850. 12mo. pp. 54. New Haven: S.

The preparation of good "Forms of Prayer" for
believe to be the most difficult of all composition.
some are heartless; some are unfilial; some are t
der; some are too general and indefinite; some l
are offensive to good taste; some are terribly ov
confession, acknowledging sins which the heart fee
are not prayers at all, but mere narrative, or a deli
of teaching a whim; some are offensively doctrin
catholic and sectarian in their spirit; some aboun
one or more of the essential features of prayer, as A
giving, or Confession, or Supplication, or Intercessio
Book of Common Prayer is, that it holds its place
alike of the most refined and the most unlettered.
old, never proves deficient in meeting the soul's wa
to this book before us, is, that the prayers are too
any family which bows morning and evening arou
however, positive excellencies, such as might be ant
fined Christian taste.

THE WAYS OF THE HOUR; a Tale. By the author
ver," &c. &c. New York: George P. Putnam, 185
ven: T. H. Pease.

Our readers are perhaps aware, that, with a cer
become a habit to speak disparagingly of Mr. Coo
publications are only a variation of the same worn
protest against this mean, Jesuitical trick. The cha
made. The secret is, that Mr. Cooper sees the dan
tutions, the jacobinism and radicalism, which, in var

and, for ourselves, we cannot help liking him for the hearty good-will with which he exposes them. "The Ways of the Hour" was designed to illustrate the nonsense of prating about a "trial by jury," as any sure protection of life, character, or property. The principal characters in the story are, Mary Monson, a victim to popular prejudice; Mr. Dunscomb, a New York Lawyer, and an inveterate old bachelor; Doctor McBrain, his family physician; Squire Timms, a genuine specimen of a country lawyer, and engaged with Dunscomb in the defense of Mary Monson, together with certain important personages in the village of Biberry, the shire-town of Dukes County, where the scene is mostly laid, and where the trial of Mary Monson was held. Several other characters are introduced, giving to the story a constant variety, and to the author an opportunity for some of his keenest hits at several of the follies of the day. As a work of art, this story does not indicate that extreme care, and studied finish, and delicate beauty in description, in respect to which some of his early productions have hardly ever been surpassed. Still, it abounds in noble passages, and the tone of moral sentiment is unexceptionable. His views on the true position and true dignity of woman are just and apposite. It is a striking fact, that a large part of the conservative literature of the day is from the pens of Churchmen.

Decline of Protestantism.

Archbishop Hughes of New York, on the 10th of November, delivered a Lecture in the cathedral of that city, on the above subject. We have seldom read an address better calculated, temporarily, to lead astray a popular audience, or one more sure in the end to recoil upon its author.

A Dr. Ryder, a Maryland Jesuit, has also recently delivered, in the *New York Tabernacle*, a Lecture in defense of the Jesuits! a band of men, who, having been driven again and again from Europe, as public enemies, are trying to carry out their designs under the sheltering wing of our free institutions.

We have also received a reply to Archbishop Hughes' Lecture, just mentioned, by Rev. C. F. Berg, of Philadelphia. His withering sarcasms have this to recommend them, that they are mostly founded upon what Archbishop Hughes himself knows to be truth. Mr. Berg's main defect, is, in not throwing himself upon the basis of Holy Scripture, as believed and practiced by inspired Apostles.

The Country Year Book: or the Field, the Forest, and the Fire-Side. By William Howitt, author of the Book of the Seasons, &c. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1850. 12mo. pp. 423. New Haven: S. Babcock.

This "Country Year Book" is a sort of sequel to the author's "Book of the Seasons," and is the better book of the two. It tells us of life out of doors and of life in doors, the varying seasons, the habits, customs, manners, pleasures, and amusements of what was once "Merrie Old England," but what is becoming as sober, plodding, matter-of-fact a country, as the noisiest utilitarian could desire. His sketches of the "Old English Squire," and "the Country Farmer," and the "Farmer's Daughter," and the "New Rector," &c., are decidedly clever. There are features, however, in English Society, in these days, and features strongly marked, which he has not touched; and there are movements and tendencies which we doubt if he appreciates. His picture of a jolly Parson, hob-nobbing over the after-dinner bottle with the Squire, playing rubber, &c., might have passed as a good hit in the days of Swift, or of Sterne; but the Clergy of England, of the present day, are made of a different material. Howitt is a genial, pleasant writer, and already enjoys a wide popularity.

The Star of the Wise Men: being a Commentary on the Second Chapter of St. Matthew. By Richard Chenevix Trench, B. D. Philadelphia: H. Hooker, 1850. 12mo. pp. 116. New Haven: S. Babcock.

Those of our readers who are familiar with Mr. Trench's invaluable works on the Miracles and Parables, are prepared to believe that he has thrown all the

light, which ripe Christian scholarship can throw, upon this important portion of our Saviour's earthly history. While he has exhausted ancient learning, he has exercised a sound discretion, in separating the apocryphal from the true.

THE RECENT PROGRESS OF ASTRONOMY, ESPECIALLY IN THE UNITED STATES. By ELIAS LOOMIS, Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in the University of the city of New York, &c. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1850. 12mo. pp. 258. New Haven: S. Babcock.

There has been until a late day, among the mass of the people, a great deal of skepticism and prejudice respecting Natural Science. The practical farmer has laughed at the teachings of the Agricultural Chemist, and has consulted his almanac to learn the position of the moon, more earnestly than the text book, to learn the nature of soils and the method of their recovery and improvement. More recently, however, the general diffusion of a higher order of education, has given a new direction to the popular mind; and there is now abroad a hopeful spirit of enquiry. Prof. Loomis' new work indicates the existence of such a public taste, and is adapted to it. It gives a clear statement of the progress of modern discovery in Astronomy, abroad and at home; and the results at which Astronomers have arrived, in their knowledge of the heavenly bodies. Prof. Loomis exhibits, in this work, the industry, accuracy, and modesty of a true scholar, and he writes in a clear and pleasing style. The work is all that it professes to be, and cannot fail to be popular and useful.

MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF THOMAS CHALMERS, D. D. LL. D. By his Son-in-Law, Rev. WILLIAM HANNA, LL. D. In three Volumes. Vol. II. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1850. 12mo. pp. 548. New Haven: S. Babcock.

This second volume commences with Dr. Chalmers' entrance upon his labors at Tron Church, Glasgow, and covers the eight years of his labors in that city, and until his acceptance of the Professorship of Moral Philosophy in St. Andrew's. It was during this period, that he preached and published his Astronomical discourses, upon which we think his future reputation will mainly depend, and which are enough to immortalize their author. Upon a return from a visit to England, and after intercourse with many of the Clergy of the Church of England, he expressed himself so strongly respecting the elevated character of the piety which he there witnessed, in comparison with the intellectualism of religion in Scotland, as to attract the attention of his friends. We again commend to the attention of our readers, this well prepared memorial of one of the greatest and noblest of men.

EARNESTNESS. Or incidents in the Life of an English Bishop. By C. B. TAYLOR, M. A. Second Edition. New York: Stanford & Swords, 1850. 12mo. pp. 370. New Haven: A. C. Heitmann.

A new Edition of a popular work of which we have before expressed our opinion.

A HUNTER'S LIFE IN SOUTH AFRICA. By R. GORDON CUMMING, Esq. In two Volumes. 12mo. pp. 316, 304. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1850. New Haven: S. Babcock.

On the list of modern Nimrods, Captain Cumming has placed his name above all his cotemporaries. Having found fighting the Boers and Bushmen in the army of his country decidedly too tame, he started off some hundreds of miles into the interior of South Africa, where he seems to have made nothing of "bagging eight elephants in one day," grappling with boa-constrictors, playing hide and seek with lions and panthers, and disputing his game of hyænas and giraffes with impertinent vultures and buzzards. As Mr. Cumming has some reputation as a painter and naturalist, we regret that he has devoted his account of five years' residence in that country, to what is little more than a repetition of a continual

slaughter of wild beasts; and has said so little of the country, its scenery, inhabitants, productions, &c.

CHRONICLES OF THE CONQUEST OF GRANADA. From the MSS. of FRAY ANTONIO AGAPIDA. New York: Geo. P. Putnam, 1850. 12mo. pp. 548. New Haven: Thomas H. Pease.

In the last number of the Review, the reader was presented with a tribute—and we may say not less glowing than truthful—to the literary character of Mr. Irving. The theme of the present volume is particularly adapted to call forth the choicest beauties of his graceful pen. It was a scene of warfare, where the faith, and romance, and poetry of the old Crusades came into full play; where proud and haughty Cavaliers met for deeds of chivalry worthy of the best days of knighterrantry; and before the inventions of modern times had as yet made the chances of the battle field a matter of cool and sober calculation. In a Note to this Edition, Mr. Irving gives us reason to regard this work as substantially an authentic narrative, notwithstanding its romantic dress. Mr. Prescott also in his History of Ferdinand and Isabella, who had occasion to go over the same ground, vouches for its historic accuracy.

SELECT ORATIONS OF M. TULLIUS CICERO. With Notes, for the use of Schools and Colleges. By E. H. JOHNSON, Professor of Latin in the University of the city of New York. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 12mo. pp. 460.

This new Edition of Cicero's Orations deserves the notice of teachers and scholars, for the untiring pains which the American Editor has evidently taken to secure the nearest approximation possible to the complete purity of the text, as well as for his labor, and we think judgment, in embodying such a mass of critical and philological Notes. In both these respects, he has availed himself of the labors of Orelli, Madvig, Klotz, and other German, English, and American Scholars. The Notes cover more than 300 pages; and are adapted to subserve the only purpose for which Notes should ever be introduced into a text-book, to assist the laborious student in thoroughly mastering his author.

HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY OF THE MIDDLE AGES. For Colleges and Schools. Chiefly from the French. By GEORGE W. GREENE. Part 1.—History. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1851. 16mo. pp. 454. New Haven: A. C. Heitmann.

The recent publication of various works on the Middle Ages, as those of Thierry, Guizot, Lingard, Hallam, and Hurter, is beginning to render it practicable to give system and arrangement to what heretofore has been an unshapely chaos. Learning, philosophy, the arts, the Church, and civil government, as existing at that age are inappreciable except as seen under the formative influences which made them what they were, influences of which the popular mind knows nothing. Prof. Green has taken a French work sanctioned by the University of Paris, as the basis of his book; a book written in a lucid and popular style, and one which will, we think, supply a want which has already been felt. He divides this epoch into four periods: 1st, From the final division of the empire, to Charlemagne, (395—800.) 2d, From Charlemagne to Gregory VII, period of the second invasion, and of the feudal system, (800—1073.) 3d, From Gregory VII, to Boniface VIII, period of pontifical influence, (1073—1294.) 4th, From Boniface VIII, to the fall of Constantinople, period of the restoration of the royal power, (1294—1453.) It is designed as a text-book for Schools and Colleges, though it will answer admirably as a book of reference for the general reader, and will aid him in giving unity and shape to his conceptions, by its clear and comprehensive classifications.

FIRST GREEK BOOK. By THOMAS KERCHEVER ARNOLD, M. A., Rector of Lyndon, and Late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Revised and improved by Rev. J. A. Spencer, M. A. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1850. 12mo. pp. 298. New Haven: A. C. Heitmann.

It is a sufficient recommendation to Arnold's series of classical school books, that they are adopted as text-books in the best English schools, where the rudiments

of the ancient languages are taught far more tho
The peculiarity of Arnold's method—which is subs
is, that the pupil, as fast as he advances in the ru
tical use, in the putting together of words and in th
pupil's progress, though apparently slow, is sure, ar
thoroughly master of, the language.

ACADEMIC EDITION OF WEBSTER'S DICTIONARY OF THE
Edition, with Walker's Key to pronunciation of
the Author, &c. New York: Huntington & Savi

Webster's series of dictionaries have been almos
the perspicuity and completeness of their definition
the later editions are not liable to the objections
And we notice that our purest writers, as Irving and I
without the u, and *music* without the k, and *defense* w
present edition has been prepared by Mr. William
guished lexicographer. Its vocabulary is copious,
tions in respect to forms of irregular verbs, deriva
lables, pronunciation, sounds of letters, &c., as are
end proposed.

HEALTH, DISEASE, AND REMEDY, familiarly and pra
their relations to the blood. By GEORGE MOORE,
College of Physicians. New York: Harper & B
New Haven: S. Babcock.

Dr. Moore is already known in this country by th
which were favorably received. The present vol
tions, nor a book of quackery of any sort. It is s
subject of the human system, its diseases and their
for from a thoroughly educated physician, and a ma
common sense. It is pervaded also by a truly Christ
could be enlightened and directed by works of this
of criminal trifling with health and life. There
where charlatanry finds so many ready dupes.

MENTAL HYGIENE; or an Examination of the Inte
to show how they affect and are affected by the
fluence on Health and Longevity. By WILLIAM
&c., in Bowdoin and Geneva Medical Colleges, &
and enlarged. New York: George P. Putnam,
Haven: T. H. Pease.

The reader must not prejudge this book unfavo
generally associated with all sorts of medical hum
writer is an intelligent and sensible man, and he
subject too little regarded. His leading design is
intellect and *passion*, upon the health and enduranc
larger part of his book is devoted to a consideratio
sions," as their influence is more strongly marked,
Anger, Fear, Grief, Envy, Jealousy, Avarice, Amb
choly. Numerous illustrative facts are cited, and
show the importance of self-government to the enjo
style is lucid, and the reader will find the book at
The writer, we think, errs in his definition of "the
tinguish between *passion* and *affection*, of which
the physical or animal nature, the second, to the i
omits this distinction, as impracticable in a physiolog
tion. The author's plan leads him over a number

tion; as religious melancholy, hypochondria, faults in the government of children, physical education, &c.

THE HISTORY OF THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE. By EDWARD GIBBON, Esq. Milman's Edition, with a complete Index of the whole Work. Vol. V and VI. 16mo. pp. 604, 624.

We have now to announce that this, the best Edition of Gibbon, and the only one that ought to be read, with a full Index, is offered to the public for two dollars and forty cents. The work is neatly printed on fair paper, and handsomely bound.

THE LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE OF ROBERT SOUTHEY. Edited by his son, Rev. C. C. SOUTHEY. New York: Harper & Brothers. 8vo. in six Parts; Part V. New Haven: S. Babcock.

We find this work, as it approaches its conclusion, becoming so fascinating, that we cannot but again call attention to it. This Part V gives Southey's correspondence during the period when he was writing his "Book of the Church." It is a work which can only be appreciated as it deserves by Churchmen, and they will find it a rich and rare treat.

We beg the enterprising publishers to follow up this work, with a republication of the "Book of the Church," which we think called for by the state of the times. We need it, as a most thorough exposure of Romish sophistries; and for its bold and honest tone in calling things by their right names.

SUCCESS IN LIFE. THE MECHANIC. By Mrs. L. C. TUTHILL. New York: Geo. P. Putnam, 1850. 16mo. pp. 172. New Haven: L. W. Fitch.

Mrs. Tuthill has collected some of the more important incidents in the history of several distinguished American Mechanics, exhibiting the obstacles with which inventive genius has been obliged to contend. It is an instructive work for young men. Oliver Evans, John Fitch, Benjamin Franklin, Robert Fulton, and Eli Whitney are the persons thus presented as examples.

THE HISTORY OF XERXES. By JACOB ABBOTT. Harper & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 302. New Haven: S. Babcock.

This series, by the Messrs. Abbotts, may well be called a picture gallery of portraits in miniature of the heroes and heroines of ancient and modern times. The volumes, as they are issued, are sought for with avidity by youthful readers; and we see that they are republished and favorably received in England. The maps, illustrations, and typographical executions are very good.

HISTORY OF MADAME ROLAND. By JOHN S. C. ABBOTT. With Engravings. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1850. 12mo. pp. 304. New Haven: S. Babcock.

This is another of the Messrs. Abbott's series of biographical sketches for the young. It is a beautifully written memoir of one of the most remarkable women the world has ever seen. The author seems to have thoroughly consulted Lamartine, and other recent historians of that terrible event, the French Revolution; an event which exhibited a startling illustration of the practical workings of Romanism upon the French nation and character. We regret that so fine and popular a writer, should use the term "the Catholic Church" in such a loose sense. We beg Mr. Abbott to call things by their right names, and not to point arrows for the quiver of the Papists.

AN EXPLANATION AND HISTORY OF THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER. To which are added the Articles of Religion, &c. New York: Stanford & Swords, 1850. 12mo. pp. 144. New Haven: S. Babcock.

This is a reprint of an English work, with alterations adapting it to our own Liturgy. It is a brief but judicious compilation of the results of the labors of

Comber, Nichols, Wheatly, Horne, and Wells; and it is well adapted to Sunday School Libraries, and to the use of those persons who have not the larger work of Bishop Brownell.

BYRNE'S DICTIONARY of Mechanics, Engine-work, and Engineering. No. 20. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1850. 8vo. New Haven: A. C. Heitmann.

This can hardly fail to become a standard and indispensable work on practical Mechanics. The present number completes the first volume, which consists of 960 closely printed pages, with hundreds of carefully prepared illustrations.

SWORD'S POCKET ALMANACK AND CHURCH REGISTER. VOL. XXXVI.

This well known and almost indispensable little manual, besides its list of Clergy, Diocesan Institutions, &c., contains the Constitution and Canons of the Church, including those of 1850.

GODEY'S LADY'S BOOK. Philadelphia.

The engravings in the later Numbers of this work illustrate Sacred subjects, as the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Four Eras of Life, Baptism, Communion, Marriage, and Death; and are beautiful pictures, exquisitely designed and executed. They are also by American Artists. The literary contributions are almost always entertaining, sometimes instructive, and never we believe exceptionable. In a day when poison is dished up in so many alluring forms, we do not hesitate to commend a work like Godey's, which has not only the negative merit of never being an offence to virtue, but the positive one of teaching it in an attractive manner.

ARTHUR'S HOME GAZETTE.

This is a new weekly literary paper published in Philadelphia. We know of no paper of the kind which we can commend so unqualifiedly. Arthur deserves the growing reputation which he is receiving.

WILBERFORCE ON THE INCARNATION.

One or two of our Church Newspapers have taken special pains to prefer the charge of inconsistency against the Church Review, for admitting to its pages the article on the above book, which appeared in our last Number. Our own objections to Wilberforce's theory were, in part, stated a year since. At the same time, we alluded to the well known fact of a diversity of opinion, as existing in the Church, respecting Wilberforce's theory; (and existing, we may say here, among men of moderate and conservative views;) we acknowledged, also, at the same time, the reception of a commendatory review of said book, which, it was intimated, we might publish. So much for the charge of inconsistency.

We take this occasion to say, that, in our judgment, a *Church Review*, which shall fairly represent the spirit of the Church, must (*with proper discretion*) open its columns for the discussion of subjects upon which there exists some diversity of opinion. Nor is that Catholic and tolerant spirit, which has given birth to a Seabury, a White, a Hobart, and a Griswold, uncongenial to the cultivation of the warmest devotion to the Church's principles and aims. The history of the whole Church, ancient and modern, shows that a Charity less comprehensive than this, by whatever name it may call itself, is but zeal for a mere sect or a party.

Respecting Wilberforce's book, we feel the strongest objections against certain points in his theory, points which have not been grasped in any of the censures which have fallen under our notice; and yet we feel bound to say that portions of the work, especially the opening chapters, are written with great ability, and he must, we think, be either a very great man or a very small one who cannot read them without profit.

We have also received the following Pamphlets.

A Charge to the Clergy, by the Bishop of Alabama.

Journal of the Sixty-sixth Convention of the Diocese of New York.

Journal of the Sixtieth Convention of the Diocese of Vermont.

Journal of the Nineteenth Convention of the Diocese of Alabama.

Journal of the Thirteenth Convention of the Diocese of Western New York.

Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bishop White Prayer Book Society, with a Sermon by Rev. R. S. Trapier.

Register of Burlington College: eighth term, 1850.

Register of the College of St. James, 1850. Whole Number of Students in College and School, 95. The system of order, discipline, and instruction, adopted at this College, shows that the gentlemen at its head are not working without a definite object.

Rev. J. H. Morrison's Sermon, "The Good Part," at Selma, on Commencement of Central Masonic Institute.

Rev. J. H. Morrison's Sermon, "Marks of Grace," at Montgomery, Ala. Published by Request.

Rev. T. P. Tyler's Sermon: "Education the Right and the Duty of the Church." Preached in Trinity Church, Geneva, N. Y., during the Session of the Convention, Aug. 21, 1850.

Rev. W. F. Morgan's Sermon, "God causing grief, yet full of Compassion," at Norwich, Ct., Aug. 11, 1850.

Rev. Calvin Colton's Lecture "on the Railroad to the Pacific," at the Smithsonian Institute, Aug. 12, 1850. Mr. Colton says, "Make this road across the American continent, and you will have a Millennium of peace on Earth." If this be so, it is not strange that the making of this Railroad is a work "worthy of the ministry of the hosts of heaven, which, undoubtedly it will have." We have our fears that there are some other obstacles in the way of the Millennium, greater even than the making of Whitney's Railroad across the Rocky Mountains.

Rev. F. Miller's (deceased) last Sermon: "The Last Time." Branford, Conn., Sept. 23, 1849.

Reply to Remarks on a Pamphlet concerning Lay Discipline. By the author of the pamphlet, Washington, D. C.

J. C. Garthwaite's "Few words touching a late pamphlet strangely entitled "A Word in Self-defense." Newark, N. J.

"An Appeal to the Laity of Maryland." By Ulric Von Hütten.

"Friendly instruction to parents on Baptism." By the Society, P. E. K.

Constitution, By-Laws, and Rules of Order of the Protestant Episcopal Mutual Benefit Society.

Also the following Periodicals.

Silliman's Journal of Science and Arts. New Haven. An invaluable work.

Colonial Church Chronicle. London: Rivingtons. Devoted to Missionary information from the Colonial Churches.

Southern Literary Messenger. Richmond, Va. Conducted with ability.

The Christian Review, Baptist. New York. Quarterly.

The Christian Examiner, Unitarian. Boston. Quarterly.

The Princeton Review, Presbyterian, O. S. Philadelphia. Quarterly.

Theological and Literary Journal. D. N. Lord. New York. Quarterly.

Methodist Quarterly Review. New York.

New Englander, Congregational. New Haven. Quarterly.

Mercersburg Review, German Reformed. Quarterly.

Brownson's Quarterly Review, Romish. Boston.

United States Law Magazine and Examiner. Monthly. New York: John Livingston, Editor. Almost indispensable to the legal profession. Chief Justice Taney speaks warmly of the work and commends it. It is particularly valuable for its digests and reports of cases decided throughout the United States and in England.

Art. IX.—LITERARY INTE

AMERICAN.

The Service of Song is the title of a new book c
Leavens, an Organist of Boston, and is well spoker
for New England, by Nilla, is a neat little volume,
fret, Conn. Alexander Carson's Knowledge of Ju
Sciences, is more orthodox, though equally as harsh
Santarem's Researches respecting Americus Vespu
V. Childe. Dr. Worthington Hooker's Prize Essay
satire on the many humbugs of the day. Schwarz'
brief historical sketch of Palestine, translated by L
ble pretension and some merit. Ruffner's Fathers
account of the origin and practice of Monasticism, w
has recently appeared. It appears to have more
Wilson's Church Identified has reached a third editi
ditions and alterations to obviate objections made
View of the Geography, History, Government, Man
of the Hindoos, promises to be a valuable work.
by Letters and Passages from the Life of the late
esting, and will no doubt be found an useful
the Cross illustrated in the memorial of a humble
work which promises to be of practical utility.
East, is the narrative of Congregational Missions in
tains many valuable facts, mingled with singular mi
Saviour with the Prophets and Apostles, a series
with descriptions by American Divines, edited by
beautiful and useful. Evenings at Donaldson Man
an interesting little volume, by Maria J. McIntos
Fays, or the Holydays at Woodleigh. by Susan Pi
and Choir Studies, is described as a choice and chea
Burton's District School as it was, has recently bee
of Pennsylvania, has edited a beautiful little Engli
Little Children. Putnam's Dictionary of Dates is a
venience. Dr. Bangs has recently published a worl
pects and responsibilities of the Methodist Episcop
a convenient book of reference for facts relative t
ticed that Mr. Schoolcraft is preparing a history of
by Capt. Eastman, under the direction of the Wa
cannot fail to be deeply interesting. Hunt's Poet
itome of the progress of science, in a convenient an
at the Pilgrims in 1636, by Mrs. Cheny, though a
very good picture of those times. The True Chr
recently been rediscovered and published, from 13
nal of Froissart, for that period.

ENGLAND.

Two volumes of Chesney's Expedition for the su
Euphrates, carried on by order of the British Gover
1837, have been published. The work will consist

less will possess great interest. The English Church press teems with pamphlets on the exciting topics of the day,—the Gorham controversy, and the tendencies to Romanism. In regard to the first, we observe the Bishop of Exeter's Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury; Mr. Badeley's Speech before the Privy Council; Rev. Dr. Hook's Letter to Sir Walter Farquar; Rev. C. Dodgson's advice to candidates for Holy Orders; Mr. Gladstone's Letter to the Bishop of London; Lord Lindsay on the Present Position of the Church; Archdeacon Wilberforce's Charge; William Percival Ward's Letter to Mr. Gladstone on the union of the spiritual and temporal authorities in one court; Mayow's two Letters to Maskell on the decision of the Privy Council; Rev. Daniel Wilson's Appeal to the Evangelical members of the Church of England, and Rev. William Scott's Letter in reply thereto;—with others, too numerous to mention. Oliphant's Law of Pew's in Churches is a work of interest on that subject. Archbishop Whately has published a Charge on Infant Baptism. A new edition of Wilberforce's Five Empires has been recently issued. The design of this work is to trace the hand of God in the government of the world. Rev. J. S. U. Anderson has reëdited Bishop Berkeley's Letter on the Roman Catholic Controversy. Rev. W. W. Ewbank has recently published a Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, with a new translation and notes. Spelman's History of Sacrilege is announced as preparing for publication, with considerable additions, and an introductory essay. Dawson and Rushton have published a Termination Dictionary of Latin Substantives. Newman (J. H.) has published Lectures on certain difficulties felt by Anglicans in submitting to the Roman Catholic Church. The Rt. Rev. [Romish] Bishop Baines, Vicar Apostolic in the Western District of England, has issued a Pastoral Letter in condemnation of what he considers the follies, impieties, and ridiculous antics of some who are understood to be the new converts, and the Roman Catholic Magazine for October gives a history of his contentions and difficulties on account thereof. Apropos to this subject is an earnest appeal for the revival of the ancient plain song, by A. W. Pugin, the architect, also a Romanist, which contains a most deplorable account of things in the Romish Church, both in England and on the Continent. Husenbeth has published a volume on the Emblems of Saints, by which they are distinguished in works of art. Kenrick's Ancient Egypt under the Pharaohs, in two volumes, promises to be valuable. Knox's Races of Men is a fragment of interest. So is Latham's Natural History of the Varieties of Man.

CONTINENTAL.

The Monuments of Egypt and Ethiopia is the title of a great work of the Prussian Scientific Embassy to Egypt and Ethiopia. The whole will comprise about a thousand plates, representing the monuments and inscriptions of those countries, and will shed great light upon the history, chronology, and science of those early ages. The Benedictines of Solesmes, in France, are publishing a work entitled 'Spicilegium Solesmensé, in ten octavo volumes, containing unedited ecclesiastical fragments and works, from the second to the twelfth century. The earliest centuries furnish only fragments, except the *Clavis* of Melito of Sardis, which has been discovered in a Latin version, in seven manuscripts, and will make an octavo volume of five hundred pages. Tholuck's Anzeiger, (*Advertizer*,) after having been sustained for twenty years, has been discontinued, and a new Zeitschrift (*Journal*) has been established by Nitsch and Mueller, which seems likely to become popular. Prof. Knobel of Giessen has published an ethnographical inquiry into the genealogy of the nations mentioned in the tenth chapter of Genesis. A critical examination of the Clementine Homilies has been published by Hilgenfeld, intended as an introduction to a history of old Church literature.

ECCLESIASTICAL RE

SUMMARY OF HOME INT

ORDINATIONS.

DEACONS.

Name.	*Bishop.*	*Time.*
Benedict, Samuel	Brownell,	Nov. 24, 1850.
Jessup, Edward,	Brownell,	Dec. 22, 1850.
Hills, Geo. Morgan,	DeLancey,	Sept. 22, 1850
Wagner, E. A.,	Gadsden,	Nov. 17, 1850.

PRIESTS.

Name.	*Bishop.*	*Time.*
Rev. Bland, C. T.,	Gadsden,	Nov. 17, 1850.
" Hayden, G. B.,	Brownell,	Nov. 24, 1850.
" Horne, G. W.,	Brownell,	Dec. 22, 1850.
" Hyland, W. L.,	Johns,	Nov. 3, 1850.
" Jarvis, Wm. O.,	Brownell,	Nov. 24, 1850.
" Jones, Ezra,	Chase, N.H.,	Sept. 4, 1850.
" Low, Henry L.,	Chase, N.H.,	Sept. 4, 1850.
" Potter, C. J.,	Brownell,	Dec. 22, 1850.
" Roberts, Edm'nd,	DeLancey,	Sept. 22, 1850.
" William, Wm.,	Eastburn,	Nov. 21, 1850.
* " Birchmore, J. W.,	Eastburn,	May 19, 1850.
* " Remington, E. F.,	Eastburn,	May 19, 1850.

REMOVALS.

Name.	*To Church.*
Rev. Abercrombie, Richard M.,	Intercession,
" Bourns, Edward,	Pres. Norwich Uni.,
" Brooke, R. D.,	————,
" Brown, Richard T.,	St. Luke's,
" Carmichael, William M.,	Trinity,
" Childs, John A.,	————,
" Clover, Lewis P.,	St. John's,
" Coe, James W.,	St. Mark's,
" Calhoun, John B.,	Trinity,
" Cook, E. R. T.	St. Thomas',

* Incorrectly reported on page

Name.	*To Church.*	*Place.*
Rev. Cooke, Samuel,	St. Bartholomew's,	New York City.
" Cornish, A. H.,	St. Thomas', (As't,)	New York City.
" Denison, Henry M.,	Christ, (Assist.,)	Brooklyn, N. Y.
" Dobb, Alexander F.,	Trinity,	New Orleans. La.
" Downing, E. H.,	St. Thomas',	Kirkwood, Miss.
" Draper, George B.,	St. Andrew's,(As't,)	Harlem, N. Y.
" Eastman, G. B.,	St. Paul's,	Brownville, W. N. Y
" Fisher, Charles F.,	City Mission,	Hartford, Conn.
" Fitch, Henry,	Trinity,	Bristol, Conn.
" Gassaway, Stephen G.,	St. George's, (As't,)	St. Louis, Mo.
" Gibson, John B.,	Holy Innocents,	Cornwall, N. Y.
" Guion, Alvah,	———,	Marshall, Mich.
" Hawks, Francis L., D. D.,	Calvary,	New York City.
" Hill, William H.,	Zion, (late But'n'ts,)	Morris, New York.
" Hills, George H.,	Grace,	Lyons, W. N. Y.
" Irving, Pierre P.,	Christ,	New Brighton, N. Y.
" Johnson, Samuel R., D.D.,	Prof.Sys.Div.G.T.S.	New York City.
" Jones, A. D.,	Trinity School,	Baltimore, Md.
" Keith, Cleaveland,	Trinity,	Salem, Farquier Co., Va.
" Long, William,	St. Paul's,	Flatbush, L. I.
" Manney, Solon W.,	St. James',	Milwaukie, Wis.
" Maison, Charles A.,	St. Thomas',	Windsor, etc., N. C.
" McCabe, John C.,	———,	Hampton, Va.
" Macurdy, David,	Grace,	Van Vorst, Jersey City, N. J.
" Musgrave, W. B.,	St. Matthew's,	Sunbury, Pa.
" Neide, George L.,	St. John the Evan.,	Stockport, N. Y.
" Nichols, Abel,	Grace,	Broadbrook, Conn.
" Norris, William Herbert,	———,	Germantown, Pa.
" Rankine, James,	St. Gabriel's,	Windsor, Conn.
" Richards, Edmund,	Christ,	Oyster Bay, N. Y.
" Robert, P. G.,	Meherrin Parish,	Hicksford, Va.
" Sandels, J.,	———,	Williamsport, Tenn.
" Skinner, G. M.,	———,	Springville, Pa.
" Spooner, John Alden,	Messiah,	Glenn's Falls, N. Y.
" Stanley, Harvey,	———,	St. Mary's, Ind.
" Starkey, Thomas A.,	Christ,	Troy, N. Y.
" Staunton, William,	St. Stephen's,	Ridgefield, Conn.
" Taylor, Joseph P.,	Trinity, (Assist.,)	Pittsburg, Penn.
" Taylor, O.,	Zion,	Pontiac, Mich.
" Ufford, John F.,	———,	Maysville, Pa.
" Waters, Cyrus,	———,	Sherwood, Balt. Co., Md.
" Wiley, F. S.,	Bethesda,	Saratoga, N. Y.
" Williams, William H.,	Trinity,	Granville, N. Y.
" Wright, Daniel S.,	Grace, (Assist.,)	White Plains, N. Y.

CONSECRATIONS OF CHURCHES.

Church.	*Place.*	*Bishop.*	*Time.*
House of Prayer,	Newark, N. J.,	Doane,	Nov. 26, 1850.
St. John's,	South Wheeling, Va.,	Johns,	Nov. 1, 1850.
St. Mary's,	Bayou Goula, La.,	Polk,	July 21, 1850.
St. Paul's,	Peoria, Ill.,	Chase,	Sept. 8, 1850.
Trinity,	Parkersburg, Va.,	Johns,	Oct. 27, 1850.
Zion,	Dresden, Ohio,	McIlvaine,	Sept. 16, 1850.

GENERAL CONVENTIO

The following is a brief summary of the doings of t
which met in Cincinnati in October last. Among all th
seems likely to exert a more salutary and lasting influ
that relating to the extent of Dioceses.

Resolution, admitting the Diocese of Texas into uni

A Committee appointed to prepare a German Pra
next General Convention.

Resolutions, that, the Trustees concurring, a major
a special meeting of the Board of Trustees of the G
absent Trustees being allowed to vote by proxy in
the triennial meeting of the Board to be held at the
General Convention.

A Canon, allowing a suspended Bishop to resign.

A Canon, authorizing a Bishop to administer the
sions of visitation, and requiring Ministers and Vest
cordingly.

A Canon, making it the duty of the Clergy, to enal
aforesaid visitation, to officiate for him by rotation in
may belong to him.

A Canon, requiring the Bishop to keep a register o

A Canon, authorizing a Diocese whose Bishop is un
suspension, to perform his duties, to elect a provisiona

A Canon, making it the duty of the presiding Bis
House of Bishops within a period of not less than thr
from the time of his being canonically requested to d
tion be not made within a year of the General Conve

A Committee of five, appointed to contract with t
Book Society for printing a standard edition of the B

A Canon, allowing a Missionary Bishop to become
home, on certain conditions; also providing for the tr
presentation by two-thirds of the Missionaries under t
the studies of candidates at Missionary stations, and
their Ordination.

A Canon, concerning the removal of Clergymen fr
and concerning the trial of those charged with offence
ocese.

A resolution to publish the Prayer Book in the We

An amendment of Art. V of the Constitution, touch

A Canon, in reference to Clergymen renouncing th
Bishop to delay action for three or six months, at his
a trial of them on charges affecting moral character.

Rev. John Payne, nominated by the House of Bish
House of Delegates, as Missionary Bishop of Western

A resolution, to hold the next meeting of the G
York.

DISPLACEMENT.

Rev. J. J. Kerr of the Diocese of Pennsylvania, hav
tion of the Ministry of the Protestant Episcopal Chur
from by the Bishop of Pennsylvania.

MISSIONARY.

Bishop DeLancey makes the following statement i

It was ascertained at the late General Convention that
States, two hundred and sixty-four Diocesan Missionari
Missionaries under the Domestic Committee of the G

larger Dioceses employ Diocesan Missionaries as the chief agency for the increase of the Church within their respective limits,—That about one sixth of the whole number of our Clergy in the United States, are Diocesan Missionaries,—That the present presiding Bishop and three other of our Bishops, were once Diocesan Missionaries in New York,—That since the year 1796, when this system was first commenced by our Church, there have been about three hundred Missionaries employed in the State of New York,—and, that the number of Missionaries in this Diocese, which is forty-five, equals about one half the whole number of Missionaries of the Domestic Committee of the General Board.

VIRGINIA.

An effort is being made to establish a Literary Institution in the north west part of Virginia, to be called "The Meade Collegiate Institute." It will be located at Parkersburg, Wood Co., on the Ohio river. A glance at the map, will show that no institution in the country has a better location; and it will be the fault of its friends if it do not attempt and accomplish great things.

THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The following account of the recent formation of this Society, needs no explanations. The objects at which the Society aims, are of the greatest importance, present and prospective. We trust that the gentlemen who have taken the matter in hand, will bring to bear upon it that steadiness of aim, and that practical energy which are requisite to success.

A meeting having been called to consider the propriety of forming a Historical Society in the Protestant Episcopal Church, the following gentlemen convened at the room of the Athenæum Society, in Seabury Hall, Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut, at 8 o'clock on the evening of the 12th of June, A. D. 1850:—

The Rt. Rev. T. C. Brownell, D. D., LL. D.; the Rt. Rev. G. W. Doane, D. D., LL. D.; the Rt. Rev. W. H. DeLancey, D. D.; the Rt. Rev. W. R. Whittingham, D. D.; the Rt. Rev. Manton Eastburn, D. D.; the Rt. Rev. J. P. K. Henshaw, D. D.; the Rt. Rev. Carlton Chase, D. D.; the Rt. Rev. Alonzo Potter, D. D.; the Rt. Rev. George Upfold, D. D.; the Rev. A. Cleveland Coxe; the Rev. C. P. Clarke; the Rev. Theodore Edson, D. D.; the Rev. B. Franklin; the Rev. F. L. Hawks, D. D., LL. D.; the Rev. J. A. Hicks, D. D.; the Rev. Prof. A. Jackson; the Rev. W. C. Mead, D. D.; the Rev. A. Nichols; the Rev. J. J. Robertson, D. D.; the Rev. H. B. Sherman; the Rev. W. B. Stevens, D. D.; the Rev. Peter Van Pelt; the Rev. H. J. Whitehouse, D. D.; the Rev. J. Williams, D. D.; Messrs. Edward A. Newton; W. T. Webb; Prof. Duncan L. Stewart.

The Rt. Rev. T. C. Brownell, D. D., LL. D. was called to the chair.

The Rev. B. Franklin was appointed Secretary.

The Rt. Rev. Bishop Brownell stated the general object of the meeting, and requested the Rev. Dr. Hawks to do so more fully.

The Rev. Dr. Hawks, after some preliminary remarks, offered a draft of a Preamble and Constitution, which, after some amendments, was adopted, as follows:

PREAMBLE.

Whereas it is very desirable to collect and preserve such materials, as may serve to illustrate the history of the Protestant Episcopal Church:—And, whereas, this can be done effectually by combined action only, it is deemed expedient to form an Association of Churchmen for that purpose, under the following

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.—This Association shall be known as "The Protestant Episcopal Historical Society."

ART. II.—The objects of the Society shall be,

1. The collection and preservation of all memorials, whether printed, manuscript, or traditional, which throw light upon the work, and words, and progress of the American Branch of the Church, in any period of her history.

2. And of all materials relating to the social and religious history of the times during which this Church has existed.

ART. III.—Any member of the Protestant Ep
member of this Society, by paying annually into i
two dollars, and shall thereby be entitled to a cop
by the Society during his time of membership.

ART. IV.—The officers of this Society shall be
and place of holding the meetings of the Gene
President, who shall always be a Bishop, a Vice
urer, and an Executive Committee.

ART. V.—The Executive Committee shall be com
cifically designated, and of *seven* Clergymen and *si*
ing of the Executive Committee shall be New Yo

ART. VI.—To the Executive Committee shall
ing out and accomplishing the plans and purposes
publications from time to time, as it may see fit,
allow.

ART. VII.—The members of the Society residin
the Church, may form a branch Committee, to b
Diocese in which it exists. The mode of organi
Branch, are left entirely to the members of the So
they do not conflict with this Constitution. And
aid the general institution, by collecting tradition
history of Parishes, documents, &c., and forwarding

ART. VIII.—The Executive Committee may, un
honorary and corresponding members of the Socie

It shall hold a public meeting triennially, at the
of the General Convention, at which time it shall
port of its doings for the three years last past, and
to be read, or address delivered.

It shall make such By-Laws for its own governm
as, in the judgment of its members, will best con
the objects of the Society; and it shall have po
body.

ART. IX.—At any triennial meeting of the So
altered by a two-thirds vote of the members prese

The Rev. Dr. Williams then moved that a Comm
be appointed, which was carried. The Chair appoi
as that Committee:

The Rt. Rev. G. W. Doane, D. D., LL. D., and t
liams.

The Committee, after retiring, returned, and re
upon the following gentlemen as suitable officers o

PRESIDENT.—The Rt. Rev. T. C. Brownell, D. D.,
VICE-PRESIDENT.—The Rev. Francis L. Hawks,
SECRETARY.—The Rev. B. Franklin, Trenton, N. J
TREASURER.—Frederick S. Winston, Esq., N. Y.
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.—The Rev. Wm. Bacon
Philip Slaughter, Va.; the Rev. A. B. Paterson,
N. Y.; the Rev. Wm. I. Kip, D. D., N. Y.; the
Rev. T. C. Pitkin, Conn.; Henry Reed, Esq., Pa.;
Hon. Theron Metcalf, Mass.; John H. Alexander, Es
ton, Esq., Conn.; Robert Bolton, Jr., N. Y.

On motion, the meeting adjourned.

(Signed) .

Persons wishing to become members of this Soci
nicate with the Treasurer as early as possible.

Those who will assist in making historical collecti
mation, will please address the Secretary.

A meeting of the AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY was held at New Haven, Ct., on the 16th and 17th of October, at which about twenty members of the Association were present. Various communications were made by missionaries present; as, *on the Philosophy of the Sivas*, by the Rev. H. R. Hoisington of the Ceylon Mission; *on the Battecotta Seminary*, by Rev. Dr. Daniel Poor, also of the Ceylon Mission; *on the Bakeele Language*, by Rev. William Walker, of the Gaboon Mission; *on the Language of the Dyaks*, by Rev. W. H. Steele, a missionary to that people. Also *an account of recent investigations concerning the Oscan dialect*, by Prof. C. Beck, of Cambridge. Several important communications were received from absent members and contributors to the Society, and other interesting topics were brought up, and plans discussed for increasing the efficiency of the Society.

OBITUARY.

Died on board the U. S. Frigate Cumberland, on a passage to Alexandria, Rev. ADDISON SEARLE, a Chaplain of the U. S. Navy.

In Baltimore, on Sunday, Nov. 17, 1850, Rev. JAMES ELLISDON VAN BOKKELEN, aged 25 years and 5 months. He was a graduate of the General Theological Seminary, and during his short ministry he had the charge of Grace Church, Elk Ridge Landing, Md., and St. Paul's Church, St. Louis, Mo. At the time of his death, he was the assistant minister of St. Timothy's Church, Maryland.

Died at Jonesville, Mich., August 30, 1850, Rev. ROBERT S. ELDER, of that place. He was originally a Presbyterian, received his education at Kenyon College, was a devoted servant of the Church, and his end was peaceful.

Died at Sacramento City, California, April 15th, Rev. RICHARD F. BURNHAM, of the Diocese of New Jersey.

Died at Boston, Dec. 2d, 1850, Rev. ISAAC BOYLE, D. D., in the 68th year of his age. Dr. Boyle was admitted to Priest's Orders in 1822, and soon after became Rector of St. Paul's Church, Dedham, which deafness compelled him to resign, in the course of a few years. Since that time he has been resident in Boston, doing such duties as his infirmity would permit.

Died at Philadelphia, Dec. 3d, Rev. GEORGE BOYD, D. D., in the 63d year of his age. Dr. Boyd was ordained Priest in 1816, and soon after became Rector of St. John's Church, Northern Liberties, Philadelphia, where he remained until his death.

SUMMARY OF FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.*

ORDINATIONS.—The following account of the stated Fall Ordinations in the English Church, is made up from recent files. Archbishop of York, 18 Priests, 9 Deacons; Bishop of Exeter, 4 Priests, 11 Deacons; Bishop of Oxford, 2 Priests, 14 Deacons; Bishop of Worcester, 22 Priests, 26 Deacons; Bishop of Bangor, 1 Deacon; Bishop of Manchester, 1 Priest; Bishop of Lincoln, 5 Priests, 9 Deacons; Bishop of Ely, 5 Priests, 8 Deacons; Bishop of Lichfield, 14 Priests, 12 Deacons; Bishop of Ripon, 16 Priests, 6 Deacons; Bishop of Durham, 6 Priests, 8 Deacons; Bishop of Carlisle, 1 Priest, 1 Deacon; Bishop of St. Davids, 17 Priests, 4 Deacons; Bishop of Chester, 9 Priests, 15 Deacons. Total, 115 Priests, 124 Deacons.

ROMANISM IN ENGLAND.—The Romish Church has lately taken a new and bold position in respect to its movements in England. Instead of appointing Bishops for that country, as before, *in partibus infidelium*, the Pope, in a Bull dated Sept. 29, has coolly mapped off the country into dioceses, as if it were one of the most loyal of his dominions, naming the See after some principal town. The list of dioceses and Bishops is, in part, as follows. The hierarchy is restored to England, and twelve Bishops created. Cardinal Wiseman, Archbishop of Westminster, with the administration of Southwark; Dr. Waring, Bishop of Clifton, with the administration of Northampton; Dr. Ullathorne, Bishop of Birmingham, with the administration of Nottingham; Dr. T. J. Brown, Bishop of Shrewsbury, with

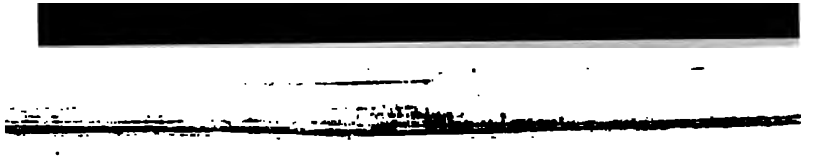
* A large amount of Foreign Intelligence is omitted for want of room.

the administration of St. David's; Dr. George Brown the administration of Salford; Dr. Braggs, Bishop Bishop of Hexham; Dr. Hendred, Bishop of Plymou

The forced antagonism into which this movement h English Church and Nation, is doing its work. No su nessed since the Reformation. Public meetings hav town in England. The clergy and people are mem monstrances are sent up to the Queen; the pulpits a are pouring out torrents of indignation at this foreign too, who, as the new Romish Bishop of Northampton these appointments, is out with a letter to the Bish says, "There is an assumption of power in all the from Rome, a pretension to supremacy over the realm sole and undivided sway, which is inconsistent with t the rights of our Bishops and clergy, and with the s nation," &c. We are sure that the Pope has, in this for himself. He mistakes entirely the feeling of the deceived by the apostacy of such men as Newman an of the English clergy and people were never more they are at this day. And yet the Pope has taken a existence of the English Church, her Orders, and her has arrayed against himself an opposition as inevitable

Meanwhile, as American Churchmen, we have a ri whether the union of Church and State meets the English brethren are not unapt to remind us of the ment. Let us see how much it is worth. There is, ments, a principle of jurisdiction, spiritual and tempor and the Establishment has the alternative of driving the shores of England, or of proving itself a mere thi

Under the pressure of the excitement, the English Newman, are now assuming a suppliant tone, and app are pleading for the rights of English subjects! Th Wesleyans and Independents ask no rights which are lish Constitution. Not so with these Papists. Th Church of England of her birthright; the right to pu assassin upon her Orders and her Sacraments, and Rome, upon her own principles, asks nothing less t What are the rights of conscience at Rome!

We have alluded above to Lord John Russell's lett that for years, he, as Sir Robert Peel before him, ha manists, and, by a suicidal liberalism, has courted the he now affects surprise. The English Ministry has p Ireland to assume the style and title of Irish Sees; it taries precedence over English Bishops in her Majesty endowed a Romish Institution; and has renewed dipl Pope as Sovereign of the Roman States. And now these new appointments, (as he does not deny,) yet fin for him, Lord John suddenly discovers that this stretch sistent with the rights of our Bishops and clergy, an the British nation!" Indeed!

Since writing the above, we are furnished, in our E replies of the Archbishops and Bishops of the Englis of their clergy; and a protest to the Queen, signed Bishops of England, except the Bishops of Exeter an exception, they all speak with one voice in bearing wit Church, and in tones of indignation at the aggressive of Oxford never uttered a truer sentiment, than when ing,) "Who needs to be told, that Romanism is a syste men's minds, that there is nothing dishonest which i next Parliament will doubtless take the matter in hand